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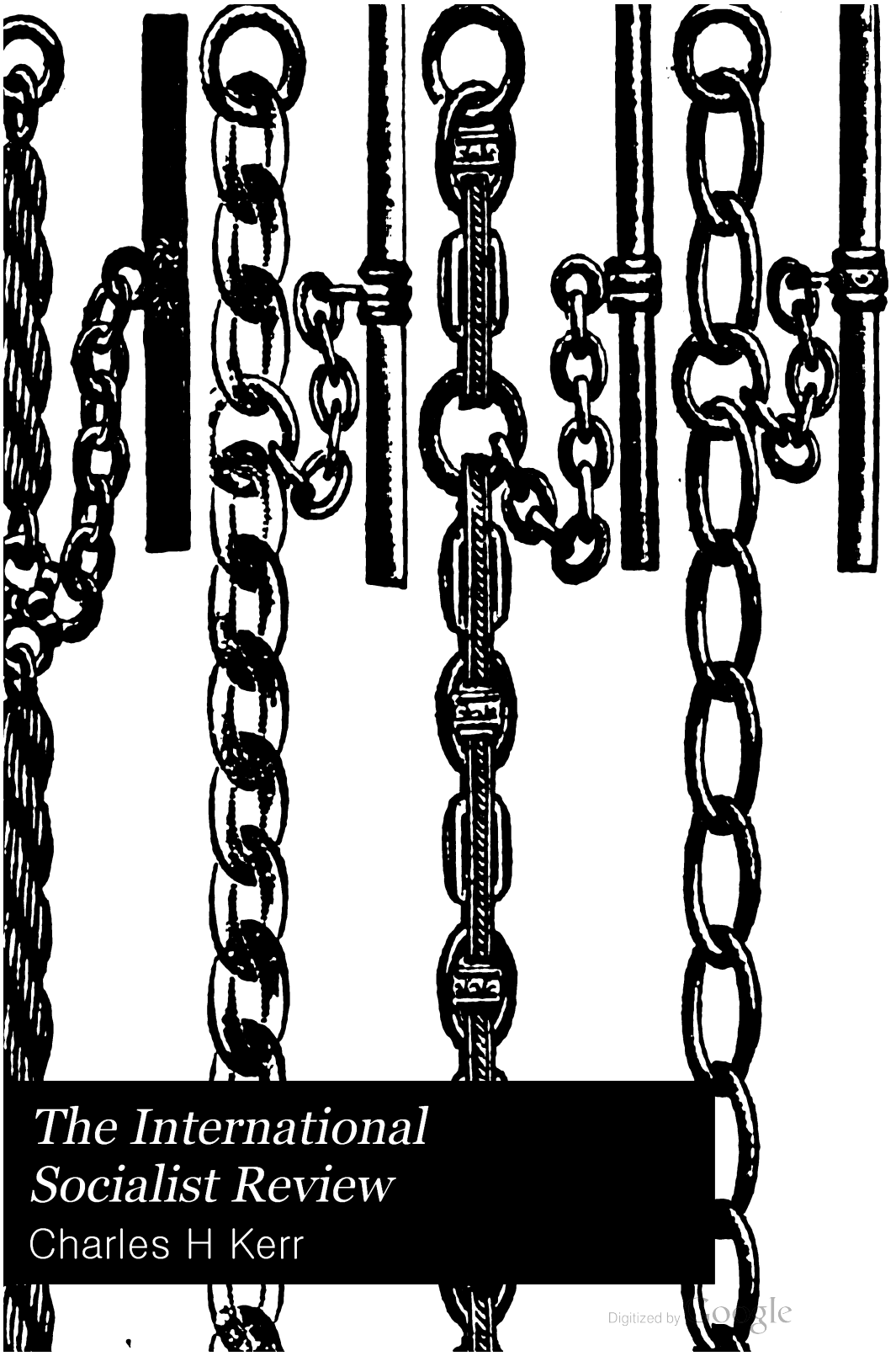
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV. JULY, 1903. NO. 1.

Economic Interpretation of History

TO arrive at truth, we must examine into the facts unburdened by preconception. There is no doubt concerning this in the mind of any one. It is quite evident that in the attainment of truth, our critic, the Rev. Alexander Kent, in the May INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, himself "carries weights" in the form of the preconceptions of an intuitional philosophy. After the examination of certain facts to arrive at a judgment on these facts has been the privilege of all men; the present writer only claims that privilege.

I wish to put over against each other the position at which I have arrived, that "All social institutions are the result of growth, and that the causes of this growth are to be sought not in any idea, but in the conditions of material existence" (which, although credited as a quotation by my critic to Marx, was in reality taken in my former article from Prof. Edwin Seligman's "Economic Interpretation of History"), and the position from which our critic argues, "Institutions are only expressed and embodied ideas. Ideas invariably precede, contemplate and effect the changes."

A part of the difficulty lies in the understanding of the terms economic or materialistic and their opposite, idealistic. A mass of vague and ill-digested opinions concerning both of these terms is to be found among both socialists and non-socialists. Nothing is quite so common as to throw the word materialist at a man, attempting to carry with the word materialist the idea that the individual holding that belief is coarse, carnal, with no knowledge of the so-called higher life, and even addicted to vices.

There have been two great standpoints from which all study of society or history or philosophy has proceeded, the standpoint of idealism and that of materialism. The question lying at the basis of this is the foundation question of all philosophy. It is the ques-

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tion as to the priority of mind or matter. Is matter a product of mind, or mind itself the highest product of matter? Did the mind originate first and produce matter, or is nature the source? Are the thoughts we have in our minds pictures of real things, or are these real things the pictures of this or that stage of some "absolute idea"?

Idealism means no more or less than this, that the believer in it holds that mind originated matter; that mind existed before matter, and that the things about us are only conditions resulting from the development of the great idea.

The economic or materialistic school holds that mind is the highest product of matter, that our consciousness and thoughts are evidences of a natural bodily organ, the brain, and that the ideas we have are pictures of the sensible, actual world around us. This in no way excludes the possibility of the making of tentative hypotheses or the holding of ideals by the believer in the economic view of society, as it is sufficiently clear that idealism does not depend on that point at all.

The theory of the economic or materialistic view of society has passed through its own particular evolution. The materialism of the time of the French Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century was purely mechanical. This was necessarily true. There could be no conception of the universe as a process. This was largely due to the condition in which we find science at that time. Only the "mechanics of gravity" had reached any definite conclusion. "Chemistry existed only in a childish phlogistic state, biology lay in swaddling clothes, all organisms of plants and animals were examined only in a very casual manner." Hence the narrow-mindedness of the French materialists was unavoidable. Since that time the development of the germ theory, the theory of the conservation of energy and the evolutionary theory have given materialism a basis in science.

Examine the position taken by scholars in the field of psychology in relation to the origin and growth of ideas and their mechanism. It is maintained that the nerve organs and the brain center through and by which thought is carried on have arisen and developed to meet the needs of life. The whole centralized nervous system has grown up in the division of labor in the human system. We are forced, then, to the conclusion that mentality and the very organs through which it operates have been developed through material necessities and practical needs.

Turn to still another field. Lester F. Ward is a recognized authority in Sociology. In his last book, called "Pure Sociology," page 288, he says: "Ample natural nourishment enjoyed by a whole people or by a large social class will cause a healthy development which will ultimately show itself through mental and physical superiority. Thus far such has been the history of

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mankind, that there has always been a special class that has been able to attain the means thus fully to nourish the body. * * * Still, although slavery has been abolished and the feudal system overthrown, the new industrial society is largely repeating the pristine conditions and in the old world especially, and more and more in the new, class distinctions prevail, and differences of nutrition, of protection and physical exertion are still keeping up the distinction of a superior and inferior class. * * * This is, too, the great truth that lies at the bottom of the so-called historical materialism. Not only does civilization rest upon a material basis in the sense that it consists in the utilization of the materials and forces of nature, but the efficiency of the human race depends absolutely upon food, clothing, shelter, fuel, leisure and liberty."

When we come to apply this idea to history we find that it at once supplies what has always been lacking hitherto in the historical interpretation of society, it gives continuity to history. Various attempts have been made before the materialistic interpretation of history to secure this continuity.

One of the first attempts of an idealistic character to interpret events looked upon history as a series of biographies of great men. The best instance of this form of interpretation is to be found in Carlyle's "Hero Worship." According to this theory of historical progress, society stagnated for several years until, as one writer has said, "some great towering genius appeared to jerk it up a few generations, where it stuck fast until another great man came along to lift it another notch." According to this philosophy, it was George Washington and John Adams who made the American Revolution, Alexander Hamilton who gave us the Constitution, Thomas Jefferson who created the American spirit of democracy, Abraham Lincoln who freed the slaves.

Naturally this view of history suited the ruling class from which most of the historians, as well as most of the great men, came. It served effectually to retard the discovery of the social laws by which alone society progresses. Further, it agreed with the general catyclysmic view of things prevailing at the time. Objection is taken to my position on Martin Luther. "How does the writer know that their words had no effect? How does she know that they did not help to make the conditions right and prepare the people for the fuller and stronger message that Luther brought?" We reply, how does our critic know, unless it be intuitively, that Luther's message was either greatly stronger or fuller than that of earlier priests? In short, how do we know any fact unless we study, as far as in our power, events?

In the article "Restricted Interpretation" in the same number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW it is pointed out that I evidently fell myself into this "one man" theory in saying

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that Frederick the Great was the creator of Prussia. This is a point well taken. It was with me, however, merely an unfortunate rhetorical expression.

The "great man" theory, attempting, as it does, to introduce "chance" into social progress, is untenable. The popular mind, invariably seeking an easy route to a cause, still clings to it. The discovery of the economic forces behind and around these so-called great men, without which forces they could have done nothing, has been the result of patient investigation made by many and cannot be lightly thrown aside.

In the same article by Mr. Ferris is found this: "Finally we come to Marx. * * * Here the Socialist shouts 'Eureka! Behold, we have at last found it.' Found what, the Eldorado? No, but the cause world, the solitary omnipotent cause of all things." The Socialists are not forced to the narrow position of either accepting the word of Marx without question or finding nowhere else a substantiation of their position when it comes to the economic interpretation of history. If the writer will take the trouble to read further he will find that the ablest men in both American and European universities, the men who are really producing anything and not rehashing old controversies, are approaching history, physiology, education, psychology and sociology from exactly this standpoint. This theory has quite as many supporters among non-Marxists as Marxists.

The following quotation is from the Rev. Josiah Strong, in his book, "The Times and Young Men": "Tell me one thing about a people, viz., how they get their living, and I will tell you a hundred things about them.

"A tribe that lives by the chase is savage. If a people gain their livelihood directly from domestic animals, they must wander to new regions as their flocks and herds require new pastures. That is, they are nomadic, and their food, their dress, their shelter, their government, their customs and their laws are such as always belong to a nomadic civilization. If a people get their living by cultivating the ground, the tent of the nomad gives place to a permanent dwelling, and the food, dress, form of government, laws and customs of an agricultural civilization differing as widely from those of a nomadic civilization as a house differs from a tent. If a people are commercial, all their habits and mode of life are more or less affected by contact with the strange peoples with whom they trade. Stimulated by the new ideas brought home by their merchants and sailors, they are progressive, and develop habits of mind and manners, arts, literature, virtues and vices as unlike those of the plowman and shepherd as are their occupations."

Returning to the article, "Causes of Social Progress," we find this statement: "Deficient as our people may be in the mat-

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ter of ethics, they are much further advanced than they are in economics." This is a purely *ipsi dixit* statement, made without any attempt at confirmation. It reveals, however, again the intuitional standpoint of the writer. By those who have made anything of a study of ethics within the last fifteen years the evolutionary character of ethics is fully recognized. Evolutionary ethics demonstrates the conformity of each system of ethics to the economical stage with which it developed and existed. Acts and relations of men viewed as right under one social stage are "wrong" according to the judgment of other times and places. No such thing as universal ethics has ever been possible. "There can be no universal morality in the concrete," says Prof. Friedrich Paulsen, page 19, in his "System of Ethics." Again, page 25, he says: "Every moral philosophy is, therefore, valid only for the sphere of civilization from which it springs, whether it is conscious of the fact or not."

From what source have the people obtained these superior ethical ideas with which our critic credits them? Innately? But the doctrine of "innate ideas" is no longer recognized by modern men of science. Intuitionalism driven from one point to another attempted to find its last refuge in ethics. Writers like Rolph, Carnerie, Stephen, Heckel and Spencer have finally dislodged it from this last position. Read in the light of present scientific works on the subject, the above statement of our critic seems an absurdity belonging to the metaphysical past. The ethics today are such as capitalism has developed and are fitted to the present industrial system.

A little knowledge of American history is sometimes extremely valuable. Few indeed are the American scholars who would father the statement made by Mr. Kent that "The movement on the part of the American people which resulted in free Cuba, and in several other things which they did not contemplate, was undoubtedly due to considerations of humanity and in no degree prompted by the hope of economic benefits." Or, concerning the American people in the Philippine Islands: "Certainly they have not been influenced by any consideration of material profit realized in their lifetime." American scholars, and incidentally any man who knows anything of American politics, knows that the conditions existing in Cuba had existed for half a century and it is also well known that as early as 1858 a meeting was called at Ostend for the purpose of seriously discussing the seizing of Cuba from Spain if Spain would not sell. The southern slaveholding states favored seizure, as they desired to extend slave territory and increase southern votes. The north opposed and the south did not push it further, for things were already nearing a crisis. The matter was dropped, only to come up again when the capitalist interests of the United States demanded Cuba in

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extending trade and commerce. A sentimentalism in the face of facts that would attempt to make the movement of the United States on Cuba due to "humanitarian" ideas has reached the limit of the absurd.

A very slight examination into world politics would have shown our critic but too plainly the economic interests that lie behind the movement in the Philippines. Here is the great coaling station for the United States on the route to the far east and also it gives her a foothold from which to operate in case of Chinese complications. Surely this teacher of the people would escape some ludicrous errors if he would familiarize himself with the facts of present economic and political life.

"Economic laws and forces have been at work in all ages and among all peoples, but there has been no uniformity of growth or progress even among people similarly conditioned as to soil and climate." We are compelled to say that this statement is not true and that the opposite is true. A study of anthropology, of comparative history as well as economics, has shown those who will take the trouble to look into the matter that there has been a uniformity of growth and similarity of institutions among people similarly conditioned until it has come to be a recognized law in sociology that tribes or nations that have reached the same plane economically have a marked similarity in institutions, beliefs, religion, morality and forms of government. In short, the larger part of modern science now rests on this very fact.

"Animals have the same material conditions, so far as soil, climate and environment generally are concerned, as man. Why do they not make the same social progress? . . . So far as we know their habits, customs, institutions—if one may so speak —are just what they were thousands of years ago."

Here again so far is this statement from true that its opposite is true. The word environment, as used by the majority of writers on sociological subjects, is quite evidently not clear to our critic when he states that animals have the same environment as man. Material environment in its generally accepted meaning signifies not alone soil, climate and so on but as well all social institutions, the inheritances of earlier civilizations. Some writers on economics, J. B. Clark, for example, in "Philosophy of Wealth," have recently made "material" environment to consist of all these and yet further of such things as the music of the orchestra and the voice of the speaker. Moreover, it is quite evident that our critic has not benefited himself by a study of modern evolutionary literature, else he would know that "thousands of years" are but a moment's space in the evolution of species and he would long ago have known that man himself, with his "remarkable" ideas," developed from brute ancestors and

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that his very intellect has been the result of the material necessities of life.

"And yet she took the trouble to write this article to help people to clear thinking on this subject. If clear thinking has no relation to national economic action one cannot but wonder to what end she put herself to this trouble." This is quite a common form of convincing logic employed by those compelled to deal with disagreeable facts. The discovery of the law of gravitation did not immediately stop its operation, neither will the discovery of a social law retard its effect upon society. But perhaps our critic will not admit with us that society in its progress is governed by any law, but will hold rather that it is all a matter of chance. The work of any true student of society is to interpret facts and if possible discover the laws that govern social growth. It does not consist, on the other hand, in saying what to his mind these laws ought to be or in attempting to revise them. Lester F. Ward, in "Pure Sociology," says, "The idea that sociologists think they are engaged in *'revising'* social laws is decidedly refreshing. So far as I can see they are simply trying to understand them, just as the physicists tried to understand physical laws, and many of them doubtless have at least a mental reservation that, besides this knowledge for its own sake, some one may some day in some way be benefited by it."

But surely consistency is not a part of our critic's mental equipment. After assuming that institutions are only expressed and embodied ideas, what does he mean in closing when he says: "The level of a people's government, literature, education and ethical practice can never rise much above the level of its industrial life"?

The test of any theory is the extent to which it explains the facts of the case. In how far does the economic interpretation of history explain social progress? It holds that the driving forces behind social movements and in the building up of social institutions are the economic interests of contending social classes. Let us see how this thing works itself out. Men strive continuously through inventions to improve the tools with which they work and the manner of using them. The chip stone became the polished and the polished stone gave way to bronze, and bronze to iron. Iron was transformed into steel, tempered, wrought into more complex forms until the great intricate machine resulted. Man used levers, wheels and pulleys to increase and change the direction of his strength, then hitched domestic animals and finally wind and water and steam to these new and complex tools.

Every one of these changes produced changes in the carrying on of the whole process of production and this in turn grouped men in new forms, in new arrangements giving rise to new social institutions. When man had advanced to a point where these tools

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became capable of producing a surplus and the idea of private property in the instruments of production and land upon which these rest arose social classes appeared. The great feudal ancient property in land is frequently ascribed in its origin to political causes through forcible seizure, but this explanation cannot be applied to the rise of the bourgeoise and proletarian classes.

The origin and progress of these two great economic classes is clearly seen to be from economic causes. "It was . . . clear that in the fight between the land holding class and the bourgeoisie no less than in that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat economic interests were the most important, and that the political force served only as a means of furthering these.

"The bourgeoisie and the proletariat both arose as a result of a change in economic conditions, or, strictly speaking, in methods of production. The transition, first from hand labor, controlled by the gilds to manufacture and thence from manufacture to the greater industry, with steam and machine force, has developed these two classes."

These conflicting economic interests of classes then are the compelling forces behind the motives of action of both the masses and their so-called "great men." They are the historic causes which transform themselves into motives of action.

From this time on institutions are formed and directed in the interests of the economic class which has control of the essentials of economic life. These institutions are always formulated in such a manner as to preserve all the privileges of this ruling class; the legal institutions will be elaborated to declare lawful and inviolate these privileges. The whole machinery of government will be used to maintain such privileges, while custom and public opinion will sanctify and endorse them.

With the division into economic classes a new dynamic to social progress appears in two forms. First the unrest of the subject class. This gives rise finally to a revolution in society when, as it frequently happens, a change in the manner of production brings a hitherto subject class into the position of controlling society. This was true when, in the Middle Ages, the trading and manufacturing classes rose to power. Changes in the method of production made machinery and trading capable of greater importance than landed estates; the class, therefore, that was in possession of these tools and instruments of communication rose to social domination and overthrew the old feudal nobility.

This class struggle in the second place shows itself in the constant attempts of the ruling class to improve and perfect the social institutions that stand for their interests. This gives rise to reform movements. They wish to improve civil service, abolish political corruption and boodling, insure economy in public administration and in general to improve the working of the

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social machinery which conserves their interests. Their action in this direction is continually affected by the necessity of making concessions to a subject class, particularly if the latter show signs of rebellion.

This whole theory of society receives tremendous support from the biological point of view. The work of Wallace, Darwin, Spencer and Weissman and the great army of biologists who have revolutionized scientific thought and also practically revolutionized the whole field of intellectual life, has shown that progress in all fields of life depends upon adjustment to the environment. That form of organism, whether it be plant, animal, or social, which can best adjust the materials at its disposal for the task of utilizing its surroundings will survive. Every particle of matter must be arranged, every organ created in the manner which will best subserve this end. If an organ does not help in preservation it withers up and disappears.

One of the corollaries of this law is that progress means the elimination of waste. Hence it is that the moment a method of arrangement of the matter in any organism—plant, animal or social—appears which is more economical of energy than previously existing ones it is destined to supplant the wasteful one.

This law of economy or the law of "least effort" is one which applies in every field of growth. It insures the progress of invention and the universal adoption of any improvement in productive methods. It also insures the disappearance of any social organization as soon as a less wasteful one becomes possible. Hence it is that it is only necessary to show first, that the capitalistic society is more wasteful than a co-operative system; second, that the co-operative system is in accord with the economic development of the present or immediate future in order to prove the inevitable evolution of capitalism into socialism.

Some explanation of one or two phases of the materialistic interpretation must be noticed. Those who have only a crude and half knowledge of the theory often assume that immediately on the economic organization of society being changed every social institution is at once completely and in every particular changed, and this without regard to what the previous form of the institution might have been. The fact is that each economic stage has to take all of the institutions and social organs which it inherited from the previous stage and must use this material in forming the new society. But these institutions have many of them lasted for thousands of years and they are anything but tractable material. This phase of the question corresponds to heredity in the biological world. Just as many times in the biological world the organism is so stable that it cannot adjust itself to the new environment, and so perishes, just so in society it is easily possible that the social institutions of any particular tribe,

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race or nation might become so fixed that they could not conform to a new environment and the society to which it belongs would perish.

A little examination of this phase of the subject will show at once that it offers an explanation of the so-called influence of ideas upon history. Once a given economic environment has developed a certain psychological attitude, that attitude is inherited by the next social stage and may have a very great influence in determining the character of that social stage. The systems of justice, morality, etc., which have arisen in previous social stages undoubtedly have a part in determining social institutions today. But how? They constitute the material upon which present economic environment must act and they may so resist that environment as to greatly alter it, but when we analyze this back to its ultimate we find that it is not a conflict between ideas and environment but a conflict between a past and a present environment. This is, I hold, the fundamental point of the whole discussion and it is the position I maintained in my former article when I pointed out that no economic stage began its work *tabula rasa.*

In these last paragraphs I have answered the criticism of Mr. Ferris. He made his entire argument turn on one point—the attempt to discover a single cause lying at the basis of all social phenomena. "The economic principle controls man's life," says Prof. Carl Büchner, of the University of Leispic, in his recent sociological work, "Industrial Evolution," and the whole volume is an exposition of this point. All the other social forces are but manifestations of this underlying economic force. Psychology and brain physiology have shown that the brain of man, the seat of ideas, is itself a product of economic activity and needs. On what ground can Mr. Ferris' criticism stand? Where, then, will he find the various, all apparently equal causes that produce social progress? Further, he is evidently unacquainted with the efforts of modern scientists who, in each field of science, are seeking to find the one great force back of the class of phenomena with which they have to deal. Physicists could do little or nothing until the discovery of the law of gravitation lying at the foundation of all forms of motion. The simplification of so-called causes is the endeavor of all science. Is it strange that sociology is seeking to do the same? Fifty years ago the dualism advocated by Mr. Ferris was lame and halting, and each discovery of science has helped to destroy its tenability, while these same discoveries have served to increase the strength and prevalency of monistic philosophy.

Finally, once the laws of social evolution have been determined, then ideas have another part, but no more an initiative part than before. It is not because of the *ideas* of gravitation that engineers

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are able to move great masses, but because of the knowledge of that law, which is a very different thing. In the same way, when social laws are known, it will be possible for society to select at once those institutions which will best fit it to the environment of the immediate future and thus hasten progress. Up until the present time we have only been able to find out which institutions were suited to a changed environment by trying to preserve all of them and letting the environment destroy those which we were enable to preserve.

May Wood Simons.

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The Economic Organization of Society

WHEN we carefully observe the social systems which are developing under our eyes in the several countries of both hemispheres we see that they all present the same phenomena; in all there is the absolute irrevocable division into two distinct classes, one of which without doing anything accumulates enormous and ever increasing revenues, while the other, much more numerous, works throughout its whole life for a miserable wage; the one lives without work, the other works without living—at least any human life. In the presence of a contrast so sorrowful and so striking, the problem presents itself at once to every reflecting mind: is this state of things the product of a natural necessity inseparable from the organic conditions of human nature, or is it not rather the result of historic causes destined to disappear in the later phases of evolution?

A long intellectual pilgrimage across the vast field of economic sociology has led me to the conclusion that the truth is to be found in the second answer, and that the division of humanity into two castes, the one composed of capitalists, the other of laborers, or, in other words, the existence of capitalist property has not been the product of inherent conditions of human nature, but rather of powerful historic causes which ought necessarily to disappear in a later period. The results of my reseaches may be summed up in that which follows.

I explain the genesis, character and tendencies of capitalist property as follows:

While free ground remains upon which any one may undertake cultivation with his own labor, while any man deprived of capital may, if he wishes, establish himself on his own account upon unoccupied ground, capitalist property is absolutely impossible because no laborer will submit to work for a capitalist when he may set up on his own personal account upon ground which costs him nothing. It is evident that under these conditions the workers can take possession of free ground, and devoting their strength to this, they will soon be able to add to their labor the capital they have accumulated.

If the productivity of the earth is high the producers of capital are not disposed to associate their labor because they have no interest in subjecting their own independence to the fetters which association imposes in order to increase a product already very abundant in itself; this is why the natural economic form under these conditions is isolated production; at least where the despotic authority of the state does not force the producers to associate.

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If, on the contrary, the productivity of the earth is slight, the producers have a motive which will urge them to associate their labor in order to increase the product. Consequently, under these conditions the necessary economic form is that where the association of the producers of capital who work together divide the product into equal parts (pure association) or the free association where one or more producers of capital and one or more simple laborers work together and share equally in the product (mixed association).

But under all hypotheses the division of society into a class of non-working capitalists and a class of non-capitalist workers —being given free ground—is absolutely impossible, because under these conditions the reception of profit on the part of an idle capitalist is excluded by the very nature of things. If, then, the capitalist wishes to obtain a profit at any cost he can do this only by violently suppressing the free land to which the worker owes his strength and his liberty. Now, while the population is sparse and consequently the complete occupation of the earth is impossible, abolition of free ground may be accomplished only by the enslavement of the workers. This enslavement takes at first the brutal form of chattel slavery, then when the decreasing productivity of the soil ought to be compensated by much greater productivity of labor it is possible to substitute a form of service more gentle and more favorable to effective labor. This is why the property in man is the first base, the primitive pedestal of capitalist property.

We find a striking demonstration of this truth in a study of those countries having an abundance of free land, as, for example, the colonial countries. All who have studied the history of these enchanting regions declare unhesitatingly that they furnish a brilliant confirmation of our thought. They remind us of the marvelous tales of the primitive period of the United States during which this fortunate country is described as peopled with a noble class of independent workers, ignorant even of the possibility of capitalist property. They recall to us the letters of Washington, who speaks of the impossibility of the farmers obtaining any revenue whatever from their ground unless they cultivated it themselves with their own laborers. They repeat certain of the speeches of Parkinson, Strickland and all the other Europeans who traveled in America during the eighteenth century and who were astonished at this strange country where money *would do so little.* They explained, then, at the same time, the historic necessity of slavery and servitude in modern colonies of the Middle Ages and in ancient Europe as the only means of obtaining a profit during the period of free ground, and this explains equally without difficulty the tenacity with which the owners defend a system which produces so little and is so inconvenient even

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for the capitalist himself. This also explains why in the Middle Ages that when the serfdom disappeared from manufacturing industry, while there were still fertile ground unoccupied, there developed a barbarous form of mixed association, the corporation of workshops—a corporation which, while dividing the product in equal proportions between the producer of capital (the patron) and the simple worker (the journeyman), especially excludes profits.

Finally, it does not astonish us if in the Middle Ages liberty of men and free earth engenders on the one side persecution of the laborers, having the special object of extorting by violence the profit which it was impossible to obtain otherwise; and on the other side laws against usury. Because the utter powerlessness of capital to obtain a profit in industrial enterprises rendered interest on capital inconceivable and led one naturally to look upon it as a result of theft or fraud.

But when, under the influence of an increased population, all the ground capable of cultivation by labor alone was occupied, the economic organization found itself suddenly transformed. Then, in short, the workers lost this option which constituted their defense against the usurpations of capital; then indeed the worker had no other means of living than by selling his labor power to the capitalist for the wage which it pleased this latter to fix; then he was truly forced to give up to the capitalist the better part of his product or to grant a profit to capital from this product, and it is this which created profit, no longer violent, but automatic and due to the progressive appropriation of the earth, which took from the workers all option and founded their economic servitude.

The occupation of the cultivable earth by labor alone is never able to absolutely assure the establishment of the capitalistic system, because there will always remain a large amount of unoccupied earth whose culture, to be sure, may not be undertaken without capital, but which does not require any considerable amount of capital. Now, if the laborers are able to accumulate this capital, they will thereby at the same time secure, together with the possibility of transporting themselves to free earth, their freedom of choice, and the abolition of all profit will be the inevitable result. The condition *sine qua non* of the persistence of the capitalist system is then the reduction of labor to the minimum which will not permit the workers to save, and it is indespensable therefore that the capitalist should seek in all possible ways to reduce the renumeration of the laborers to that which is absolutely necessary.

This minimum is attained through various methods: the direct reduction of wages, the depreciation of money, the employment of more costly machines than the laborers which they replace,

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the expansion of unproductive capital employed in the affairs of the stock exchange and the bank, in metallic money, in public debts, a number of useless intermediaries, the creation of an excessive population which will compete with the employed laborers.

All these means work inevitably to limit production and consequently to diminish profit. The proprietary class, however, does not hesitate to have recourse to them because they are the necessary conditions for assuring even the continuance of profit by preventing the raise of wages, which would have for an inevitable result the cessation of capitalist revenues. When finally the later increase in population renders possible the complete occupation of the earth and its exclusive appropriation by the capitalistic class this suffices to abolish forever the choice of the workers and at the same time to insure the continuance of revenue to the proprietary class. The capitalist finds himself suddenly free from the necessity of having recourse to the costly and unproductive form of reducing wages in order to guarantee the continuance of his revenues; and the capitalist property becomes automatic, that is to say, it continues independent of all direct action of the capitalist against the liberties and the remuneration of the workers. In other words, it is then only necessary that capital should not be permitted to escape from the hands of the landed proprietors in order that a perpetual revenue should be assurred to the class which does not work at the expense of the class which works.

The foundation of capitalist property is therefore always the same, that is to say, the suppression of free earth, the exclusion of the workers from the occupation of the earth, an exclusion which is obtained by various methods according to the various degrees of occupation and the productivity of the soil. Indeed, during the period when free earth exists, cultivable with labor alone, the production of the free earth is obtained only by means of slavery or serfdom, then when the unoccupied earth is only cultivable by those who possess capital they may obtain a revenue by means of the systematic reduction of wages to a level which will not permit accumulation by the laborers. Finally, when as a result of the increase of population it is possible to occupy all of the earth, they may obtain this income by the simple appropriation of the ground on the part of the capitalist class. The passage from one to the other of these successive forms of suppression of free earth is accomplished by means of an economic revolution which decomposes the social system which has become incapable of fulfilling this function and bringing forth a new form. But the suppression of free earth, at the same time that it influences distribution so powerfully, also exercises two very remarkable opposing influences upon social production. In reality while co-ordinating the efforts of slaves, serfs

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and wage workers for an lend determined by the proprietor, it renders the association of labor more close and at the same time more efficacious. But in associating them through coercion it confines production within very many sensible although progressively decreasing limits, thanks to the always less restrictive methods of the suppression of free earth. They give then to labor a productivity which is superior to that which it would have had if isolated, but inferior to that which it would have if it were freely associated. This is why it is that when the productivity of the soil is raised the free earth will give rise to the economic stage of isolated production and the suppression of the free earth is technically superior to free earth and is a factor of progress and of civilization. If, on the contrary, the free earth, when the productivity of the ground is feeble, determines the spontaneous association of producers, the suppression of the free earth is technically inferior and constitutes an obstacle to progress. Now, under the influences of the increase of population the fertility of the last earth cultivated, productivity decreases until it attains the limit where the free earth, if it exists, compels the spontaneous association of workers. Then the suppression of free earth, far from being a factor in the progress of production, becomes for the first time an obstacle to production, and the increasing exigencies of the ever more numerous population always renders more intolerable this fettered economic form. At the same time the always more restricted limits which it imposes on production creates a fatal decrease in the revenue of capital and finally its necessary annihilation, therefore we see the impossibility of the persistence of production under the control of the capitalist system and the necessity of its dissolution. This is why that society will finally be compelled, in order to avoid the increased misery, to re-establish free earth, according to each one the right to occupy the extent of earth which he can cultivate by his own labor upon the base of free property in land and establish the spontaneous association of labor, thereby establishing the economic form necessary for social equilibrium.

To resume. We find ourselves then face to face with two social forms absolutely opposed to each other. On the one side there is the mixed association which is founded upon free earth—that is to say, upon the right accorded to each one to occupy the extent of earth which he can cultivate by his own labor, and which includes the division of the product in equal proportion between the capitalist worker and the simple workers associated with him—a social form which excludes all class differences, eliminates privilege and in which all usurpation is unknown; on the other side there is the capitalist property, supported upon the suppression of free earth or upon the exclusion of the mass of humanity from the possession of the earth; an exclusion obtained

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at first by means of slavery and serfdom and then by the reduction of wages and, finally, by the exclusive appropriation of the ground on the part of capital—a social form which divides the collective product into two great divisions, the wages of labor and the revenue of property, and which separates humanity into a class of exploited and a class of exploiters.

The mixed association constitutes the highest form—the limited form represents the last stage of development of a phenomena—of economic life, and that towards which social evolution is unconsciously tending. Capitalist property, in its progressive phases, represents the incomplete stages of evolution—the long and sorrowful period of elaboration through which alone may be obtained a definite organization of human economy. The former has a normal and absolute value, the latter a historic and transitory value. The first has as yet been manifested only in a fragmentary and sporadic manner during historic ages and at the present it appears only as an indistinct image on the extreme horizon of evolution, but if it is true that all phenomena and all problems ought to be studied in this limited condition, that is to say, in the most extreme phase of their evolution, it is self evident that the analysis of this highest form of evolution is necessary in order to appreciate the character of this evolution itself and in order to comprehend the nature of past and present economic relations, and in order to trace to its first cause their mysterious process.

Now it is easy to understand that the limited economic form which excludes all usurpation and all conflicts may persist by its own virtue, without recourse to special institutions to guarantee its integrity, but it is equally easy to understand that capitalist property, just because it is founded upon the exclusion of laboring masses from landed property and because that it is supported by violence and crime, cannot continue, on the contrary, and that just because of both these things.

From the very first it has felt the need of a series of economic means which assured the continuation of the suppression of the free earth upon which it is founded. But the capitalist property always has the need if it is to endure of a series of connective institutions which become a guarantee against all resistance upon the part of those who are excluded from the possession of the earth, in order to assure the acquiescence of its victims and prevent them from having recourse to insurrection or of giving themselves up to excesses. The most remarkable among these collective institutions are morality, law and political organization. And these great phenomena are accordingly an organic product of capitalist property, or at least they are fundamentally metamorphosed and adapted by it to the end of guaranteeing its own existence.—*Achille Loria, in L'Etoile Socialiste. Translated from the French by A. M. Simons.*

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The Remuneration of Labor in the Co-operative Commonwealth

THE Socialist movement is the expression of the discontent of the working class of the world with the present capitalistic order of society, under which as a result of the private ownership by the capitalist class of the land and the machinery of production, industry is administered in the interest and for the private profit of the members of the capitalist class, while the actual producers of the wealth of the world, receiving but a mere fraction of the fruits of their labor, must suffer the pangs of poverty and privation in the midst of the abundance their toil has created. Thus, exploitation, which is the root evil of capitalism, as it is that which makes capitalism possible, is what Socialism aims to abolish. But if the purpose of Socialism is the abolition of exploitation and to make the existence of an exploiting or capitalist class impossible, the problem arises how to distribute among the citizens of the Socialist Republic the product of their joint labor so as to give each individual his just share and no one more or less than his just share. We are confronted by the question as to how the just share of each individual in the general labor product shall be determined or measured, and as to what shall be deemed to constitute a just share.

Is there, then, any principle governing the distribution of incomes and the remuneration of labor under Socialism that is universally accepted at the present time by Socialists? No. On the contrary. The widest divergence of opinion prevails among the advocates of the new social order concerning this most important and most practical question. Two main streams or tendencies of thought upon this subject may, however, be recognized, and these we shall here consider.

There is, first, the view of those who hold that the remuneration of the individual laborer under Socialism shall be based upon the average social time required in the production of the particular article upon which the labor has been expended; such remuneration or labor credit to be equal in purchasing power to the price of any article in the production of which an equal amount of social labor time has been required; the prices of commodities to be thus equal to the value of the labor required in their production, as measured in time, and the value of labor to be equal to the prices of the products.

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On the other hand, the adherents of an influential and numerically important rival school, assert that it is impossible under the present complex and interdependent system of industry, to discover the exact share or value of each individual's labor in the production of wealth, and that even if this were possible yet the fact that the co-operation of the whole of society and the accumulated experience of all past society so vastly multiplies the powers of the individual as to dwarf the value of his purely personal contribution of productive effort into significance, would make distribution upon the basis of the labor performed or of the alleged value of such labor impracticable as well as unjust; and that, therefore, the only solution of the problem of distribution under Socialism is to be found in the principle of equality of incomes; every citizen to be given the right of equal participation in the product of the combined labor, and to be expected, in return, to give forth his own best efforts in productive activity for the common weal.

In regard to the first of these proposals, namely, that the remuneration of labor be based upon the average time required in the production of the given article upon which the labor has been expended, the limited space at our disposal will only permit us to point out as a sufficient reason for the rejection of this plan, that if we may rightly take the quantity of labor expended, as measured in time, as the basis of its remuneration, there is no reason why the quality of the labor as well as other factors that could be mentioned as influencing the manner and result of such labor should not also be considered in determining its remuneration. If inequality of earnings is justified by the difference in the amount of *time* which different individuals may devote to labor, it is also justified by the difference in the *nature* of the labor which different individuals perform.

There remains, then, to be considered, that other plan for the distribution of the general social product, according to which society will guarantee to each individual an equal share or purchasing power in the entire consumable wealth of the nation, and will, in return, require the surrender for social use of each individual's labor power under as nearly equal or equalized terms and conditions as possible.

As we have seen, the main argument advanced in support of the principle of equality of incomes, is, that the productive efficiency of the individual is due to the co-operation of natural and social forces and to the inheritance of natural and social opportunities, both as expressing itself in his environment and in his own physical organism, and that as the individual is thus himself a product of nature and society, while any so-called personal superiority which he may possess, is a superiority in performing the various functions of life amid an environment cre-

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ated by nature and society, the product of his labor is not individual but social and universal, and that it belongs to him only as conferred upon him by authority of society, and by virtue of his equal membership in society, and that, hence, for society to decree the equal division among all its members of the social industrial product, is not only for it to act strictly within its right but is the only act consistent with right and the only act according with logic.

The answer that must be given to this is that the law which has governed the development of life and the rise and progress in the scale of being both of individuals and of societies; the cosmic law in subordination to which and as the outcome of which the individual man of today and human society of today along with all other living beings and all other societies of living beings, have arisen, after countless ages of stress and struggle, from out the formless slime at the bottom of the primeval sea; that law has been, that "every individual," whether living in isolation or in association with its fellows, "shall gain by whatever aptitude it has for fulfilling the conditions to its existence."* For society to endeavor to annul this law, would be to make war against the very conditions to which it owes its own existence, and to which all the progress that has been hitherto achieved has been due, and it would be to cut away the foundations for all future individual progress and all future racial development.

Race progress in the past has been consequent upon the operation of the law that each creature shall enjoy the benefits accruing to it from the possession of superior ability to meet the conditions of its existence; for since such benefits involved greater opportunity to perpetuate its stock into posterity by means of descendants, there has been as a result a constant increase within each species of the proportion of its members possessing such superior ability; and it has been this constant infusion in an increasing ratio into each generation of every species of the best blood of each preceding generation, which has been the lever that has raised life up to its present high state of development.

This materialistic conception of race progress, which corresponds to and in a manner includes Marx' materialistic conception of history is founded upon the solid rock of modern positive science, and it applies as well to the human race as to the lower races, and it applies as well to the future, though not, perhaps, the very remote future, as it does to the present. The Utopian ideas of a mathematical equality of incomes and of the communistic distribution of products, which have come down to us from the early Socialists, originated at a time when the modern doc-

*Herbert Spencer in "Data of Ethic." Chap. XI, §69.

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trine of evolution and the method of evolution were unknown. The time has come, however, when an attempt should be made to definitely and clearly demonstrate to the world that, contrary to the prevailing impression, there is nothing in the philosophy of Socialism, rightly understood, inherently at variance with the philosophy of evolution, and that there is nothing in the principles of evolution opposed to the essential truths of Socialism.*

However, it is not here contended that in the distant future, as a result of the changes to be wrought by evolution both in the nature of the race and in its environment, the institutions that would today be found wholly impracticable, might not under the far different conditions of that period become eminently suitable for the people of that age, while, on the other hand, the most deep-rooted customs and institutions of the present era might not in their turn then become obsolete. But Socialism as a movement of the present day does not come for the purpose of bringing about the indiscriminate overturning of all existing institution. Socialism is the natural outgrowth of an industrial development which has reached the period of its maturity; an industrial development which is marked by the gradually increasing inadequacy of the individualistic system of production to meet the requirements of society, and which is bound to terminate in the abolition of the system of individualistic or private ownership and administration of the machinery of production and in the inauguration of the system of collective or public ownership and administration. When we shall but have removed the incubus of rent, interest and profits from off the backs of the world's producers; when the root evil of the present social economy, private capitalism, shall have been cut out of our civilization, it will not be necessary to make any further fundamental changes in the social organization to insure justice in the distribution of wealth, nor will it be required to invent arbitrary rules for the remuneration of labor to substitute for the natural law governing wages under freedom.

The economic law which today regulates wages in the different employments needs but to be freed from its enforced connection with the system of class monopoly of the means of production to be enabled to automatically yet equitably determine the remuneration of labor under more just industrial conditions.

*Such an attempt has recently, indeed, been made by Enrico Ferri in his book on "Socialism and Modern Science." While this work is an encouraging sign of an awakening to the need of reconciling the modern view of race progress and the modern view of social progress—the doctrine of Darwin and the doctrine of Marx—it fails to touch the subject in more than a merely nominal manner, avoiding the points of greatest apparent conflict between these two divisions of the new thought, and the book, in consequence, can scarcely be said to be convincing.

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Under a regime of equality of opportunity to the means of production and individual freedom in the disposition of one's labor power, there is a natural economic law which if it be made the basis for the regulation of the rates of wages throughout the various employments, labor will be as certain to find its just reward as water is to find its level. That law is none other than the law of supply and demand. By raising wages in occupations and places where the supply of labor is less than the demand (as determined for the demand for the particular commodities produced) and by lowering wages where the supply exceeds the demand, labor will be stimulated to flow towards the various points of production in proportion to the demand for labor in each particular industry and in each particular region, and its remuneration will be governed by the valuation placed upon it by the laborers themselves.

As the demand for commodities under the Co-operative Commonwealth will only be limited by the productive capacity of society, owing to the prices of commodities being based upon the bare cost of production, the total demand for labor will always be equal to the total supply, and hence, as no one need ever suffer for lack of employment, no one need accept work or remain at work at an unsatisfactory rate of remuneration if in other branches or conditions of employment labor requiring equal skill or effort is paid more. Every individual being guaranteed the right to labor at any work he may be capable of doing, no class of workers could maintain a monopoly of a more desirable employment, nor could the rate of remuneration in any industry be kept higher than the general level of wages for an equal class of work, owing to the flow of labor that would set in towards such more favored occupation. The true value of every species of labor will thus be determined by the amount of remuneration which it will be necessary to offer in order to attract or retain a supply of labor equal to the demand in any stated employment, and in every employment the remuneration paid to the worker will thus represent the true value of his work.

The advantages of this system of remunerating labor and distributing the product of the general industry under the Co-operative Commonwealth will be readily apparent to the thoughtful reader. The objections most frequently urged against Socialism by its honest opponents are really objections against that "regime of *status*" and the consequences of such a regime which it is erroneously believed to involve. When it can be shown, however, that Socialism in no way carries with it the necessity for any restriction upon the economic liberty of the individual, in the sense in which economic liberty on the part of the wage earner is now understood, and when it can be shown that the income of each individual worker under Socialism will correspond to his

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own industry and productive efficiency, and will be determined, not by arbitrary decision of human authority but by the impartial justice of a natural law, such objections must lose all their force, though not before.

There might be some foundation for the fear expressed by Herbert Spencer, that Socialism would result in the establishment of "a military despotism of the most severe type," if Socialism really involved the adoption of industrial arrangements under which the individual worker would have no deciding voice in the disposition of his own labor power and no material interest in the results of his labor; but this fear becomes groundless if we are permitted to assume that the "industrial army" of the future republic will be a volunteer army of willing workers, co-operating without compulsion in the service of society and receiving each his reward according to his deeds.

No doubt the law of supply and demand, as it operates today under a capitalistic economy, works injury to the interests of the laboring classes. Where one class in society owns all the means of production and the remainder of the population must compete with one another for the right to labor, the tendency of wages must necessarily be to fall to the minimum point at which life can be supported. Far different, however, must it be where the machinery of production is the common property of the whole people and the entire product of industry must be divided among those who produce it; where the industrial mechanism of society is operated for the express purpose of providing the largest product at the least cost to the consumers and full employment at the highest remuneration to the producers; where every worker is afforded the utmost opportunity of qualifying himself for the most desirable employments and every employment is open under equal terms to every individual.

Under such conditions only the best results must follow from permitting the mutual competition of the workers to regulate the rate of remuneration in every industry, and there can be no other method of regulating the rate of remuneration under the Co-operative Commonwealth that would be just to all members of society and that would involve no arbitrary interference with and infringement upon the liberty and dignity of the individual. As the competition would not be, as now, between an army of starving unemployed, on the one hand, and those fortunate enough to have employment, but far otherwise, would consist simply of a flow of labor from the occupations that at a given time appear less desirable to the occupations that at the same time appear more desirable, the effects of this system of adjusting wages according to the law of supply and demand, would be to equalize the desirability of the various employments; to reduce the prices and stimulate the consumption of commodities requir-

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ing particular skill or talent in their production; to raise the standard of individual efficiency and ambition; and to increase the general wealth and the annual product of wealth of society.

Thus, divested of those paternalistic and authoritarian features which certain *doctrinaires,* in their mad craving for an artificial and imposed equality, would mischievously fasten upon the idea of the Co-operative Commonwealth, it becomes clear that Socialism, by no means involves any curtailment of or impertinent tampering with the liberty of the individual, even in his industrial relations; that it does not require the adoption of that principle of equality of incomes, which in the present state of human nature, would, indeed, be fatal to effort and destructive of the conditions of organic progress; and that it does not necessitate the "regeneration of the human race," and the consequent crushing out of individuality. On the contrary, in putting an end to the monopoly by the few over the means of employment upon which depends the very existence of the many, Socialism, we thus see, would make for a fuller and more widely diffused liberty than has ever been known before; in basing income upon labor and not upon the exploitation of labor, it would stimulate efficiency and promote the rise of the most worthy; and in establishing equality of opportunities for all, it would the more effectively insure the development of the individuality of each. Socialism, instead of being antagonistic to race progress, would provide the only environment under which true race progress can be effected; instead of dragging all down to the same low level it would raise mankind to a state of culture and refinement unparalleled in history; and instead of bringing in its train disorder and distress it would usher in an era of perpetual peace and plenty.

Raphael Buck.

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Economic Aspects of Chattel Slavery in America

WHEN I wrote the pamphlet, "Class Struggles in America," the one great problem which confronted me was what to leave out. There was one phase of American history which I specially felt required further attention, and that was the subject of this article. Even now, when I come to go over the material which I have accumulated on the subject, I am forced to realize that the space which is at the disposal of a magazine article is ridiculously inadequate for any thorough treatment of American chattel slavery, even in the single aspects of its relations to economic history. Since the positions which a true interpretation of the facts compels me to take are so frequently at variance with, or directly opposed to, those which are held by a great majority of our people, I have made a much wider use of quotations than would ordinarily be desirable. By this means each reader is enabled to judge for himself as to the soundness of the position taken and in how far my interpretation of the facts is correct.

In the early days of colonization America was looked upon simply as a field for exploitation by the ruling capitalist class of Europe. Companies were formed who expected to realize fortunes for their organizers from the new country. But as pointed out by Achille Loria, in an article which appears elsewhere in this issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, exploitation in a new country is absolutely impossible while free land exists and industry is in a low degree of technical development. If the companies and individuals who were planting colonies in America were to receive any surplus value chattel slavery was absolutely essential, and the first and most natural move was to attempt the enslavement of the Indian. Columbus was the first one who tried this and the experiment was repeated over and over again during the next two hundred years and always with the same result. The Indian would die but he would not become a slave. It is somewhat difficult to account for this from the point of view of economic determinism. There was little difference in the stage of race development obtained by the North American Indian and that of the African negro, yet the latter made the best slave the world has ever known, while the other proved himself capable of resisting all attempts to enslave him. To be sure there were a few exceptions to the rule. The Indians of Mexico and Peru were enslaved, but as is well known these belonged to a different social stage, if not a different ethnical

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branch than the other tribes. Incidentally, it is a sort of grim tribute to the proud Castilian that the half breed Spaniards could always be made to submit to a master without difficulty.*

There were but two ways in which America could be opened up to settlement and both played an important part, one by free labor yielding no surplus but laying the foundations for wage labor and the other way by chattel slavery in exploiting some industry where unintelligent labor and crude tools could produce a surplus subsistence for the slaves.

Taking the Colonial period a sharply defined distinction in the industrial organization of the northern and southern colonies appears. Before proceeding directly to this, however, it is worth while to note that through one of those strange happenings which gives to our imperfect knowledge of causes an effect we must still call coincidences, the Southern portion of the United States was settled largely by the Cavalier element of England while the Northern Colonies derived their main strength from Puritan stock. The interesting point lies in the fact that in Europe it was just the Cavalier who represented the old feudal organization of society, with its servile system of labor, while the Puritan is the representative of the rapidly rising bourgeoisie which was to rest upon the status of wage slavery.

In the beginning all the Colonies held slaves, indeed slavery was retained in almost all the Colonies until several years after the Revolution. It gradually, however, died out as it proved impracticable, and after it had died out laws were generally passed to abolish it. For example, when Vermont abolished slavery there were just nineteen slaves within her boundaries.

The physical conditions which in the early stages of society are always prominent in determining the economic basis of the social structure, created a sharp division between the Northern and Southern Colonies. Perhaps it is more accurate to say rather that it divided the Colonies into three groups: first, the Northern or New England Colonies, mainly occupied with ship-building, commerce and fishing; the Middle Colonies, occupied mainly with manufactures and small farming, and the Southern Colonies, confined almost exclusively to tobacco and rice. None of these industries, save tobacco and rice farming, afforded any large surplus with crude tools and unskilled labor, and consequently chattel slavery was practically impossible. It is noticeable, however, that white servitude in the form of indented

*On enslavement of the Indians see "The Negro in Maryland," by Jeffrey R. Brackett, in "Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science," extra Vol. VI, pp. 5 to 20 *passim;* and "History of Slavery in Virginia," by Jas. C. Ballagh, same studies, Vol. XXIV, pp. 35-36 and 49-51; and Walterhausen's "Die Arbeits-Verfassung der Englischen Colonien in Nord Amerika," pp. 80-88.

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servants prevailed in all the Colonies, and in the thirteen States until some time after the Revolution. As this subject has been thoroughly treated elsewhere I will not attempt to go into it here.

The following quotation from Lodge's "Short History of the English Colonies in America," p. 64, will show how absolutely the Virginia social organization rested upon tobacco: "The explanation of the condition of trade and industry is to be found in the absorption of the population in the cultivation of tobacco. There has never been a community, probably, in which any one great staple has played such a part as in Virginia. Tobacco founded the colony and gave it wealth. It was the currency of Virginia; as bad a one as could be devised, and fluctuating with every crop; yet it retained its place as circulating medium despite the most strenuous efforts to introduce specie. The clergy were paid and taxes were levied by the Burgesses in tobacco. The whole prosperity of the colony rested upon it for more than a century, and it was not until the period of the Revolution that other crops began to come in and replace it. The fluctuations in tobacco caused the first conflict with England, brought on by the violence of the clergy, and paved the way for resistance. In tobacco the Virginian estimated his income and the value of everything he possessed, and in its various functions as well as in its method of cultivation it had a strange effect upon the character of the people." . . . Page 65: "Tobacco planting made slaves necessary and profitable, and fastened slavery upon the province. The method of cultivation, requiring intense labor and watching for a short period, and permitting complete idleness for the rest of the year, fostered debts which alternated feverish exertion and languid indolence."

The subject of the colonial slave trade is one which throws a large amount of light upon many different phases of the development of class interest. In the first place, it is undoubtedly true as was pointed out by David Christy in his work, "Ethopia—Her Gloom and Glory":*

"The records of history put it beyond all question that the rapid rise of Great Britain during the eighteenth century, which secured to her the superiority over other nations in naval power, in commerce, and ultimately in manufactures, was due principally to her having acquired by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the monopoly of the slave trade. The traffic in slaves being by the treaty placed under the control of England, her rivals were deprived

*Geo. McHenry, "The Cotton Trade," a pro-slavery book published in England in 1863, p. 2, says: "In fact, the African trade was the foundation of the commercial wealth of England, that of India being secondary in date and advantage; and the cotton manufacturing interest, the result of slave labor, has been of greater consequence than either." See also pp. 188-198.

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of the means of supplying slaves to their tropical possessions, excepting through her merchants, while she could add to her colonies any number required by the planters."

In the treaty of Utrecht, to which reference is made above, an agreement called the Asiento was signed, which gave the Royal African Company, of which Queen Ann owned one-quarter of the stock, a monopoly of the slave trade. It is interesting to note the attitude of the colonies towards the slave trade. Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Vermont, with a great show of self righteousness, abolished the slave trade without, however, publishing the fact that they never had had any to abolish. New England stood in a very peculiar situation towards the slave traffic. It was the New England sailors and traders who were the principal carriers and traders in the slaves.

The New England ships loaded with rum from local distilleries sailed to Africa, where they exchanged this for negroes, and then sailing for the Southern ports of the United States, they sold the negroes for cash, and making the short trip in ballast to the West Indies they bought shiploads of molasses which, when brought back to New England, formed the raw material for more rum, and so on. As Du Bois, in "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States," pp. 28-29, says: "This trade formed a perfect circle. Owners of slave-ships carried slaves to South Carolina and brought home naval stores for their ship building; or to the West Indies and brought home molasses; or to other colonies and brought home hogsheads. The molasses was made into the highly prized New England rum and shipped in these hogsheads to Africa for more slaves. Thus the rum distilling industry indicates to some extent the activity of New England in the slave trade. In May, 1702, one Captain Freeman found so many slavers fitting out that in spite of the large importations of molasses he could get no rum for two vessels. In Newport alone twenty-two stills were at one time running continuously; and Massachusetts annually distilled 15,000 hogsheads of molasses into this chief industry.'

Thus it is that we are not surprised to learn from Du Bois: "In the line of definite legal enactments to stop New England citizens from carrying slaves from Africa to any place in the world, there were, before the Revolution, none."

Again, he tells us on page 37: "The system of slavery had, on this soil and amid these surroundings, no economic justification and the small number of negroes here furnished no political arguments against them. The opposition to the importation was, therefore, from the first based solely on moral grounds, with some social arguments. As to the carrying trade, however, the case was different. Here, too, a feeble moral opposition was early aroused, but it was swept away by the immense economic ad-

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vantages of the slave traffic to a thrifty seafaring community of traders. This trade no moral suasion, not even the strong 'Liberty' cry of the Revolution, was able wholly to suppress, until the closing of the West Indies and Southern markets cut off the demand for slaves."

The Southern Colonies from the very first offered much more opposition to the slave trade than the Northern ones. The defenders of these States have been quick to seize upon this fact as "indicating a higher moral standard" on their part. But a very slight examination will show that their opposition to the slave trade was no more disinterested than the Northern friendliness. Some of these States, particularly Virginia and North Carolina, already had as many slaves as could be profitably employed with the prevailing stage of industry. They had also entered upon the industry of raising slaves for sale to more southern colonies, and to such new plantations as might be formed in their borders. Consequently, they looked upon obstacles to the slave trade much in the light of protection to a home industry. Another reason which was frequently given in the laws themselves was the fear of slave insurrection. The black population much outnumbered the whites and there had been several cases of such insurrections.

Another and more obscure reason than any of these, although a reason which is closely connected with the first given, is the fact that at this time the production of cotton was still so hampered by the difficulty of separating the fiber from the seed as to make its production on any large scale unprofitable. Hence it was that Virginia continuously sought to increase the tax upon importations of slaves and resisted the efforts of the British Government to further the interests of the slave traders.

Virginia continued to increase the tax upon importations and to struggle with the British Government, which wished to further the monopoly. Numerous acts were passed by the Virginia Colonial Legislature respecting slavery, and it is well known that Jefferson, Washington, Patrick Henry and a majority of the Southern men of colonial times were opposed to slavery. The following quotation from a lecture delivered by St. George Tucker, professor of law in the University of William and Mary, and one of the judges of the General Court of Virginia, in 1796, concerning the contest with England on this point, gives an idea of Southern opinion at this time:

"It is easy to trace the desire of the Legislature to put a stop to the further importation of slaves, and had not this desire been uniformly opposed on the part of the Crown, it is highly probable the event would have taken effect at a much earlier period than it did. . . . The wishes of the people of this colony were not sufficient to counterbalance the interest of the English

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merchants trading in Africa, and it is probable that however disposed to put a stop to so infamous a traffic by law, we should never have been able to effect it so long as we might have continued dependent on the British Government, an objection sufficient in itself to justify revolution."

In a work by George McHenry, entitled, "The Cotton Trade," and which was written in 1863 to enlist sympathy in England for the Confederate States, we find the following (pp. 198-199): "The legislation of all the Southern communities, both as colonies and states, for more than 165 years—certainly commencing as far back as 1698—has been distinguished by constant efforts either to embarrass or entirely prohibit the African slave trade. Alone among the nations of Christendom, though fruitlessly against the unanimous policy of the European governments, they struggled to prevent the increase of slaves from Africa upon the American continent. . . . Not one of the Yankee states has ever enacted laws prohibiting that commerce."

At the time of the Revolution Virginia had practically stopped the importation by a tax of £100 per head, and in 1788 it completely prohibited the importations. North Carolina also prohibited the importation in 1786. South Carolina and Georgia, however, were largely engaged in rice farming, and this returned great profits on slave labor. The proprietors of Georgia, however, had founded it largely as a buffer colony between the Spanish and English possessions. They felt that negroes would be a source of military weakness and consequently Oglethorpe posed as a great friend of humanity and opponent of slavery and fought continuously to keep the slave trade out of Georgia. The ordinary school histories generally accord him much praise on this point, but we learn from John R. Spears' "American Slave Trade," page 95, that "the fact is that Oglethorpe was deputy governor of the Royal African Company . . . which delivered many more than 4,800 slaves into the American colonies in the very year when Oglethorpe made a speech on the slave trade declaring it a horrible crime. He also owned a plantation near Parachucla, South Carolina . . . worked by slaves."

Finally, however, the interests of the local planters prevailed and Georgia secured the right to import slaves in 1749. There were numerous restrictions and a duty was laid upon each slave imported. But Du Bois says, page 8: "It is probable, however, that these restrictions were never enforced and that the trade thus established continued unchecked until the Revolution."

Some idea of the extent of the slave trade is given by Du Bois, page 5, as follows: "From 1680 to 1688 the African Company sent 249 ships to Africa, shipped there 60,783 negro slaves and after losing 14,387 on the middle passage, delivered 46,396 in America. . . . To these figures must be added the unregistered

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trade of Americans and foreigners. It is probable that about 25,000 slaves were brought to America each year between 1698 and 1707. The importation then dwindled but rose after the Asiento (1713) to perhaps 30,000. . . . Bancroft places the total slave population of the continental colonies at 59,000 in 1714, 78,000 in 1727 and 293,000 in 1754. The census of 1790 showed 697,897 slaves in the United States."*

By the time of the Constitutional Convention America had entered upon a new industrial era and there were signs of new class lines. But in any study of the work of this Convention it must be borne in mind that it was in a very slight degree a representative body. It was composed almost exclusively of representatives from the ruling classes of the coast regions, and was practically composed of the representatives of the trading, manufacturing and plantation classes. This was natural, as it was these classes above all others who desired the strong central government which was hoped might come from closer union. Nevertheless, we shall find, with few exceptions to the rule, that the delegates to the Convention lined up on all matters that came before them according to the material interests of the ruling classes of the colonies from which they came and that these interests were still largely the same as has been indicated in the colonial study. The New England coast States, including New York, were theoretically opposed to slavery, and their representatives occasionally did some talking for effect in opposition to slavery. But whenever they were called upon to act they were always very generous with favors to the slave trade in which they were quite closely interested. The Middle States, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, being almost exclusively devoted to diversified agriculture and small manufacturing, were inclined to be decidedly abolitionist.

Virginia and Maryland being largely engaged in the raising of slaves for the southern market were anxious to restrict the foreign slave trade and occasionally talked abolition. North Carolina was on the border between Virginia and South Carolina, both geographically and politically. South Carolina and Georgia were completely given up the idea of the perpetuation of slavery save that even here there was a feeling that when talking for publica-

*John R. Spears, in "The American Slave Trade," sums up the position of the colonies as follows (pp. 96-97): "It may be said generally that, with the exception of Georgia, every colony did at one time or another impose taxes on imported negro slaves, and that in some cases the so-called restraint amounted to prohibition. But with this admission it must be declared that every such tax was laid either through greed, or through the idea that from a business point of view white servants would develop the country more rapidly; or through a mean and degrading fear of the blacks. * * * The assertion that the British forced the traffic on unwilling colonists in America is a puling whine."

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tion it would be well to admit the evil of slavery. For instance, we find Abraham Baldwin, of Georgia, saying concerning that State (Elliott's Debates, page 459): "If left to herself she may probably put a stop to the evil." Gouverneur Morris (pages 391-2) denounced slavery unqualifiedly in an oration which afterwards became a classic of the Abolitionist, who, however, forgot to note that a little later on in the convention, in return for some trading privileges he proposed (page 477) to grant to North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, a special guaranteed perpetual right to import slaves. Indeed the only State which voted unqualifiedly for the motion to insert the word "free" before "inhabitants" on the question of representation was New Jersey. The main debate took place over the proposition to tax the importation of slaves and here the lines of division were very clear.

It was Luther Martin, of Maryland, who proposed the tax. (Page 457.) John Dickinson, of Delaware (pages 459-50), "Considered it inadmissible on every principle of honor and safety that the importation of slaves should be authorized to the States by the Constitution." The attitude of Virginia is seen by the quotation from George Mason, where he declared (page 458): "This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. Maryland and Virginia had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. North Carolina had done the same in substance."

Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina (pages 466 and 477), said that "Both in opinion and practice he was against slavery, but * * * " and finally he thought the United States could not be members of the Union if the clause should be rejected. When we come to the New England States we find New Hampshire (page 460) strenuous for the exclusion. Of course it may have been a mere incident that New Hampshire, having no seaports, was not able to make any money out of the traffic, but it is interesting to find Eldridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, declaring that he "thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of slaves as to States," while Nathanial Gorham, from the same State (page 461), frankly stated what I have been trying to show throughout this whole article that "he desired it to be remembered that the Eastern States had no motive to union but a commercial one."

Connecticut was looking with favor on this traffic and Roger Sherman, of that State (page 457), speaking on the proposition to levy a tax on the importation of the slaves, declared that "he disapproved of the slave trade; yet as the States were now possessors of slaves, as the public good did not require it to be taken from them, and as it was expedient to have as few objectors

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as possible to the proposed scheme of government, he thought it best to leave the matter as we find it."

Luther Martin declares that (page 61 of "The Constitution a Pro-slavery Compact," by Wendell Phillips): "I found the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, were very willing to indulge the Southern States, at least with a temporary permit to prosecute the slave trade, provided the slave states would, in their turn, gratify them by laying no restriction on the Navigation Acts."

Wilson, in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave Trade," Vol. I, page 52, in describing this agreement, says: "Thus New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut stand on the record as parties to a dishonorable and humiliating bargain, by which, for a mere commercial consideration—the removal of all restriction on Congress to enact navigation laws—they gave twenty years to the African slave traffic unrestricted by national legislation."

The principal bargain of the Convention was the one on this very point of slavery. Two of the principal grievances which the Colonies urged against Great Britain were its Navigation Laws and the forcing the slave trade upon America. Yet the principal conditions of the compact which finally united the States were the reciprocal agreement on the part of the Northern and Southern Colonies to permit the National Government to enact Navigation Laws in the form of a Protective Tariff and to permit the importation of slaves. The bargain was openly made at the time and it is easy to be seen that the Northern Colonies got the best of the bargain, as might have been expected when Yankee traders were pitted against Southern slave owners. Insofar as there was any benefit from the slave trade directly it generally went to the Yankee, while, as was continually pointed out in succeeding years, the tariff was very largely a tax imposed upon the Southern planter to constitute a bounty for the Northern manufacturers.

A. M. Simons.

(To be Continued.)

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The Revolutionary Nature of the Socialist Movement

THREE interesting epochs in the story of the world are the English revolution of the seventeenth century, the French Revolution of the eighteenth century, and the approaching World Revolution of the twentieth century. The first saw the extinction of autocratic power among Anglo-Saxons; the second banished feudalism from western civilization; and the third will see the final overthrow of all autocratic, aristocratic and plutocratic forms of government. The distinctive mark of these three epochs is their positive Revolutionary nature. It was the failure of many living at the time of the two former to recognize this that led to much unnecessary war and bloodshed. The transformation from aristocracy to limited monarchy and pseudo-democracy could have taken place peacefully had men so willed. The passing from Capitalism to Socialism needs neither warfare nor bloodshed if enough men and women in time can be made to realize its essentially Revolutionary character.

In the English Revolution Cromwell had to face the struggle between his own faction, who wished to conquer, and the Presbyterians, who but half wished to conquer, and who hated the sectarians in their own ranks more than the common enemy. The aristocratic leaders among the latter became frightened the very moment they saw plainly that the Revolution was going beyond the objects of an aristocracy, and that it was likely to do too much for the people.

Again Cromwell would have saved the king; he would probably have made terms with him, and if he could have trusted him, set him again upon his throne. But Charles the First could not see that he was fallen; his anointed kingship was still fact-proof. He tried to play off one of the two contending parties in the nation against the other. Cromwell discovered his duplicity. Is it to be wondered at that the former's followers should resolve "that it was their duty, if ever the Lord brought them back in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he has shed and the mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people"?

In the French Revolution there were Mirabeau and Lafayette on the one hand, Robespierre and Danton on the other; there

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were the Girondists and the Jacobins; the Mountain and the Moderates. Mirabeau and Lafayette hoped to secure a modified and constitutional monarchy in France, for the French bourgeoisie wanted a king to protect them against the masses, whom they had already begun to fear. Robespierre and Danton wanted a republic. The Girondists represented the burgher classes and were eager to establish a new constitution in all its parts, and especially were they anxious to establish the legality of *lending money out on interest.* While the Jacobins or Mountain, representing the suffering populace, were "eager, defiant, weary of negotiation, suspicious of treason at every point, and zealously determined to push the principles of the Revolution to their limits."

In one of those blunt, vigorous letters ventilating his own position, the king's position, and the position of the country at a time of rapidly approaching financial disaster, Turgot, the great pre-revolutionary economist, used these words of startling prescience: "Do not forget, sire, that it was weakness which placed the head of Charles I. on the block." Thus it is curious how again and again the fate of Charles I. of England is brought warningly, prophetically against Louis XVI of France, for Louis equally distrusted both factions. Like Charles, believing in his anointed kingship, he failed to realize the Revolutionary sentiment of the people and the limit of their demands.

Beyond these social and political revolutions is one far deeper —a revolution which is one day to clothe itself in some new form of power and is to cast the world in a different mould. This the approaching World-Revolution of the twentieth century is foreshadowed by the Socialist movement of today. As men are brought to understand the Revolutionary nature of that movement we can measure in extent the exact degree that Socialism will come in peace or in war.

To some Socialism is merely the pronouncement of a theory of society; to others it is an extension of public ownership, however trifling; again to many it is evolutionary advancement of man and has extended throughout the ages. It seems hardly necessary to say that these definitions are the merest juggling with words, for every class struggle being a political struggle, the Socialist movement is both economic and political and embraces the idea of the ownership of the means of production and distribution by all the people and the means by which the workers are to attain that ownership.

As this is directly opposite to the competitive system, the system of society under which we are living today, it brings us face to face with a Revolutionary proposition so Revolutionary as to constitute a change in human relations so vast as to be almost greater than all the combined changes that have taken place in

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human society since the beginning of time. Call yourselves, then, philanthropists, reformers, Fabians, or what you will, but until you fully realize the Revolutionary nature of the Socialist movement, economic and political, do not call yourselves Socialists, for by such perversion of the truth you only deceive yourselves, and by so doing bring harm to a great movement by misleading others.

The point for which I am contending is this that the Socialist movement of today is divided into two factions, viz., those who hope to conquer and those who only partially hope to conquer; those who realize the Revolutionary finality of the movement and those who think that finality so far away as to be some "far off divine event toward which the whole creation moves." The former are the Revolutionary Socialists who are prepared and who are preparing for an immediate "consummation devoutly to be wished." The latter are reformers who as yet are not class conscious and who lack the power of understanding the Revolutionary change intended, and the means by which that change is to be brought about. They use terms without grasping the real meaning and in times of crisis they will be found wanting.

How great is the danger from this misunderstanding of the Revolutionary position may be clearly realized when we learn that in Los Angeles, for instance, may be found twelve different alleged brands of Socialists. Let me enumerate these: (1) There is the Socialist Party, (2) the Socialist Labor Party, (3) the Scientific or Revolutionary Socialist, (4) the Fabian or so-called Evolutionary Socialist, (5) the Christian Socialist, (6) the Church of the Inspired Life Socialist, (7) the Church of the New Era Socialist, (8) the Divine Love Socialist, (9) those in the Republican Party professing Socialism, (10) those in the Democratic Party professing Socialism, (11) those in the Prohibition Party professing Socialism, (12) those Socialists looking to a Union Labor Party for salvation.

If my definition is correct, viz., that every class struggle being a political struggle, Socialism is both economic and political and is an effort on the part of the workers to secure the general ownership of all the means of production and distribution, there must be some error on the part of two-thirds of the above in imagining themselves to be Socialists.

One may belong to all, barring the three capitalistic parties, and still be a Revolutionary Socialist. One can belong to any and not be a Revolutionary Socialist at all, joining the genuine Socialist organization under a misconception. How essential it is then that all true friends of Socialism should understand first the object—and then the method of obtaining that object—of the Socialist movement.

To quote from the Communist manifesto: "All previous his-

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torical movements were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."

Mark you the Revolutionary tendency here implied. How by any evolutionary process can the whole superincumbent strata of official society be sprung into the air? How by any means short of an intelligent Revolutionary Majority attaining a Revolutionary End by means of the ballot can this be done?

Here, to again quote Marx and Engels: "Of all classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really Revolutionary Class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are, therefore, not Revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are Revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

Thus we have a Revolutionary Class, a Revolutionary Propaganda, and a Revolutionary Party. A Revolutionary Class exists because economic evils have created it. A Revolutionary Propaganda suggests the only possible remedy of existing conditions. A Revolutionary Political Party is the only method by which a Revolutionary Class can apply a Revolutionary Remedy.

If my reasoning has been sound I have demonstrated the absolute necessity of a Revolutionary political organization. Without such an organization there could be no Socialist movement. Without a Socialist movement Socialism might be likened to that condition to which Christians allude, half in joy and half in sorrow, and which we call the millennium. There is nothing hazy about Socialism like that. What is not real and easily attainable has no place in the Socialist propaganda. Socialism does not promise to create angels, but it will bring about a condition of society in which men and women may become angels if they so desire. To do this many are called but few are chosen. To a Revolutionary principle the chosen must stand fast and without flinching. They must stand side by side with the vast majority of their fellows, without regard to creed or to color, in a Revolutionary Party through which the working class themselves are to achieve their own emancipation.

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It might be well for us now to question how nearly the present Socialist Party realizes this Revolutionary Ideal. If we do so we shall find that the party is made up of Revolutionists on the one hand, and of conscious or unconscious reformers on the other. The former know they are to conquer, the latter only partially realize the truth. The former, conversant with Revolutionary economics, can foresee a speedy dissolution of capitalistic society and a Revolutionary finality for the Socialistic movement. The latter, familiar only with capitalistic economics, look to ethical development to cure the gravest social and economic abuses with which the world has yet been faced. The former demand the strictest recognition of the Revolutionary Ideal, the Revolutionary Class, the Revolutionary Propaganda and the Revolutionary Conception of a Socialist Party. The latter look to what they call progress rather than to any strict recognition of this Revolutionary Programme.

Wendell Phillips has told us that revolutions are not made, they come. No Revolutionary Socialist imagines himself to be the creator of revolution. He is simply a forerunner among his fellows in foreseeing a social and economic convulsion, and in foretelling a Revolutionary Remedy. If I am right in believing that the main object of the Socialist political movement is to bring about a peaceful revolution, what relation then has progress to Socialism other than teaching men to prepare for the inevitable?

At some length I have attempted to demonstrate that there is no Socialism that is not Revolutionary Socialism. This I have defined as a Revolutionary Ideal to be attained by a Revolutionary Class, preaching a Revolutionary Propaganda, through the agency of a Revolutionary Party, and by which the workers are to secure the general ownership of all the means of production and distribution for all the people. Let me ask you then what relation has progress to the Socialist movement other than enlarging the number of Class Conscious, Revolutionary, Political, Scientific Socialists?

Hence the main object, I might almost say the sole object of the Socialist Party, is the making of Class Conscious, Revolutionary, Political, Scientific Socialists. The Socialist Party is not merely spreading knowledge as to what Socialism really is; it is in fact only doing this in order that men may realize the importance of the Revolutionary political position. To use scriptural phraseology, the members of the Socialist Party are the salt of the earth. They savor by their Revolutionary distinctiveness. "A little leaven," says St. Paul, "leaveneth the whole lump." The members of the Socialist Party are the minority leaven making light the whole majority. They are indifferent to quantity. Their one desire is quality. With the pitiful failure of

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the Christian church, sacrificing principle to wealth and numbers before them, they desire only men who, understanding and recognizing the present class struggle between an exploiting capitalist class on the one hand and an exploited working class on the other, are prepared to work with a Revolutionary Class, in preaching a Revolutionary Propaganda, through a Revolutionary Political Party to attain a Revolutionary End.

Says a former Socialist platform: "We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under our banner into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity, under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

The only parallel to a Revolutionary class movement such as this is to be found in the Trades Union's movement of the past 150 years. Trades Unionism is the recognition of a class-conscious struggle in a very limited economic sphere. The Socialist movement is the recognition of a class-conscious struggle in an unlimited political sphere. It is the development of Trades Unionism into a world-wide movement of the workers of all nations. It differs from Trades Unionism in this that per se it has nothing whatever to do with anything short of a Revolutionary solution of the labor or industrial problem.

I have purposely used some degree of reiteration to make it clear that a Revolutionary Party organization is an integral part of Socialism just as agitation is an integral part of Christianity, and that a perfect understanding by its members of the object, method and nature of such a Revolutionary organization is necessary to the development and usefulness of the Socialist Party. If this is not recognized and made a fundamental proposition by a considerable majority, if not by all its members, the party is more likely to become like the "leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees," and the movement to utterly fail in the attainment of its object. For just as Christianity is an enthusiasm or it is nothing, Socialism and the Socialist movement are nothing and can produce only a lukewarm and hypocritical expression of social sympathy unless its supporters first, last and all the time, stand in solid phalanx and adhere to the fundamental principle

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that they constitute a Revolutionary Class, preaching a Revolutionary Propaganda, through a Revolutionary Political Party in order to attain a Revolutionary End.

We have seen that Socialism and the Socialist movement being one and the same thing constitute a condition, and not a theory; that in other words Socialism is a living fact. We have seen that party organization is as necessary to Socialism as the shell is to the acorn, that without it Socialism cannot exist, nor can men believe, nay we might almost say, disbelieve in its tenets. We have seen that the first and fundamental proposition of Socialism is that a Revolutionary Class is preaching a Revolutionary Propaganda through a Revolutionary Party to attain a Revolutionary End. We have seen that the first object of such a Revolutionary Party is to make Class-Conscious, Revolutionary, Political, Scientific Socialists. It is now necessary to consider how we can best preserve the integrity of this fundamental position.

Here we find that the whole history of the world furnishes us with a constant demonstration that the only method of preserving and propagating an original or fundamental truth in its purity is by delivering or applying it in the most liberal way not incompatible with an uncompromising attachment to its fullest meaning. Once we fully comprehend a principle; once we absolutely refuse to allow anything to stand between us and the recognition of that principle, it really little matters what we do. We cannot consciously do anything in violation of the principle, and hence that which we do cannot by any process of human reasoning be made to support an opposing principle.

Thus providing that the members of the Socialist Party recognize the fundamental principle that they constitute a Revolutionary Class, preaching a Revolutionary Propaganda, through a Revolutionary Party to attain a Revolutionary End, and that they form a Class-Conscious, Clear-Cut, Political, Scientific Body, fighting for Socialism, it hardly matters what line of action is adopted in their methods of work. In fact following the argument I have only just laid down, their every existence as an organization depends on the most liberal methods of work being employed. For unless those who understand and uphold the fundamental Revolutionary Socialist position are prepared to act on the most liberal lines not incompatible with an uncompromising adherence to that principle, we shall actually jeopardize the continued existence of the present Socialist Party.

Hence, just as the repeating of a creed takes from the words any meaning at all, and defeats the very object intended, so a constant, tiresome and unnecessary repetition of the fundamental proposition of Socialism by Socialists, however true it may be, may take all vitality out of a Socialist party. This seems to have

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happened in the Socialist Labor Party. Thus only harm, and little if any good can come from turning propaganda meetings into a field for the pronouncement and re-pronouncement of this position; of using business meetings of the party as a vehicle for the same end; and of using the party press having any considerable circulation outside of the party membership for the ventilation of private views for or against the same thing. Differences of opinion among its members are vital to the welfare of the party, and discussion of these differences among themselves are educational, necessary and of great value to the party membership, but only harm can come from airing such differences before an ignorant world.

I am not in favor of, nay I am bitterly opposed to adding members to the party until every reasonable effort has been made to impress upon applicants the Revolutionary position they are endorsing. The party is only seeking trouble by any other course, but after mature consideration I venture the opinion that only good can come and much bad feeling be eliminated by the strictest recognition of the fundamental Revolutionary Principle in the party organization on the one hand, and by the most liberal line of action, not in violation of that principle in lines of propaganda work, on the other.

James T Van Rensselaer.

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The Problem of Rapid Transit in Cities

NEW YORK CITY has increased in population 37 per cent in ten years. The causes that make it to the interest of large numbers of people to remove to the cities are in the nature of the business system which offers to them a living in the manufacturing cities which they do not make on the mortgaged farms. There is no doubt that this inconvenient and unnatural congestion of the population in cities is increased by the admitted practice of all transportation companies to "tax the traffic for all it will bear." And this further aggravates the problem of street car service. Apparently our surface cars could not be run very much faster through crowded streets without great danger. This does not apply, however, to the elevated trains. Perhaps, on the existing lines hardly enough cars could be added to comfortably accommodate the people at all times. That there are engineering problems will be admitted. But these engineering problems are created by the present business system. That the people can be comfortably accommodated and pay for such accommodation there is no doubt. The fact is that they are not.

Investors in the stocks of the street railway companies will admit that their investments are governed by their purpose to get the largest possible profits; dividends on their capital. Their profit is the difference between the income and the expenses of the business. They are, consequently, interested in having this difference as large as possible; and the management that is most acceptable to them will be that which can make the expenses as low as possible and the income as large as possible. That is to say, that the men managing the street car service are selected for their ability to supply the public with the cheapest possible service and charge them for it the largest possible price. The cost of running crowded cars is probably very little greater than the cost of running empty cars, or cars only comfortably filled. The motive for building new lines can only be the hope of more profits. Whatever tends to reduce the crowding on cars tends to reduce the profits per car and the rate of interest on stock. It does not seem that incompetence in management could make for the public as bad a state of things as this deliberate intention to give them the poorest service at the largest possible price.

It will be urged that the income does not permit the neces-

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sary changes. The low rate of interest on stock will be cited to prove this. It is perfectly well known that the rate of interest on face value of any stock has no meaning whatever to show the rate of profit on investment, unless the capital actually involved in the business is known. Not even the market price of the stock is any guide in determining this, for this market price is in proportion to the anticipated dividends on it, and bears no relation to either previous investment or the capital actually involved in the business. The practice of watering stock is a perfectly commonplace method of concealing large profits and diverting attention from the extortion by which they are accumulated. If the profit for every $100 actually involved in the business is $25, the actual rate of interest is 25 per cent. If on this stock of a face value of $500 is sold, there would be $5 profit for every hundred of it, and the rate of interest declared would be 5 per cent. Where no dividend on stock is declared at all, it will be found that profits are devoted to payment of interest on bonds, which differ not from the stocks, except in that interest is guaranteed at fixed rate.

There are people in every community who hover between the hope of profit by the present business system and the fear of being crushed by it into the great mass of the working class. The foundation of this business system is the control of the land, machinery and organization necessary for production and trade by the few that they may enjoy the products of the labor of the many. Labor power is purchased at the lowest possible price in the market, the price of his subsistence, and consumed as quickly and thoroughly as possible in making profits, a surplus over and above its wages. This consumption of human life in unwilling, unpaid service for the profit of a few, is the only essential condition of slavery. These people, while as a class the most intelligent in the community, have always been too dull to see this, however clearly shown. There is nothing in their exalted religious beliefs that is offended by it. They have no moral sense that revolts against it. But, when hopes of profits are overbalanced by immediate losses and inconvenience by this business system, when the large combinations of capital, the trusts, practice successfully on them that which they do not succeed in practicing on others, they are marvelously enlightened; whereas, no power of logic or eloquence could before convince them of the iniquity of this business system. Planks appear in the platforms of that political party which is most devoted to the interest of this class calling for the national ownership of coal mines and railroads, and for the municipal ownership of public utilities. The business of purchasing labor power at the lowest market price and consuming it to pay interest on bonds rather than stocks, is to be transferred to the state. This is a state capitalism, commonly called state socialism or public ownership.

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This change must extend the opportunities for political corruption as it extends the power of public officers to control of industries, and without affecting the causes of political corruption. We do not want municipal ownership of anything until we first secure public ownership of the municipality. Corruption of public officers is common in all states of society in which the wealth produced by the people is accumulated through various processes, always legal, of course, by others controlling the industries of the people. There is no substantial difference in their appropriation of profit interest and rent as the holders of bonds rather than of stocks. Such a wealth owning class always has profits to make out of the people and are certain to use all means in their power to control public affairs in their own interest against the interest of the people. How can purity in public affairs be sustained on a business system that is founded on stealing? The moral and material effects are not changed by the fact that it is not commonly called by that name. How can a political republic be sustained in industrial despotism?

The costs of running a successful business are always a part of the income, the profit being the other part. If this profit is abolished and the price to the public is made the cost of the service, or product, the price must be less. If not, the incompetence or dishonesty of the management is proven, conditions being the same. It is only fair to admit that the dishonesty of capitalist politicians is no worse than their incompetency in such affairs. However, the Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on Water, Gas and Electric Light Plants shows that municipally controlled plants do supply the public at lower rates. If it did not, nothing would be established against the contentions of Socialists, as these plants are, with very few exceptions, burdened with bonded indebtedness, and the interest on these city bonds is charged to the cost of production. But if it is pointed out, for instance, that the cost of running the Government Bureau of Engraving and Printing is so great that private capitalists can contract to do the work for less and yet make a profit, this only illustrates that the private capitalist, impelled by his selfish interest, is far more successful in wringing out unpaid labor from employees than is the capitalist politician, impelled by his zeal for the public economy. This fact is not questioned. As a system for getting labor unpaid, this present one can hardly be improved by transferring its management to the state.

If the public do not like to be herded like cattle into the cars, why do they persist in offering honor and great rewards to men who do this most successfully? But what solution is proposed to the problem of rapid transit in cities? It seems safe to say that the service will not be run for the benefit of the public until it

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comes completely into the control of the public. Are we going to leave the negotiation of this transfer for us to agents and friends of the present owners of the street railways? And is it to be expected that the representatives of the people will be generally true to their trust left to shift for themselves against the capitalist interests they antagonize, and while the means of corruption is in the hands of these capitalists, having great incentives to use it? As for the work people, whatever the changes in fares or wages or prices, they may expect no more than the bare price of a living while their insufficient opportunities of employment are limited by the chances of profit for those who command the means of employment. *W. A.*

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The Kischiniff Massacres

To the Laborers of All Countries:

THE press has brought news of the massacres of Kischineff. For two days robbery, murder and abominable atrocities were committed without the Russian authority or its legal agents, so prompt at intervention when it comes to an uprising of workingmen, or students, or when it is a question of confiscating the liberties of the people of Finland, doing anything whatever to protect these unhappy people, whose only crime is that they are Jews.

No one familiar with the proceedings of the government of Nicholas II. can fail to see in these unhappy events an attempt at intimidation and at the same time a vengeance against the Jews for the revolutionary action of the Jewish proletariat in Russia.

Russian absolutism seeks to stir up race and religious hatred to appease the general discontent and to obtain a pretext for drowning in blood a population which, struggling for its own liberty, threatens the existence of the government.

We appeal to all laborers and to all honorable people against this odious policy.

Deeply moved at the thought of the victims who have fallen under the blows of the agents of the Czar, stirred with rebellion at the thought of these execrable acts, we address to the civilized world one last appeal in the hope of preventing the renewal of these outrages.

We also would give warning of new scenes of slaughter which are impending. In Southern Russia, in Poland and in Lithuania, regions where the Jewish population is very dense, it is feared that the events of Kischineff will be reproduced.

WORKINGMEN! if governments will neither speak nor act, do you speak and act! If there remain in governments no more pity, nor human sentiments, make your protest heard and express your indignation!

WORKINGMEN! Your silence would be a crime, for it is not against a race or a religion that Czarism is directing its blows, it is above all against a class! This government is aiming at the extermination of the class-conscious proletariat!

Speak, agitate for yourself! Let your voices rise to denounce these crimes against humanity. Let your memory preserve the martyrs of the people.

International Socialist Bureau,
V. Serwy, Secretary.

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EDITORIAL

The Reward of Labor

We publish in this number an article by Comrade Raphael Buck on the subject of the "Remuneration of Labor in the Co-operative Commonwealth," which deals with what the opponents of Socialism, and evidently many Socialists, consider a very important, if not a pressing, problem. Because of the importance with which this problem is usually considered and because of the fact that the writer has summed up the prevailing idea of the problem in very good form, we are very glad to give it space. At the same time it is our opinion that the problem which he postulates is really unimportant and that the solution which he offers is by no means a probable one.

He states that there are two ideas concerning the method of remuneration, one of payment according to labor time, and the other of perfect equality. We would at once say that there was another solution, and one much more important than either of these, and that is the one which will find the principal reward for labor in the labor itself. The idea of the painfulness of labor is something which is inseparably connected with exploitation and which does not necessarily belong to any system where exploitation is unknown. At the present time we exert our strength, both physical and intellectual, to do something we do not like in order to get the opportunity to exert that strength upon something which we do like. But modern psychology, physiology and pedagogy all agree that nothing is more pleasurable to the normal individual than some constructive occupation. Hence it is that all schemes relating to future society which aims to find "its incentive to labor" in some form of financial reward, aside from the labor itself, are laboring under the influence of the *Zeitgeist* of capitalism.

The only way by which we can determine the form of future institutions is by studying present tendencies. The tendencies on this point are along two lines, one of which, so hampered by the environment of present society as to be ordinarily unnoticed, is the tendency represented in the Arts and Crafts movement to make labor so pleasurable as to constitute its own reward.

The second tendency, which is almost equally hampered, is the one which tends to furnish universal basic necessities equally and without cost to all. We see this last tendency in the furnishing of water and public lighting, care of the streets, etc., in our great cities. There is no doubt but what this line of development would be greatly accelerated by a co-operative organization of society. Not only transportation and the use

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of the instruments of communication would be furnished absolutely free, but there is every reason to believe that such a society would find it advisable to furnish a certain amount of the fundamental necessities of food, clothing and shelter without limit or cost to each individual. Once that the race was lifted above the swinish level of our present society there is every reason to believe that such gratuitous distribution would be accompanied with much less waste and much greater economy than would be true if any attempt at the keeping of individual accounts was made.

Another error which runs through the article, and which is closely related to the other two, is the exaggerated importance and false idea of the struggle for survival. Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" has so thoroughly exploded this old crude idea, which in reality was never held either by Darwin, to whom it is ordinarily imputed, or to any of the really great expounders of the doctrine of evolution, with the possible exception of Huxley, that it is scarcely worth while to discuss it further here. The struggle for survival does not by any means necessarily have to take place on a purely physical basis, or rather the struggle may express itself on a physical basis when it takes place in the intellectual world. Space is too limited here for me to go further into this idea, had I even the biological knowledge which is necessary to do so.

The problem of the incentive to labor is purely a psychological one and turns entirely upon the question of what are the motives of human action? At the prescent time it is undoubtedly true that the main motive which drives men to work is fear of want and desire to gratify certain pleasurable emotions. It is certain that under co-operative ownership and operation of industry hunger as a driving force will no longer exist. Once, however, that each person is guaranteed an existence with reasonably short hours of labor, the overwhelming importance as to attractiveness will be placed upon the character of the work itself. Slightly shortening the hours, as Bellamy suggests, would be ridiculous if the work was made pleasurable instead of painful. Indeed, it is highly probable that Bellamy is largely responsible for this wholly wrong point of view, and he was so considered by William Morris, who must always be considered the main exponent of the correct position.

The incentive to labor under Socialism must be found, not in some external force which will drive the laborer to his work, but in the inherent attractiveness of the work itself. The social energies will necessarily be concentrated on the problem of removing the disagreeable features from toil. Any one who knows something of the spirit of craftsmanship as it has already existed at different times on the face of the earth, and who is in any degree familiar with modern psychology, will at once admit that this problem is really so slight as to be insignificant. William Morris has well satirized it in his "News from Nowhere," where he has the people going about quarreling good-naturedly with one another over who shall have a chance to do the work.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

The big strikes in New York, Chicago, Pittsburg, Denver and Omaha are pretty conclusive proof that employers are organizing all along the line and that Mr. David M. Parry, and not Senator M. A. Hanna, expresses the real sentiments of the employing class. In New York the half-billion dollar combine that locked out over one hundred thousand men succeeded in splitting the building crafts and is using one faction to beat the brains out of the other and abolish sympathy strikes by forcing contracts with individual unions. In Chicago the employers' combines are also playing the game of separating the organized workers by securing contracts abolishing the sympathy strike and forcing unionists to work with and support scabs, while the arbitration schemes have in nearly every case proven disappointments to the unions. In Denver, where the bosses started to smash the unions, a settlement was made that all unionists were to go back to work without discrimination and troubles arbitrated. Now it is reported that the capitalists are deliberately violating their agreements and a farce is being made of arbitration. In other cities, including many small places, the unions are confronted by employers' combines that display an autocratic and tyrannical spirit, violate agreements if they see fit, and arbitrate only when they are forced to do so. The effect of all these bitter strikes and lockouts is that the workers are being taught there is a class struggle despite the maudlin twaddle of the Hannaites about "harmonizing" labor and capital and that Parryism is not accepted by the employers. Hanna may fool all of the people some of the time, some people all the time, but he won't fool all the people all the time. In fact, Hanna stock has begun to decline, and if it is given a chance on the so-called labor market much longer it will go to zero.

The National Civic Federation has established a monthly, and the last issue contains a symposium on the question of incorporation of trade unions, being the views of prominent men among the laboring people, the capitalists and "the public." The *Review* summarizes the article as follows: "The symposium as a whole seems to indicate that the customary arguments for and against incorporation of trade unions are invalid, since they turn on the responsibility of unions for unlawful acts. Incorporation would not increase nor decrease their responsibility in this respect. Both the treasury of the union and the property of the union and the property of the members are liable in damage on account of such acts, whether the union is incorporated or unincorporated." It is well for the unions to take cognizance of the foregoing statement, coming, as it does, from an organ that is published for the purpose of educating them into the belief that the interests of capitalism and labor are identical. The "unlawful acts" of unions constitute striking, picketing, boycotting and diso-

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beying injunctions, and, if the organizations and members can be sued on account of such acts, it looks as though labor will be compelled to vote. Striking, boycotting and picketing at the ballot-box is not yet unlawful.

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There is little or no change in the struggle between the industrialists and autonomists for mastery. The action of the machinists in changing from craft autonomy to the industrialist side and claiming jurisdiction over all workers in machine shops has caused much comment in trade union circles. The crafts menaced by the machinists are making vigorous resistance, and demands are being made that the I. A. of M. be expelled from the A. F. of L. for alleged violation of laws and charter rights. they will be plucked to pieces by the larger organizations. The carpenters-There are several unions in the metal working trades that are fearful that woodworkers' controversy is no nearer settlement, nor is the fight between the brewery workers and engineers and firemen, or the troubles between some of the minor organizations. If the tailors vote favorably at their referendum to claim jurisdiction over the special order workers, who are now largely controlled by the garment workers, it will mean a brand new fight and one that will be bitterly waged. Most of the time of the A. F. of L. executive board at the recent Toronto session was given up to the consideration of jurisdiction claims without much of importance having been accomplished. Most of the grievances will be carried into the Boston convention of the A. F. of L., and it is quite likely that some decided stand will be taken in favor of either broad industrialism or the old, narrow autonomy principle, as the organizations interested are becoming tired of the present uncertainty where they are unable to depend upon closely affiliated bodies in case of trouble with the organized employers.

Damage suits against unionists for engaging in strikes, picketing, boycotting, etc., are coming thick and fast. Following the successful suit in Rutland, Vt., where the machinists were assessed $2,500, and the cases in Dayton and Waterbury, Conn., the bookbinders of Chicago are sued for $30,000, the metal polishers, brassworkers and electrical workers in the same city for $30,000, the garment workers in Racine, Wis., for $10,000, and union girls that struck against the Kellogg Switchboard & Supply Company in Chicago for a total of $42,000. National officers and official journals are becoming quite disturbed at this new turn of affairs, and except in a few instances there is a distinct impression taking root that political action must be taken to meet the new danger. Those who oppose political action offer no remedy for the evil, but content themselves with denunciation and claims that damage suits are unfair, unjust, etc. If the pessimists would agitate the proposition of placing class-conscious labor men in legislatures and on the bench they would be doing something practical to meet the attacks of capital.

The National Association of Manufacturers is going to establish a strike insurance company, and it is confidently asserted that fully $100,000,000 will be behind the venture. Some of the prominent Wall Street capitalists are said to be willing to support such a company. The subject was generally discussed in the New Orleans convention of the N. A. of M., and it is claimed that a strike insurance company is no more impracticable than

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a tornado or accident or marine disaster insurance company, and that there is about the same facility for determining the risks. The plan is for the employer or policy holder to receive a payment of the amount of profit he would have made had his plant not been suspended by the strike. He is to be paid every day that the suspension of business lasts. This will be following a system on a large and general scale that is already in operation in some trades. Trade unionists who imagine that Mr. Parry and his colleagues have merely organized to give pink teas or chowder parties will find that they are sadly misinformed. Mr. Parry and his fellow employers have combined for the purpose of harmonizing capital and labor, and they are going after labor with a club and will beat harmony into it. While Hanna and his crowd are getting a lot more advertising in the newspapers than the Parryites, still the latter are doing things that will have an important bearing on the history of organized labor, and trade unionists who have not been harmonized will do well to bear that fact in mind.

The American Labor Union has concluded its national convention, but to the disappointment of many active trade unionists took no action looking toward combining with the A. F. of L. The A. L. U. has enjoyed great growth during the past year. The membership has increased from 18,000 direct and 70,000 affiliated members in 1892 to 70,000 direct and 200,000 affiliated members in 1903. The Western Federation of Miners, in session in Denver at the same time, also showed splendid progress, and now has 75,000 members and $3,000,000 in the treasury, and is financially perhaps the strongest union in the country. Both organizations reaffirmed their belief in the doctrine of Socialism. The International Association of Machinists, in their Milwaukee convention, also adopted a resolution in favor of political action along class-conscious lines for collective ownership. The Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union, in Cleveland, declared in favor of Socialism and the Socialist party, while the International Printing Pressmen's Union, in Cincinnati, declared in favor of putting up a candidate for president from the ranks of the workers. The Minnesota State Federation of Labor endorsed Socialism and referred the issue to a referendum of affiliated locals. In the Iowa State Federation a Socialist resolution was defeated, but it is claimed that a majority of the delegates were Socialists and merely hesitated to commit the organization to that principle as a matter of policy. Altogether satisfactory progress is being made.

One of the incidents during the past month which created considerable comment was the action of John C. Havemeyer, of sugar trust fame, in challenging the trade unions to publicly answer sixteen questions that he propounded, Havemeyer agreeing to hire the opera house in Yonkers to give the labor representatives the opportunity to reply. While Havemeyer's attack was loudly applauded by the capitalist press from one end of the country to the other, the papers made no mention of the fact that the sugar king's bluff was quickly accepted, and Ben Hanford, the well-known printer and Socialist orator, was invited to make the principal address. Hanford literally flayed Havemeyer and forced the latter to defend himself by a hypocritical endorsement of "good" unions as distinguished from the wicked Socialistic organization that aim to divorce the patriotic trust magnates from their class privileges. The incident goes to show that the shrewd plutocrats, when driven into a corner by the logic

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of the Socialists, will aim to save their bacon by appealing for sympathy from non-socialist union people. This is the game that is being played at present by the National Economic League and various national organizations of capitalists which are bribing a few renegades to sow seeds of discord in the trade union movement by singling out Socialism as an object of attack. These creatures, of course, do not attack Republicans or Democrats or their political principles, proving that they are the paid hirelings of those who thrive and wax fat through the operation of the profit-mongering system. Union men and women will do well to consider, when they read attacks on Socialism in the labor press or daily newspapers, that there are combinations of millionaires that pay liberally for such stuff that is meant to divide the workers and enable the capitalistic labor skinners to continue to exploit the toilers and enjoy prosperity at labor's expense.

Quite naturally the American Socialists are greatly enthused and encouraged by the tremendous gains of their comrades in Germany and Denmark. And on this side of the water the movement is going forward at an accelerated pace. State conventions of the Socialist party are being held and tickets nominated for the fall elections and the campaign is getting in full swing. The national office has half a dozen speakers and organizers in the field, while the various state organizations are also sending out men to build up the party, and local speakers and organizers everywhere are reported as displaying unusual activity. Nearly every week a new party paper enters the field and the number of trade union papers that are endorsing the principles of Socialism and aiding the Socialist party is becoming legion. Hardly a national or state convention is held by trade unionists nowadays that the subject of Socialism is not discussed and in some cases endorsed. The sporadic labor party movement that for a time threatened to stem the tide has had no appreciable effect and seems to be disappearing. In some localities of the extreme West it is reported that local labor parties have gone over to the Socialist party in a body or intend to do so. Another danger that threatened for a time was that of sectionalism, which has always been a source of amusement to Socialists when they contemplated the rows in the capitalist parties that were traceable to this cause. But this narrow and absurd "issue" has about run its course. In the near future the national office intends to send representative Eastern men into the West and Western men into the East to bring the different sections of the country into closer touch with each other, and quite likely this fool question will receive its quietus for all time to come. Just as the growing child is afflicted with the mumps and measles, so a new political movement is bound to be more or less annoyed by these petty disagreements, and, while they may appear unfortunate, at the same time they are a sure indication that the movement is very much alive and really moving.

No sooner are the window glass workers displaced by a machine when another branch of the trade is hard hit. After many months of ceaseless experimenting, Ball Bros., of Muncie, Ind., have completed an automatic machine which, it is claimed, will soon be the means of throwing every white liner glass presser in the country out of employment. The machine is an automatic cutter and presser, and does away entirely with the presser

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and leaves but one man to operate the entire machine. About one hundred men will be thrown out of work in Ball Bros.' plant, and four other concerns have already applied for the new device. Boys will run the new machines. An experiment that may also revolutionize the iron and steel industry of the country and displace thousands of miners and metal workers was successful in the plant of the Valley Iron Company, in St. Paul. Titanic ore, of which there are billions of tons in Northern Minnesota, was smelted in an ordinary cupola and turned out pig iron, which polished up like steel, and which, according to those interested in the experiment, is better than the finest Bessemer steel. It is thought that if the new discovery is entirely successful many ore mines will be abandoned and millions of dollars will be saved to the mill barons. The machinery problem—the question of cheaper production—is bound to become a greater issue to skilled mechanics as well as so-called common laborers each year.

In addition to shutting its mills in Connecticut, the cotton duck trust has closed its Phœnix, Laurel, Franklinville and Mount Pleasant mills in Maryland and will turn out all its products in its Alabama and South Carolina mills, where it can produce cheaper because it can use child labor. The trust controls practically all the cotton duck plants in the country. On the other hand, the Southern legislatures, controlled by the "workingmen's friends," the Democratic party, regularly defeat the child labor bills or pass them in such loose form that they can be declared unconstitutional by the courts without shedding a hair. And yet that old Bourbon party pretends to be opposed to trusts and is begging for the labor vote this year, next year, and all other years.

The readers of the REVIEW will remember that several months ago attention was called to the amendment to the immigration law that was being considered by Congress and that it had the full endorsement of Mr. Frank P. Sargent, immigration commissioner and ex-chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. The amendment, which was passed by Congress, reads that skilled labor may be imported if like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country. Now Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Taylor rules "that under this clause the only necessary preliminary to the importation of contract labor in any particular trade is a showing beyond reasonable doubt that there is a scarcity of such labor in this country." Mr. Taylor's ruling opens the door to the importation of foreign lace workers. Next thing perhaps some plumber boss or building contractor can step up and say there are no skilled men to be had and import foreign laborers. There would be no cause to complain of the importation of workers if Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. did not have the country's natural opportunities largely monopolized and refuse to allow labor access to the same without paying tribute. If there were no profits to pay to idlers—if there were no millions to be piled up for plutocrats—North America could support a billion population, and every new laborer would mean the further enrichment of the commonwealth, just as was the case in the early days before monopoly reared its ugly head. But to-day every new shipload of workers means more competition for jobs, and where an industrial depression sets in the struggle becomes so fierce that wages naturally drop to the starvation level. It is a pity that workingmen allow officeholders to play fast and loose with questions that have such vital effect upon their welfare and endorse their every act with their ballots.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Russia

All the world has been startled by the massacres of Kischineff, but very few of the capitalist papers have dared to tell the truth, that this was simply one more move on the part of the policy of violent suppression of Socialism by the Russian government. The *Iskra* (the Spark), the organ of the Russian Social Democrats, published in London, has a long account of the event, which it sums up by saying:

"The government of Nicholas the Foolish plays its last card: It tries to stifle the fast ripening consciousness of the Russian proletariat by poisoning it with the venom of racial hatred and religious fanaticism. The Russian government, through its criminal action in the Kisheneff disorders, virtually says to us Social Democrats: 'You wish to waken the people, you strive to make it the mightiest factor of Russia's future historical development. Very well. You may arouse the masses, but know that their awakening will not be pleasant to you; remember that the masses are like a bloodthirsty wild beast, and when that beast is released from its chains it mercilessly mangles all who surround it, making no difference between friend or foe, the right or the wrong. You say to the masses: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" But racial hatred will arise in their midst and the Russian workingman will begin to fight his own comrade provided he is of another race or creed. You wish to rouse the masses. Look at its bloody deeds and acknowledge the foolhardiness of your scheme.'"

Meantime the word comes of more and more Socialist activity throughout Russia. The following item taken from the *Volkszeitung* of Vienna is but one of many which gives a picture of what is going on throughout the Russian empire. Speaking of the proposed demonstrations of the workers at Rostow it says: "In the evening a batallion of infantry and a division of Cossacks stood ready to maintain order. The leaders of the Social Democratic party sought to agitate among the people, but without result. Many wounded were carried away."

These few lines from capitalistic sources contain a picture of something of the sufferings by the Socialist comrades in the Russian empire.

Algeria

Constantly the propaganda of Socialism and organization of the workers extend to new fields. *Le Petit Republique* tells of the growth of the movement in Algeria. In 1889 the Socialists first entered into the electoral

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struggle in that country and two papers were established, which, however, only lived a short time. In 1899 Edmond Claris again took up the work of organization, and in October, 1900, a Socialist party was organized and active propaganda was carried on, and on the 18th of March, 1901, more than 200 Socialists celebrated the anniversary of the Commune. Later a congress was held at Mustapha, where twenty-two local organizations were represented. In the legislative elections of 1902 the party supported M. Colin, and on the 8th of February of the same year the first number of *Le Socialiste Algeriene* appeared, which quickly attained a circulation of 7,200.

Poland

The following facts are taken from an article by S. Karski in *Justice*. There was no strongly organized party in Poland until 1893, when several different Socialist groups united into one Polish Socialist Party. As there is in Russian Poland neither freedom of speech nor of press, the propaganda is necessarily secret. The literature circulated in Poland from abroad proved insufficient to meet the needs and a secret paper *Robotnik* (Worker) was started in 1894. In the last nine years fifty issues of this paper have appeared. By the same press *Gornik* (Miner) is published for the workers of the mining district. A clandestine journal in Yiddish, a monthly quarterly and scientific paper, a Yiddish quarterly and a Lithuanian paper are among the other publications issued by the Polish Socialists. The following statistics give some idea of the "social cost" of working for Socialism in Poland:

In the year 1895, 42 comrades were committed for ten years of hard labor, 13½ years of prison, 77 years of exile to Siberia, 41 years of Northern Russia, 13 years of exile from Poland.

In the year 1896, 111 comrades for 48 years of hard labor, 15 years of prison, 132 years of exile to Siberia, 29 years of Northern Russia, 194 years of common exile.

In the year 1897, 54 comrades for seven years of prison, 87 years of exile to Siberia, 18 years of Northern Russia, 66 years of common exile.

In the year 1900, 9 comrades were condemned to death, which sentence afterwards was commuted to hard labor in Siberia, each individual from 10 to 20 years. In that year about 200 comrades have been condemned to various terms of prison and exile to Siberia and Russia.

From among the prisoners but few were able to escape from, or on the way to, Siberia. To this small knot of lucky individuals belong two out of four persons arrested in connection with the clandestine press of *Robotnik*.

Italy

The Czar recently declared his intention to visit Italy and the Italian Socialists notified the government that in case he did so he would be hissed in the streets, and that in general they would prepare a hostile demonstration for him. Under these conditions the Czar concluded to postpone his visit.

Denmark

The recent universal elections for the Lower House of the Danish Parliament resulted in the election of sixteen Socialist members. The

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finance minister, Hage, was defeated by Socialist Schmidt. The new Chamber is composed of 74 members of the Left, 16 Social Democrats, 12 members of the Right and 11 Moderate Liberals.

Germany

The returns from Germany are still too incomplete for us to write them up at any length. In our next number we shall give a full account of the election, the method of organization of the German Social Democracy, methods of campaigning and comparative results. Suffice it to say that the latest information shows that the vote is about 3,008,000, with 81 members of the Reichstag.

Thirty Years' Growth.

The following table shows the progress of the Social Democratic Party in the eleven Reichstag elections, beginning in 1871:

Year.	*Popular Vote.*	*Members.*
1871	124,655	2
1874	351,952	9
1877	493,288	12
1878	437,158	9
1881	311,961	12
1884	549,990	24
1887	763,128	11
1890	1,427,298	35
1893	1,876,738	44
1898	2,113,073	56
1903	3,008,000	81

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BOOK REVIEWS

Pure Sociology. By Lester F. Ward. The Macmillan Co. Cloth, Quarto, 607 pp. $4.

Whatever any one may think of the conclusions of this book, there is no denying the fact that it is one of the most fundamental studies of social facts and forces that has ever been published. The author defines Pure Sociology as "a treatment of the phenomena and laws of society as it is, an explanation of the processes by which social phenomena take place, a search for the antecedent conditions by which the observed facts have been brought into existence, and an ætiological diagnosis that shall reach back as far as the state of human knowledge will permit into the psychologic, biologic and cosmic causes of the existing social state of man. But it must be a pure diagnosis, and all therapeutic treatment is rigidly excluded. All ethical considerations, in however wide a sense that expression may be understood, must be ignored for the time being, and attention concentrated upon the effort to determine what actually is. Pure sociology has no concern with what society *ought* to be, or with any social ideals. It confines itself strictly with the present and the past, allowing the future to take care of itself. It totally ignores the purpose of the science, and aims at truth wholly for its own sake." The "subject matter" of sociology is "human *achievement;* it is not what men are, but what they do; it is not the structure, but the functions." Achievement in turn he defines as the transformation of the environment, and points out that this is peculiar to man.

The study of the materials of human society will include a study of forces. He finds that achievement only results from added increments. "Achievement does not consist in wealth. Wealth is fleeting and ephemeral. Achievement is permanent and eternal. And now mark the paradox. Wealth, the transient, is material; achievement, the enduring, is immaterial. The products of achievement are not material things at all. As said before, they are not ends but means. They are methods, ways, principles, devices, arts, systems, institutions. In a word, they are *inventions.*" Again he points out, on page 34: "It must be clear from all that has been said that the essential characteristic of all achievement is some form of *knowledge.* But knowledge, unlike capacity, cannot be transmitted through heredity. The germ-plasm can only carry the ancestral strains of parents to their offspring and descendants, and whether 'acquired characters' can be thus transmitted or not, it is certain that acquired knowledge is a 'character' that does not descend in that way. The process by which achievement is handed down may be aptly called *social heredity.* This social heredity is the same thing that I have otherwise denominated social development in which there has been no break in

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the transmission of achievement. We thus have the continuity of the social germ-plasm, which is as good an analogy as the organicists have discovered. The social germ-plasm is that Promethean fire which has been passed on from age to age, warming the world into life with its glow, and lighting it with its flame through all the long night of the past into the daybreak of the present." In this desire to contribute to the social germ-plasm he finds one of the greatest incentives to exertion. "Thus far only a few have contributed to this stream, but the percentage is probably increasing, and might under improved social conditions be greatly increased, and the time may come when all may at least aspire to the honor of laying some small offering on the altar of civilization. As the ages go by and history records the results of human action it becomes clear to larger numbers that this is the true goal of life, and larger numbers seek it. It is seen that only those who have achieved are remembered, that the memory of such grows brighter instead of dimmer with time, and that these names are likely to be kept fresh in the minds of men forever. Achievement, therefore, comes to constitute a form of immortality and has exceedingly attractive sides. This hope of immortality has doubtless formed one of the important motives in all ages, but as the hope of a personal immortality wanes under the glare of scientific truth, especially of biological truth, there is likely to be a still stronger tendency in this direction."

In the discussion of methodology he declares that "It is the function of methodology in social science to classify social phenomena in such a manner that the groups may be brought under uniform laws and treated by exact methods. Sociology then becomes an exact science. In doing this, too, it will be found that we have passed from chaos to cosmos. Human history presents a chaos. The only science that can convert the milky way of history into a definite social universe is sociology, and this can only be done by the use of an appropriate method, by using the data furnished by all the special social sciences, including the great scientific trunks of psychology, biology and cosmology, and generalizing and coordinating the facts and groups of facts until unity is attained." He follows this idea into almost too great detail, and one sometimes wonders if it is really necessary to trace everything back through all its biological history to the original homogenity.

Sociology cannot be a science unless it has its own peculiar field of facts and forces, and it is the description of these which constitutes the greater portion of this book. He decides that "the social forces are psychic, and hence sociology must have a psychologic basis. He finds that this basis arises from the development of feeling. The organism pursues feeling without regard to results. But the basis of selection orders matter so that only those feelings remain enjoyable which contribute to the formation of advantageous functions. Once that feeling had reached this point, it gave birth to *interest*. The creature was then interested in gratifying those feelings which performed functions valuable to the race. From this time on interest became the great dynamic feature of social evolution. The author traces the biologic origin of all social forces and formulates a scientific classification of all sociological material which cannot fail to be of great value to future workers in this field even though it may in time be subjected to great alterations. In tracing the origin of human institutions he shows that the first great essential in race evolution was social assimilation, from which there resulted a definite social body suffi-

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ciently large to partially control environment. This took place long before historic times. Then followed a differentiation during which various races developed.

Once races had been developed and had spread over a large portion of the earth they soon came in contact with one another, and then began the process of social integration. The first step in this was a struggle of races, followed by conquest and subjection, after which there followed caste and a gradual mitigation of this condition, leaving a state of great individual, social and political inequality, to be succeeded by purely military subjection with the forms of law and idea of legal right; then the state, under which arose a more or less homogeneous people, which in turn soon gave birth to the sentiment of patriotism and led to the formation of nations, that being the condition in which societies of to-day are found.

In his discussion of social dynamics he treats more elaborately of the forms of social change. Part III of the book "Telesis" discusses the various forms of social control which can be used to secure a purposeful evolution. This portion of the book also is filled with a mass of valuable thoughts and facts most suggestive to social students.

His discussion of the evolution of the social relations of the sexes is extremely striking and interesting. From biological analogy he shows that the female represents the stable racial element in society and that the transition to male domination in selection represented a great evolutional change which resulted in the apparent superiority of man at the present time. He also expresses the opinion that with the disappearance of the economic domination of man a new stage will probably arise in which neither sex will occupy this controlling position, but where the selection will be mutual.

He seems to a large degree to accept the materialistic interpretation of history and the socialist philosophy of institutions, but owing to the narrowness with which he confines himself to the purely descriptive field there is little bearing upon what are commonly called practical problems.

The work is one of those great fundamental things which must be read again and again and which, once mastered, will constitute a starting point for countless lines of thought.

History of the French Revolution. C. L. James. Published by Abe Isaak Jr. Cloth, 343 pp. $1.

We have had histories of the French Revolution from almost every point of view, but this is the only one which seems to definitely proceed from the point of view of the mob. Since the mob, however, was really one of the most important parties, if not the most important one, concerned, there is much excuse for this point of view.

The work opens with a very good summary of the conditions which led up to the French Revolution, and in the discussion of events it offers very little that is new. It seems to have the one defect which is perhaps inseparable from almost all histories of the French Revolution, that of being overwhelmed by the vast number of details.

The author tells us that shortly after the fall of the Bastile "France, having reached the climax of anarchy, was rapidly settling down to peace and quietness. An unprecedented spirit of harmony and tranquillity, normal fruits of complete anarchy, prevailed on the whole for many

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months." Again, he states that "from the spring of 1790 to autumn of 1791 France was as near as any great nation ever has been to having no government at all. Nor was it very different between September, 1792, and March, 1793. There was, indeed, a king who exercised some power from September, 1791, to August, 1792, and a legislature. But these co-ordinating branches blocked each other's wheels so effectually that anarchy on the whole continued."

For these particular periods the author has, as naturally might be expected, the greatest praise. For the most of the leaders of the Revolution he has only the greatest denunciation. Only for Marat, for Condorcet, and Danton, whom he designates as "the best champion of freedom which the crisis of his time produced," does he have any praise. In his summary he declares "That such another revolution impends will be doubted by no one who has studied history in the light of evolution." However, he offers no evidence other than this bare assertion of the coming of such social change. Although he seems to be full of praise for the epoch as a whole, nevertheless one is by no means satisfied that he has proven the desirability of that method of social development.

Taken as a whole, the work is a fairly good summary of the history of the period discussed, and seems to be as nearly impartial as a work written from such a plainly biased point of view could be.

When one comes to examine his bibliography he is struck rather with the things omitted than those included. He seems never to have heard of the writings of Belfort Bax, whose work on Marat should certainly not be ignored by any one writing on this subject, and especially one who claims to represent proletarian interests. Still more remarkable is the fact that he does not include any of the works of Morse Stephens, while he does include many things whose connection with the subject it is rather hard to see.

As usual, there have been a large number of propaganda pamphlets received during the month. Comrade Bigelow's pamphlet on "The Capitalist Farmer and the Socialist Wageworker," while not really advancing anything new, yet says what it has to say in clear, simple English that will make it of great value in the particular field for which it is intended. Price, 10 cents.

Another pamphlet which, while it is not without intrinsic value as a statement of socialism, is more noticeable because of its authorship. It is "What to Do and How to Do It, or Socialism vs. Capitalism," by Rev. G. W. Woodbey, "Negro Socialist Orator." "This little book is dedicated to that class of citizens who desire to know what the Socialists want to do and how they propose to do it. By one who was once a chattel slave, freed by the proclamation of Lincoln, and now wishes to be free from the slavery of capitalism."

This book is for sale by the author, 709 Twelfth street, San Diego, Cal. Price, 10 cents.

Charles Lincoln Phifer sends out from the press of *The Coming Nation* a little booklet which he calls "Pictures of the Co-operative Commonwealth," which contains considerable of interest on this ever fascinating subject, and probably his guesses are as good as those of anyone else.

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It is written in striking, catchy style and will undoubtedly prove of value in propaganda work.

Charles H. Kerr & Co. issue another number of their Pocket Library entitled "Easy Lessons in Socialism," by William H. Leffingwell, which adds one more to the list of good elementary works to be handed to the beginner. The form of the work, by which a series of propositions are explained in a series of lessons with very simple language, makes it something different and more valuable than most of the works along this line. Price, 5 cents.

The *New Time*, of Spokane, Wash., publishes a neat little 10-cent pamphlet by John Mackenzie on "Panics," which sets forth the Marxian explanation of these industrial disturbances in a clear and interesting form.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

New Numbers of the Pocket Library

Most readers of the International Socialist Review are already familiar with the Pocket Library of Socialism issued by our co-operative publishing house. This series was started in the spring of 1899 with two booklets, "Woman and the Social Problem," by May Wood Simons, and "The evolution of the Class Struggle," by William H. Noyes, both of which have subsequently been rewritten and have passed through a number of editions. The series now consists of thirty-eight numbers, including two new issues that have been brought out within the last few weeks. One of these, No. 37, is entitled "The Kingdom of God and Socialism," and is by Rev. Robert M. Webster, of Los Angeles. It was originally delivered as a sermon and it seemed to the Los Angeles comrades so effective as propaganda among religious people that they placed an advance order for 10,000 copies to be used for propaganda work in and around Los Angeles. The author has made a careful study of all passages in the New Testament where the Kingdom of God is mentioned, and holds that in each case the text points to a regenerated social order such as the Socialist Party is endeavoring to establish.

The other new issue, No. 38, is entitled "Easy Lessons in Socialism," and is by William H. Leffingwell, of Chicago. The ground covered in this booklet is familiar to Socialists but the treatment of the subject can be commended as specially suited to new beginners. We know of nothing else so well adapted to putting into the hands of wage workers as a means of interesting them in Socialism.

The booklets in this series are all uniform in style, each containing 32 pages with a red transparent parchment cover. They are just the size to slip into an ordinary business envelope, and they are light enough so that one can be mailed along with a letter of ordinary weight without requiring more than a two-cent stamp. The price, including postage, is 5 cents for a single copy; six for 25 cents; fourteen for 50 cents; thirty for $1, or the full set of thirty-eight for $1.25. Stockholders in our co-operative company can obtain them at $1 a hundred, or 2 cents each, in smaller lots, postage included.

An Unexpected Help

As most readers of the International Socialist Review already know, the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is owned, controlled and supported, not by any capitalist or group of capitalists but by six hun-

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dred Socialists, most of them owning each a single share of stock. The increase in our line of Socialist books from half a dozen titles in 1899 to a hundred in 1903 is due not to the help of a capitalist but to the co-operation of laborers. There is nevertheless no reason why the money of a wealthy sympathizer should not be used effectively to hasten the circulation of the literature of socialism faster than would have been possible with the means already at our disposal, and the comrades in charge of the office of the co-operative company were therefore encouraged at receiving not long ago a letter from James W. Lee suggesting that he would be glad to pay for distributing a quantity of Socialist literature free by mail to as many towns and cities of the United States as the sum he was willing to expend on the experiment would admit. In answer to this letter we wrote him suggesting that to give away Socialist literature broadcast might result in wasting it on those who would destroy it without reading. We suggested the plan of offering Socialist books to such newspapers as would agree in return to publish an advertisement, offering to send the booklet "What to Read on Socialism" to any one asking for it. Comrade Lee accepted this suggestion as an improvement upon his original idea and he has already contributed $800, which is being expended in this distribution of literature to editors.

If any reader of the REVIEW is acquainted with a non-Socialist editor who would like to read some of the standard Socialist books and would give advertising in return for them, we shall be glad to be advised of it.

Another Way to Help Socialism

A letter lately received from a Socialist comrade contains a suggestion which may prove so valuable that we take the liberty of reprinting it:

"I would like to know something about how to put things in such shape that some money will go to the cause of International Socialism in case I should suddenly meet death. . . . I don't propose to give anything as long as I am needing it, but I would like to know how it could be left so it would be sure to go to such a cause. I don't know just what course to pursue to be safe in leaving it; don't know that it can be so unless delivered beforehand."

The situation of this comrade is no doubt similar to that of many other Socialists, well along in years, who are unable to dispense with the income they derive from what little property they possess, but who would be glad to have that property used after their death for the benefit of the Socialist movement, if they could be sure that the matter could be arranged without the danger of litigation.

There is an easy and simple method of arranging such a transaction which is made possible by the fact that the co-operative publishing company which publishes the International Socialist Review is organized as a regular corporation and is on a basis where the sales of books pay the ordinary expenses of running the business. This company is thus in a position where it can make a contract to receive from any comrade whatever amount of money he may see fit to turn over to it and pay to him during his lifetime, in monthly or quarterly installments, an income equal to from six to eight per cent per year on the capital received, the amount of the percentage depending on his age at the time of making the transfer.

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By making such an arrangement the comrade investing the money can obtain from it while he lives an income equal to or somewhat greater than what he would draw from an ordinary commercial investment. We are in a position to give satisfactory security for the carrying out of such contracts, so that there need be no hesitation on the ground of risk.

The control of the company is in a board of directors elected annually by vote of the stockholders, and a majority of the stock is already held by over 600 Socialists, holding each a single share, so that the present board of directors can retain control only so long as they continue to satisfy the stockholders that the resources of the company are being used to the best of their ability to promote the cause of International Socialism; while in the event of the death or disability of the board of directors their places would be filled by men possessing the confidence of the Socialists of the United States No other publishing house is so completely under the control of the Socialist party. The number of stockholders is increasing at the rate of about twenty-five a month, and the present organization is merely a nucleus around which an immense publishing house controlled collectively by the Socialists of America is almost certain to grow up.

Socialist Party Organization Fund

In the May number of the International Socialist Review, page 702, we announced the gift from William English Walling of twenty-five shares of stock in our co-operative publishing company, to be sold for the benefit of the organization fund of the Socialist Party of America. In response to this offer John Kerrigan, of Dallas, Texas; E. B. Amdahl, of Ullman, Minnesota, and David Phillips, of Pony, Montana, have each sent ten dollars and received a certificate for a share of stock, while the full amount of thirty dollars has been forwarded by us to William Mailly for the organization fund. Twenty-two more shares are still to be obtained on the same terms. We gladly repeat what has been said before, that the prompt raising of this organization fund is of the utmost importance to the cause of Socialism and we trust that other Socialists will follow the example of those whose names are here given.

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The International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

Vol. IV. August, 1903. No. 2.

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS:

ENGLAND—H. M. HYNDMAN, WALTER CRANE, SAMUEL HOBSON, H. QUELCH, J. KEIR HARDIE, J. R. MCDONALD. FRANCE—PAUL LAFARGUE, JEAN JAURES, JEAN LONGUET. BELGIUM—EMILE VANDERVELDE, HENRI LAFONTAINE, EMILE VINCK, MME. LALLA VANDERVELDE. DENMARK—DR. GUSTAV BANG. GERMANY—KARL KAUTSKY. ITALY—DR. ALESSANDRO SCHIAVI, PROF. ENRICO FERRI. SWEDEN—ANTON ANDERSON. JAPAN—T. MURAL.

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1903

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV. AUGUST, 1903. NO. 3.

Features of the Electoral Battle

THE battle of the ballots is past. The 25th of June brought what the 16th promised. The fear of the gigantic growth of the social democracy has united all the bourgeois parties, with a few honorable exceptions, into a solid phalanx against us in order to save what was left to be saved.

In 1898 we won 24 out of 96 seats at the second election; in 1903 we won only 25 out of 119.*

This is an advance backwards which the coalition of the bourgeois parties made against us.

Illusionists hoped that the capitalist parties of the left would sacrifice everything in the second election in order to secure as strong a left wing as possible in the reichstag, even if this could only be secured through a strengthening of the social democracy which had so painfully curtailed liberalism in the first election. But they forget that we were dealing with a bourgeoisie which had been lashed into terror, and which would rather throw itself head over heels into the arms of the reactionaries and surrender everything for which it had previously stood.

This is not the first time that German liberalism has abandoned its principles. Its history is the history of its defeats which it has always owed to its indecision, lack of leadership and cowardice, which have sentenced it to play that sorrowful role by which it is distinguished from the liberalism of the other states of western Europe. But even if this is not the first time that it has surrendered, it has never done so before in such a bare-faced, absolutely shameless manner as at this time.

If there were still those in our own ranks who had built their hopes upon this liberalism and looked upon it as still capable of life and creative action, the 25th of June should have thor-

*Later advices increase this to 26.

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oughly cured them, even if the 16th of June and its results had not already completed the cure.

In the beginning it appeared as if the campaign would pass without great interest being aroused. But in just the degree that the Social Democracy threw itself with all its energy into the battle and pushed aggressively forward did the picture change.

Week by week the electoral battle became warmer until finally the bourgeois parties took up a platform after they had so long, like helpless children, beseeched the government in vain.

This programme was not formulated by the imperial government, it developed spontaneously out of the battle and suited all who were bourgeois inclined from Eugen Richter to Von Normann and Kardorff. This programme was simply "Fight the Social Democracy!" This phrase was presently on all tongues and pens and a campaign of slander began such as we have scarcely ever experienced.

In all the campaigns that have taken place during six and thirty years for the North German and German Reichstag, the problems of the incoming Reichstag have never played so subordinate a role as in the campaign just past. The only point which was generally discussed in the opposing speeches and leaflets was the formation of commercial treaties. As to the new military and naval policy, new colonial and taxation measures, foreign and internal policy, the great majority of the bourgeois candidates had nothing to say. These candidates were chosen without the great majority of the voters knowing what position they took in regard to these questions, so there cannot fail to be great disappointments. On the other hand, from the very first day in which the bourgeois parties went into the campaign the battle against the Social Democracy was as violent as if the founding of the future State was immediately at hand, and as if they were called upon, cost what it might, to save themselves from it.

This phase of the struggle corresponds thoroughly to the situation in which the bourgeois parties found themselves. They are without ideals and weary of opposition. They no longer have any program, and never can have. But one must have a goal if he is to draw the masses to him and not be left defenseless. So it was that they clung to that upon which they had always depended for success with the unintelligent masses who follow, sheeplike, and above all with the great mass of Philistines. The cry was also raised to rally against a violent "uprising," and to make sure of the effectiveness of this alarm the memorandum books of such holy priests as Schuster, Eugen Richter, Lorenz and Burger were searched and lies and slanders drawn therefrom until, as the saying goes, the "rafters bent and the good tailors' and shoemakers' hair began to stand on end."

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They declared the Social Democracy to be fatherlandless and treasonable, that it destroyed marriage and the family, would overthrow the throne and rob the people of their holy religion—something that sounded especially good when it appeared in the National Liberal leaflets—it would destroy property, overthrow the middle class and the handworkers, in short, that it would not leave one stone upon another of the present state or order of society. So against this whoever can must help. And many helped who had nothing to lose but their poverty and their debts.

But even this was not enough. Actual or alleged quotations which had been torn from their connection were sent out against one party member after another; the party was denounced as the enemy of labor because it was alleged that its representatives voted against all social reform laws, and was branded as an overthrower because its representatives refused to indorse the budget. In short, everything that could be done was done to picture the Social Democracy as a moral and political monster. After listening to all this the question might well have arisen if such a party could even receive a thousand votes and elect one of its representatives? But the result? The opposite from that which our opponents hoped occurred; 56 representatives and over three million votes at the first throw! A more overwhelming victory for Social Democracy and annihilating defeat of its opponents was not possible.

The same game was repeated even with greater violence at the second election. That we obtained only 25 seats out of 119 at the second election, however, was not the result of this manner of fighting, but the result of the despairing coalition of all our opponents.

Frankfurter Zeitung, Freisinnige Zeitung and *tutti quanti* lamented: The Social Democracy owed their victory only to the circumstance that they stuck their own programme in their pocket and sought to catch votes with the liberal democratic programme. I do not know if any such thing was done in the campaign. I have not noticed anything of the kind; but even if it was done, our opponents saw to it that the Social Democratic candidate appeared in the most horrible and frightful form possible, and still such a result? Wherefore did not the bourgeois parties with whose programme the Social Democratic party, it is claimed, went fishing, secure at least one representative in the main election? It will be rather difficult for the knights of Liberalism to answer this.

This is simply a repetition of the old allegation that we hear so loud after every election and always with the accompanying result that the parties with whose programme it is alleged we fought become ever weaker and we ever stronger. Our oppo-

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nents fail to grasp the true causes of their downfall. These are the increasing proletarization of the masses and the ever sharper class antagonisms arising therefrom. There is the growing discontent in ever-widening circles with the dominating economic and political condition, the military and naval policy, and a comparison of all the beautiful phrases with the sorrowful reality. And it is the Social Democracy which makes itself the mouthpiece of all these aspirations of the discontented and which binds all these elements firmer and firmer to itself.

But then it is only the "transients" which, according to our opponents, make Social Democracy so large. But it is not simply that the number of these "transients" is ever larger; they remain permanently with the party, and from the "transients" of to-day come the good party members of to-morrow.

Notwithstanding all this we have to reckon with our losses. But losses have never been lacking with us at any election, sometimes large and sometimes small. That we should hold all of the 58 districts which we possessed during the last legislative period no thinking person could expect. Among these 58 districts there were a number which we had conquered for the first time only by the narrowest majorities. They were more or less accidental victories. I am only surprised that such losses were not more numerous. That Offenbach and Hanau, which from their economic structure should be considered as securely in the possession of the party, were among such districts is to be regretted. But we may console ourselves with the reflection that the enemy have conquered for the last time, and when we compare the defeats of our opponents and our own many victories we can endure our losses without sorrow. We cannot continuously maintain a district exposed to the assault of the enemies, if the natural conditions for Social Democracy are lacking there, *i. e.*, the necessary industrial development and the class antagonism proceeding therefrom. Where these are lacking any victory must always be looked upon as one of ephemeral value. And districts which we secure only through the momentary allegiance of certain classes we can also lose again.

Our permanent victory rests upon the fact that capitalist development creates the essential conditions therefor. This is proven by the large and growing number of electoral districts which we conquered at once in the main election or in which we lacked so very few votes for victory, that we can surely conquer them the next time without the help of outsiders.

If the numerous victories and the great number of votes which came to the Social Democrats was the main characteristic of the last election, the development which the different bourgeois parties went through deserves some consideration.

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The annihilating overthrow which the leader of the agrarian league received at the first election and which the secondary election completed is especially gratifying. Hahn, Roesicke, Oertel, Schrempf, Lucke are no more. Their role is played out. These defeats show that the struggle with the agrarian forces was not without result, and that the effect of the agrarian agitation was destroyed when we exposed its weakness on the decisive field of battle.

No less gratifying than the overthrow of the leader of the agrarian league was the overthrow of the National liberal leader, Bassermann, who acted as assistant to the tariff makers of the last session and who did midwife service for the infamous measures of Groeber and Von Kardorff in the last session of the Reichstag. Nemesis has done her work quickly with Herr Bassermann. Along with him fell Vice President Büsing, whose followers in the second election helped the representative of the Mecklenburg Junkers into the saddle in opposition to our party comrade, Grothe. Herr Hasse, the head of the Pan-Germans, whose electoral district in Leipsic had belonged to him for six and thirty years, was now given over to our Comrade Mottler, "the red postmaster." In addition we find that in this, as in previous Reichstags, the great majority of the National electorals who were chosen in the second election are once more the slaves of the agrarians.

The tower of the Centre also shows breaks. It is standing upon shattered foundations. The election in the industrial districts of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the losses to us in Mainz and Reichenbach-Neurode are for the Centre a *mene tekel.* Its two-faced and wavering policy is recognized by its followers among the laborers and they are leaving its ranks in swarms to enter the Social Democracy. The fighting methods of the Centre against the Social Democracy were especialy violent and disreputable in this campaign. It feels the enemy at its throat. But even the wildest lies and slanders cannot continuously find believers, even among the voters of the Centre. We have placed our feet firmly upon the territory of the Centre and push further on. The Social Democracy is accomplishing what no other party was able to do. It will finally be the victor in the battle with the Centre.

Anti-Semitism also, this most senseless of all party organizations, has seen its possessions melt away fully one-fourth. If it disappeared completely from the picture no one would shed any tears.

The National Social party presents a peculiar picture, since this party was called into life particularly to draw the laborers away from Social Democracy and to attract them to the "social

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Imperialism" and inspire them with enthusiasm for army, fleet and imperial politics. Herr Naumann, the founder of this party, has never comprehended that a "social Imperialism" is a contradition in itself and that armies, fleets and imperial politics can only be maintained at the cost of the laborer. Therefore he with his party have gone down. To be sure, they have succeeded with great effort in electing Herr von Gerlach in the second election. But the head of the party, Herr Naumann, in spite of the unspeakable efforts which he and his friends made, is now outside the Reichstag, and he is himself singing the swan song of the party which he founded.

Herr Naumann complains that the "stronger brother" of the National Socialism, the Social Democracy, has strangled his party. What the outlook is for this weak "brother" of the Social Democracy is shown for the second time in the Jena electoral district. Five years ago the National Social party helped Herr Bassermann to victory, and this time they did the same for his successor. Herr Bassermann would have been cleverer had he this time also stood as a candidate in Jena instead of in Karlsruhe, where he would have been certain of victory with National Social help.

That things would happen in the Jena electoral district once more as they have happened was evident. When Herr Damaschke, the candidate of the National Socials in Jena, was asked before the main election if he would eventually support the Social Democratic candidate, he replied that the Social Democracy was the last party for which in the second election he would vote. This same Damaschke told the farmers in the Jena electoral district, "If you wish to have your last cow taken out of the stable, then vote for Social Democracy."

This is the way "National Socialism" showed up in the light of the reichstag election.

It is not the least gain that we have received from the last Reichstag election that we got rid of a whole mass of illusions. Here Social Democracy, there bourgeoisie! will hereafter be the battle cry.

The new Reichstag shows, so far as the bourgeois parties are concerned, not simply a quantitative but much more a qualitative loss. Barth, Schrader, Broemel, Bassermann, Büsing, Oertel will not be easily replaced by new strength. This is but an illustration on this point of the downfall of the bourgeois world. Yes, the evening of their day draws nigh.

There, downfall; with us, the upward growth! The result of the election is the most striking vote of confidence that the present tactics and method of fighting of the Social Democracy could have received. The voters have expressed their opinion

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of the tactics and manner of fighting adopted by our opponents. All the accusations, all the calumnies that the whole bourgeoisie has so vehemently heaped upon us in a manner never before attempted have been splintered upon the Social Democracy like glass on granite.

This should be to us a lesson and a guide in the coming battle.

As Social Democracy has until now grown in all situations and conquered all opponents, so it will and should do in the future.

In the name of the class-conscious proletariat and all those idealists who with us strive for the progress of humanity in every sphere, *"Forward!!"—August Bebel in Neue Zeit. Translated by A. M. Simons.*

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A Foretaste of the Orient

HE who may not agree with the conclusions arrived at in the telling of this bit of California's history, should at least value the facts narrated—for they are surely pregnant with meaning to those who study the history of the labor world.

The town of Oxnard is in Ventura county, about sixty miles north of Los Angeles, and was founded by the American Beet Sugar Company, in which Henry T. Oxnard is the central figure. On the evening of March 24, of the present year, the Associated Press dispatches announced that there was "riot" in Oxnard—that the Japanese and Mexican unions were terrorizing the town, shooting and killing peaceable non-union men, whose only desire was to exercise the right of American citizens and work for any wage they chose. Being within a few hours' ride of the place, the next morning's train carried me to the gates of the sugar factory. My only companions on the car were a parcel of drummers, who were quite naturally anxious to know just how peaceful a state the town might now be in. To this end anyone who might know, and especially the conductor, was cross-questioned in a most thorough manner:

"How many men were killed—could the sheriff control the situation—was it safe for a traveling man to go about his business on the streets?" were some of the queries that received apparently confusing replies.

"Yes, there was a man killed and four others wounded—all union men—and the town is now quiet."

"How's that," said a salesman for a wholesale hardware firm, "union men start a riot and only union men shot? Something queer about that! I know a house that shipped revolvers here last week—who bought 'em, that's what I'd like to know. Couldn't have been the unions if all the dead men are on the other side,"—which was without doubt a common sense conclusion from a purely business point of view.

Certainly the town seemed quiet, as I walked up from the station, the only noticeable thing being a little squad of Japanese union pickets that met the train and were easily recognized by their white buttons labeled "J. M. L. A." (Japanese-Mexican Labor Association) over the insignia of a rising sun and clasped hands. Oxnard was full of those white buttons—and when the first thousand of them had been distributed, and no more obtainable, hundreds of beet thinners put red buttons in their buttonholes to show that they were union men.

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On the presentation of my blue card, I was warmly welcomed at headquarters by J. M. Lizarraras and Y. Yamagachi, secretaries of the Mexican and Japanese unions. They had a plain tale to tell, and one which I found was fully borne out by facts known to all the towns folk—for even the petty merchants, strange to say, freely acknowledged that the men had been bullied, swindled and shot down, without reason or provocation.

The Beet Sugar Company had fostered the organization of a scab contracting company—known as the Western Agricultural Contracting Company—whose double purpose was to reduce the price of thinning beets from five to as low as four and a quarter dollars an acre, and at the same time undermine and destroy the unions. Not content with the lowering of wages, they also forced the men to accept store orders instead of cash payments, with its usual accompaniment of extortionate prices for the merchandise sold. These tricks, of course, are as old as the hills, and consequently when the men rebelled there was a great surprise among the labor skinners, who had no idea that Japanese and Mexicans would ever have wit enough to unite for mutual protection, or that if they did temporarily unite, their organization could possiblv last for any length of time, with the obstacles of different tongues, temperaments and social environments to bring speedy wreck to such a union. But the men did organize, did hang together—in spite of the rain of bullets which were poured down upon them—and finally whipped Oxnard's beet sugar company, with its backing of millions.

To Socialists it is needless to point out that to whip a capitalist to-day means nothing more than that you must fight him again to-morrow, but the significance of this particular skirmish, in the great class war, lies in the fact that workers from the Occident and Orient, strangers in tongues, manners and customs, gathered together in a little western village, should so clearly see their class interest rise above all racial feelings of distrust.

Almost as soon as the union was formed, Major Driffel, manager of the Oxnard sugar factory, asked that a committee confer with him. It was done, and the following significant sample of conversation which took place was opened by the major with this question:

"I want to know the object of your organization?"

"The object," said Secreary Lizarraras, "is to keep the old prices. The Western Agricultural Contracting Company cut prices to control the business and we could not compete."

"You have a perfect right to do so," replied the Major, "but I have heard that you have a scale of prices which is detrimental to the interests of the farmers, and the interests of the farmers are our interests, because if you raise the price of labor to the farmers and they see they cannot raise beets at a profit, *we will*

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have to take steps to drive you out of the country and secure help from the outside—even if we have to spend $100,000 in doing it."

With this ultimatum the union's committee retired, and the war commenced in earnest. Secretary Yamagachi was arrested for holding an orderly street meeting and forced to furnish five hundred dollars bail—which he did, and was promptly acquitted by the jury that tried him. Two more Japanese were arrested for "disturbing the peace"—their offense being a successful persuasion of some thirty of their fellow countrymen to leave the company's ranch and join the union. Failing in their attempts to break up the union by "legal" means, the union-smashers tried more forceful methods. Armed guards—drummed up from among the rifraf of the saloons—were stationed over the few non-union men that were still at work in the fields, and those who desired to quit the ranches, where they were "protected," were not allowed to take their blankets, and, moreover, their pay was held up. Farmers sent orders into town for rounds of buckshot-cartridges, hoping with threats and intimidation to drive the men to their bidding. From the scab contracting company's headquarters came rumors of the purchase of arms and ammunition in large quantitties—and these were not false rumors, as the events that followed amply proved.

On Monday afternoon, of March 24, the employers played their last card and the crisis came. A farmer by the name of Arnold—notorious as a union hater—was deputized a constable, and, arming himself with two revolvers and considerable whisky, set about escorting a small number of scabs from the company's boarding house to a nearby farm. A crowd of union men collected around the outgoing wagon, and, without show of force or violence, tried to persuade the scabs to join the union. The last scab to leave the boarding house for the wagon came out armed with a shotgun and revolver and the trouble commenced. The crowd tried to disarm him as he made his way through the press, and while a tussle for the possession of the shotgun was in progress, Deputy Constable Arnold stepped up behind a union man and shot him in the neck. This was the signal for a rain of bullets that poured down upon the crowd of unarmed union men from the doors and windows of the scab boarding house. Death followed the volley—one man being killed and four wounded.

All honor to the martydom of Louis Vasquez!—the first man to lay down his life for his mates in the town of Oxnard.

The unarmed union men were horrified but not frightened. They pursued and captured the fleeing Arnold, and, after disarming him, handed him over to the police. Sheriff McMartin himself told me that if it were not for the protection afforded by

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the union leaders, Arnold would have been hung on the spot. In twenty minutes the whole affair was over. No arrests were made, because none but "strike breakers" were guilty of assault, and the next day the daily press all over the country broke out with scare heads telling of the "Riot in Oxnard."

Proof of the complicity of the town and county officials was quick to follow. The place of holding the inquest was twice changed from one town to another—making the summoning of witnesses a most difficult feat—and the dead man's body hurriedly given to the unions on two hours notice in such a decayed condition that immediate burial was necessary, thereby attempting to prevent the public demonstration of a big funeral. But in spite of this most vile scheme, nearly a thousand men escorted the body to its grave. Japanese and Mexicans, side by side, dumb through lack of a common speech, yet eloquent in expressions of fraternity, marched with uncovered heads through the streets of Oxnard. On the hearse was a strange symbol to Western eyes, a huge lotus flower—an offering from the Japanese union.

From the highest to the lowest, the officials of the county acted as one man in their attempts to suppress public investigation, the final proof of which culminated in the act of the district attorney, Selby, who refused to hold a preliminary examination of Deputy Constable Arnold, although nearly a dozen witnesses testified, at the inquest, that Arnold shot an unresisting union man in the neck and precipitated the killing.

The worth of the Japanese and Mexicans as labor organizers was now put to proof. At the Japanese headquarters there was system like that of a railroad office or an army in the field. They had a well-trained corps of officers—secretaries, interpreters, captains of squads, messengers, and most complete system of information. A map of the valley hung on the wall, with the location of the different camps of beet thinners plainly marked. Yards upon yards of brown paper placards were constantly being tacked up, giving in picturesque Japanese lettering the latest bulletins, directions or orders. Meetings of the executive committees from the two unions were constantly being held for agreement as to mutual action. I was intensely interested at the manner in which they got over the difficulties of language at the conferences. The joint committees would gather around a long table—at opposite ends sat the respective presidents, secretaries and interpreters—and first the question to be discussed would be started in English, then each nationality in turn would listen to an explanation of the affair in its own language and come to the conclusion; then the results would be again stated in English and the final agreement recorded by the secretaries. Respect for order was a marked feature of these meetings, each nationality keeping politely silent while the other had the matter before it

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for discussion and decision. The innate courtesy, which is always found in Spanish blood, was fully equaled by the decorum of the Japanese.

Seeing that there was no law for their personal protection in Oxnard, the unions organized a patrol to cover the town. Squads of little Japanese and Mexicans relieved each other all through the night and day, for no man knew what the next murderous action of the strike breakers might be. On every hand troubles began to multiply. Many men were without a cent of money, and the unions opened a restaurant where those who were broke could get their meals. Funeral expenses, care of the wounded, and assistance to men who had families, were met by collecting the few dollars left in the pockets of the union men. To all of which the Japanese, being the richest, were the largest contributors.

A few days after the shooting, the unions published the following:

"STATEMENT TO THE PUBLIC.

"Owing to the many false statements printed in the *Los Angeles Times* and other daily papers about our organization and the murderous assault made upon the union men last Monday afternoon, we ask that the following statement of facts be published in justice to the thirteen hundred men whom the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association represents:

"In the first place, we assert, and are ready to prove, that on Monday afternoon, and at all times during the shooting, the union men were unarmed, while the non-union men, sent out by the Western Agricultural Contract Company, were prepared for a bloody fight with arms purchased, in many cases, recently from hardware stores in this town. As a proof of the fact that the union men were not guilty of the murderous violence, we point to the fact that the authorities have not arrested a single union man —the only man actually put under bonds, or arrested, being Deputy Constable Charles Arnold.

"Our union has always been law abiding, and has in its ranks at least nine-tenths of all the beet thinners in this section—who have not asked for a raise in wages, but only that the wages be not lowered, as was demanded by the beet growers. Many of us have families, were born in this country, and are lawfully seeking to protect the only property that we have—our labor. It is just as necessary for the welfare of the valley that we get a decent living wage, as it is that the machines in the great sugar factory be properly oiled—if the machines stop, the wealth of the vallep stops, and likewise if the laborers are not given decent wage, they too, must stop work, and the whole people of the country will stop with them.

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"We assert that if the police authorities had done their duty many arrests would have been made among the occupants of the company's house from which the volleys of bullets came. In view of the fact that many disorderly men have lately been induced to come to Oxnard by the Western Agricultural Contract Company, and that they took part in the assaults of Monday afternoon, we demand that the police do not longer neglect their duty, but arrest those persons who plainly participated in the fatal shooting.

(Signed) J. M. LIZARRARAS,
Secretary of the Mexican branch of the Japanese-Mexican Protective Association.

Y. YAMAGACHI,
Secretary of the Japanese branch of the Japanese-Mexican Protective Association."

Frightened at the turn things had now taken, Major Driffel, of the Beet Sugar Company, asked for a joint meeting of committees from the unions, the farmers and the company. The first day's conference came to nothing, but at the second meeting the employers realized that they were facing a labor trust that had cornered all the available labor power in the valley, and so the men's scale of prices was agreed to, with an additional pledge that all the idle union men would be immediately employed.

Twice, after this, the company tried to import a carload of scabs from Los Angeles—even going so far as to lock the last shipment in its car and receive them at the station with armed guards—but each time the new men joined the union as soon as they reached Oxnard—the last lot escaping from the car windows.

At this juncture, the Los Angeles County Council of Labor passed resolutions favoring the organization of all Asiatics now in California. This was done upon the recommendation of Comrade F. C. Wheeler, organizer for the A. F. of L. in Southern California, who had visited Oxnard, organized the two unions, and was much impressed by their fighting qualities.

So far everything was well with the beet thinners, the company whipped in the first battle of the local class-war and the field hands unionized. But a most unexpected and disheartening blow capped the climax of their struggles—a blow from behind. Samuel Gompers, while granting the Mexicans all rights and privileges, refused to grant the Japanese union a charter, and in his letter to Secretary Lizarraras made the following remarkable statement:

"It is further understood that in issuing this charter to your union, it will under no circumstance accept membership of any Chinese or Japanese. The laws of our country prohibit Chinese

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workmen or laborers from entering the United States, and propositions for the extension of the exclusion laws to the Japanese have been made on several occasions."

In making such an extraordinary ruling, President Gompers has violated the expressed principles of the A. F. of L., which states that race, color, religion or nationality, shall be no bar to fellowship in the American Federation of Labor.

California, alone, contains over forty thousand Japanese who, if unorganized, will be a continuous menace to union men.

"Better go to hell with your family than to heaven by yourself," said the speaker whose stirring words decided the Mexican union to send back its charter to President Gompers, along with the following letter:

"OXNARD, CAL., June 8, 1903.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, Pres. American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of May 13, in which you say: 'The admission with us of the Japanese Sugar Beet & Farm Laborers into the American Federation of Labor connot be considered,' is received.

"We beg to say in reply that our Japanese brothers, here, were the first to recognize the importance of co-operating and uniting in demanding a fair wage scale.

"They are composed mostly of men without families, unlike the Mexicans in this respect.

"They were not only just with us, but they were generous. When one of our men was murdered by hired assassins of the oppressors of labor, they gave expression of their sympathy in a very substantial form.

"In the past we have counciled, fought and lived on very short rations with our Japanese brothers, and toiled with them in the fields, and they have been uniformly kind and considerate. We would be false to them and to ourselves and to the cause of Unionism if we, now, accepted privileges for ourselves which are not accorded to them. We are going to stand by men who stood by us in the long, hard fight which ended in a victory over the enemy. We therefore respectfully petition the A. F. of L. to grant us a charter under which we can unite all the Sugar Beet & Field Laborers of Oxnard, without regard to their color or race. We will refuse any other kind of charter, except one which will wipe out race prejudices and recognize our fellow workers as being as good as ourselves.

"I am ordered by the Mexican union to write this letter to you and they fully approve its words.

J. M. LIZARRARAS,
Sec'y S. B. & F. L. Union, Oxnard."

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The Japanese are publishing two papers in San Francisco, and another will be printed in Los Angeles by Mr. Shibuya as soon as the expected type arrives from Japan, so it can be easily seen how important their members would be to organized labor in the West. To Socialists they are particularly attractive, as the Japanese have proven themselves to be apt students of the international working-class movement that believes in a common ownership of the means of production and distribution. Their leaders in California—I speak of those whom I have met and talked with—one and all regard Socialism to be the logical conclusion of the trades union movement. The opposition of their entrance into the A. F. of L. can only be temporary, as the unions of Southern California are practically unanimous in their favor, and I hear that, since the writing of Gompers' letters, the National executive is reconsidering its action.

But the interesting phase to the student, in all this, is the evidence offered by the Oxnard episode to the effect that labor, like capital, knows neither race prejudice nor national tradition when the class struggle is on. Even the Chinese in Oxnard—there were very few of them—aligned themselves with the unions, for they, too, wished to better their material conditions—a desire, international, within the breast of man.

I cannot avoid the conclusion, forced on me by my contact with the Japanese and Mexicans in California—where they have of their own volition been organizing—that a social revolution is as possible among these people as any in the world, providing their immediate environment is the same. In fact, there is history making in China, to-day, that must lead a sound Marxian to feel no surprise if the conquest of private capital may not be first accomplished in Cathay.

John Murray, Jr.

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The Wage Slave

ONLY a child of the tenement,
Palid and weak, with slight form bent,
Suffering from hunger and cold;
Hurrying along with the bustling throng—
She doth to the wage-slave band belong,
And only ten years old.

Only a child of the tenement,
Body with pain and hunger rent,
Bound by the curse of gold
To toil all day that another may feast,
To toil all day for a cruel beast,
To be in luxury lolled.

Only a child of the tenement,
With never a moment of sweet content
To ease her life of toil;
No song escapes her lips at morn—
In brooding silence her heart forlorn
Has naught despair to foil.

Only a child of the tenement,
Sick at heart and soul most spent,
Works on with choking breath;
Works on all day amid whirring wheels,
And ever at her aching heart feels
The icy hand of death.

Only a child of the tenement,
Marred by the hand of man and sent
Forth beneath the cruel rod;
Its pure soul marred because of love withheld,
And on darkening wings at last impelled
Onward to meet its God.

Only a child of the tenement,
Crushed 'neath a cruel beam and sent
Forth, alone, to meet its God;
But blood is cheap and bread is dear,
Another child with face sad and drear,
Bows low beneath the rod.

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Only a child of the tenement—
To greed and pleasure our minds are lent,
And think not what made her so—
The child of want, and sorrow, and pain,
With never a ray of sunlight lain,
Along the way which she must go.

Only a child of the tenement,
Yet shaped by the hand of God and meant
To bear His form divine.
O, men, if men ye be, and wring
Not from the tyrant Greed his baleful sting,
Then his sin is also thine.

D. U. Cochrane.

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Australian Labor and Socialist News

THE engine drivers and firemen of Victoria came out on strike on May 8. A long series of petty tyrannies and flagrant injustices have been the real cause of the trouble. The minister for railways has earned for himself the unenviable title of Bully Bent.

The civil service in Victoria have recently been granted special parliamentary representation; the railway employes were given the privilege of electing one whole member themselves. The railway employes resented this as an interference with the secrecy of the ballot, and smarting under Bent's bullying ways, decided to affiliate with the other Victorian unions. The government demanded their withdrawal from the affiliated body of unions—the Trades Hall. Some of the railway workers complied with this demand, but the engine drivers and firemen, with several other unions, refused to withdraw. The government again issued an ultimatum, again demanding their withdrawal before May 12. The engine drivers and firemen decided to anticipate them, and accordingly the strike commenced on May 8. Double pay, promotion and all manner of inducements were offered by the railway department, but out of a union numbering between 1,300 and 1,400 all came out but 15.

On the 9th of May only two trains were run in Victoria and the commercial world was completely paralyzed. Factories had to slacken hands and the business of the community generally was thrown into disorder. The strike was hailed with approval in labor circles throughout Australia, and it was thought we were on the eve of a labor revival. The Victorian government, at their wit's end, summoned parliament and introduced a bill for the suppression of the strike. All strikers were liable to a fine of £100 or twelve months imprisonment, the distributing of monies, holding monies for strikers, persuading persons not to scab, holding meetings, sympathizing with strike, etc., were breaches of the act. Scabs meanwhile were being brought from all parts of Australia, but still the Victorian train service was in a state of chaos. All Australia regarded the strike as being almost won, for it was felt that the Victorian government would not have the courage to enforce the bill when passed, and it was known that the men were as firm as ever. On the 15th of May the strike was declared off, to the amazement of both sympathizers and men. The secretary and president of the union had declared the strike off without consulting the men or even the strike executive! These two officials betrayed their trust, and their action

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should be another warning to the workers not to give too much power to their leaders.

This strike has caused great anxiety to the state Socialists. They do not want anything else "nationalized" under Bent. They are joining with other labor reformers in urging the claims of conciliation and arbitration. Although some of these people will tell you that our government and courts are conducted in the interests of one class, they seem to think that the arbitration court will be different. In New Zealand, the home of compulsory arbitration, dissatisfaction with the decisions of the Board of Conciliation is growing. Already in New South Wales, where this method of settling disputes has not been in vogue twelve months, the Newcastle coal miners have petitioned for an amendment in the act. In Western Australia the Arbitration and Conciliation Act is being administered in such a way that every union which registers under it must be limited to one trade. The working of the act there is resolving the federated unions into disunited, petty and isolated ones.

Some kindly-disposed syndicate, having an eye to the workers' interests, or to their pockets, propose the establishment of a labor daily in Sydney. It is proposed that the unions should procure 50,000 subscribers in return for which they have power to appoint three directors to control the policy of the paper, but these directors are to have nothing whatever to do with the business management. The names of the promoters of this scheme have not been disclosed. They should know, however, that if 50,000 unionists put their heads together they can run a paper without the aid of the benevolent syndicate.

Andrew M. Anderson.

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Socialism in Bohemia

BOHEMIAN Socialists, like the Bohemian nation itself, are unknown away from home. Thus the Germans, our nearest neighbors, give the name of "boehmisches Dorf" (a Bohemian village) to anything unknown. Such a state of things is bad for a nation. It is the smaller peoples who have the greater need, if not of sympathy, from the foreigner, at least of being known by him. We see this very clearly in the Magyars. These have persuaded the whole world that they were a chivalric nation, burning with love for the ideal of liberty, but unfortunately always oppressed by a foreign government, a brutal government which does not permit the necessary national development. Every one is now convinced of that, and the Magyars, sure of the sympathy of Europe, are today oppressing in the most brutal and cynical fashion all the other nations in Hungary, the Slavs, the Roumanians, the Servians, and even the Germans. The ruling class persecutes the workingmen in their organizations in a fashion unparalleled in Europe. And the oppressed, the persecuted, cannot hold up this brutality to public scorn because no one would believe the chivalric Magyars capable of such brutality.

The Bohemians today are not in a situation like that of the nations oppressed by the Magyars. But it rests with us to guard against that very thing in the future. To that end we have need of the sympathies of Europe. That is true for the whole nation, it is still truer for the Bohemian Socialists. If Socialism in Bohemia is to develop, the Bohemian Socialist Party must be recognized as on an equality with all other Socialist parties, as a party filling well its place in the International Socialist movement. It is necessary then that our foreign comrades know that this party exists, and that they become acquainted with its plan, its manner of propaganda, and the work before it.

But the Bohemians seem to be surrounded by a Chinese wall. Many times already we have taken the trouble to inform the German Socialist press regarding events in Bohemia. We have always received the same stereotyped answer: "It is impossible to publish the information you send. We have no room for things of this sort because our readers take no interest in them." If finally I add that the official journal of the Socialist Party in Austria, the *Arbeiterzeitung*, at Vienna, has no correspondent at Prague, I think every one will believe in my sincerity when I thank the editor of the *Humanite Nouvelle* for opening to me the

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columns of this review to inform its readers of what is happening in Bohemia.

We have in Austria a central party which holds its congress every two years to control the action of the parliamentary group and to decide questions of programme and tactics. All administrative questions and all other questions which do not touch upon the programme and tactics of the central party are left to the national congresses. Our national parties are not divided according to territory but they are arranged on an ethnological basis.

The Bohemian Socialist party held its fifth congress on the 1st, 2d and 3d of November, 1902. Next year will be the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first congress of the Bohemian Socialist party. It was a secret congress in a tavern near Prague, where met the principal militant Socialists from all corners of Bohemia and Moravia—while trying to evade the attention of the police—to come to an agreement on the principles of the programme and the means of propaganda.

Today more than 200 delegates from Bohemia, Moravia and Lower Austria assemble in the great hall of a building which belongs to the printers' union. The Bohemian Socialist party is composed of local organizations. They have representatives which hold district meetings. The delegates from the districts form the national representation of the party.

In 1901 the party counted 338 local organizations in 32 districts; but there are also Socialists and Socialist organizations in 559 cities and villages where the party is not yet organized. Today, in 1901, it includes 68 political organizations, 417 labor unions, 397 educational associations, 60 mutual aid associations and 29 gymnastic and athletic associations, a total of 48,777 members. In 1901 the party arranged for 12,734 meetings. It is thus seen that neither the Austro-Hungarian empire, nor in Bohemia, nor in the municipality, can Socialism be treated as a negligible quantity.

To make action possible wherever necessary the party naturally has need of money. Its finances thus far have been well regulated. Every member is obliged to pay to the party each month about two-fifths of a cent through his local organization. The resources of the party are not large, but they are something, and that is an important advantage.

In its propaganda the party has found one very special obstacle, namely, the educational associations. In the time of the persecution of Socialism in Austria the Socialists could not organize in any other form than educational associations. At one time and another the members of these associations started sick benefit funds, etc. They are now tied to these funds, and when it is desired to establish a labor union the same objection is always heard: "We already have our association. We have no need of

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another new one. We cannot be members of two associations because we cannot afford to pay dues to two groups."

The Federation of Unions has made great efforts to transform the educational associations into groups adhering to the central organization. It had, however, no success. It then invoked the aid of the Socialist party.

The fifth congress, which was held at Prague, November 1, 2 and 3, 1902, decided that the educational associations were an outgrown form which cannot exist in the present state of the working class organization, consequently it recommends its members to transform the educational associations into labor unions.

The party also has occasion to see the importance of the younger workingmen in the political movement. The young men furnished two or three years ago the framework for the new national labor party. The need is now recognized of filling the minds of the youth with Socialist ideas and carrying on an active propaganda in their ranks to bring them into Socialism. The party has recognized the gymnastic associations as a very useful means for arriving at this end. It accordingly advises the young to take part in them.

By the side of the associations exists the Socialist press, the great propagandist of Socialist ideas. It fights its numerous enemies; it defends the citizen against the government and its office holders, the workingman against the employer and his assistants.

The Socialist press in Austria, and especially the Bohemian press, is, as in Germany, the property of the party; the central journal *Pravo Lidu* (People's Rights) at Prague, and the monthly review *Akademie* belong entirely to the party. The other Bohemian daily journal, *Delnicke Listy* (Worker's Gazette), at Vienna —the only daily journal in Europe appearing in Bohemian outside of Bohemia and Moravia—and some other newspapers are the property of the national organizations, while all the others belong to the organizations of the electoral districts. The union papers are edited by their respective unions.

According to the report of the executive committee at the congress, the situation of the Bohemian Socialist press is as follows: The political press has two daily journals and twelve other organs (including a paper for agitation among women and another for agitation among the young); the union press has eighteen organs. Besides this the party possesses a monthly review, a weekly anti-clerical paper, a humorous paper and a monthly literary paper.

The press committee distributes each year a great number of pamphlets, but it also publishes important works for the Socialist movement.

The Socialist press cannot develop in Austria as in other countries, because with us the peddling of papers is forbidden. More-

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over, the entire press is under the power of the procurator general, who can confiscate anything he chooses without any responsibility. This means that it is especially the Socialist press which feels this arbitrary power of the procurator general. But we now have a government with a president who would like people to believe that he is a man of modern ideas. This is united in him with a rare skill at promising every one something agreeable. Seeing that he can buy over all other political parties by promises, he thinks he may be able to gain over the Socialists also if he promises them to introduce a bill for a new law regarding the press. So he introduces it. But this so-called new law is but a poor copy of the German newspaper law of 1874. The Germans desire to repeal it, but it is still good enough for the Austrians.

This proposed law, it is true, limits at some points the omnipotence of the procurator general in the matter of confiscation, but it maintains confiscation in principle. It also maintains the prohibition of peddling papers, although the president of the council himself—the author of the project—was obliged to recognize in open chamber that this prohibition was an absolute anomaly, that it is in direct contradiction of the ideas and most primary demands of our time.

It goes without saying that the congress could not but give voice to the fact that this newspaper law was not agreeable from this point of view and consequently it was not acceptable to the Socialists. The Socialist party demands universal suffrage, and pensions for disease and old age. The fifth congress renewed these demands briefly and passed on to a very important point, to a discussion regarding the action of the Socialists in the municipalities.

The movement which carried the first Socialists into the municipal councils is a recent thing. We may state that this movement has not grown in any remarkable fashion except in the first elections in the fifth class. This is a class with universal suffrage, co-ordinate with the class of great agrarian proprietors, the class of the chambers of commerce, the class of the cities, the class of the provinces. The agitation which had taken place at the time of this election diffused Socialist ideas even into the most remote villages. The people instinctively regard Socialism as the voice of the oppressed, as the voice of the opposition. We have many examples of the opposition in the country towns presenting itself from that time on under the title of the Socialist party. The party is thus represented in 178 municipal councils by 526 municipal councilmen.

These are found either in the workingmen's villages on the outskirts of the industrial cities or in their more immediate neighborhood, especially in the coal fields, or in the little provincial towns, or again in the villages, where the struggle has

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long existed between the large and the small agrarian proprietors. There still exists in Bohemia a vestige of the ancient community of property. The communal property belonged before 1864 to a certain number of proprietors who could use it as their own. But the law for the organization of townships could not preserve that right of the proprietors. It limited it in this way: The old proprietors can use this property only according to the needs of their households. It results from this that these proprietors often go further than the law allows, for they always regard the public property as their property, and forbid the small proprietors to use it. The latter now wish either to preserve the public property for the township and defend it against the ancient proprietors or to take a share in the robbery committed.

This opposition has need of a banner which permits the concentration of all the elements dissatisfied with the situation in the township. This banner is now Socialism.

It should therefore be no cause for astonishment that many of the municipal councilmen elected under the title of "Socialists" do not always act according to the programme of the Socialist party. The Bohemian Socialist party has for three years had its municipal programme, but most of the Socialist municipal councilmen have not had time to read it or study it.

The Socialist workingmen elected in the villages are not independent. They depend upon the employer, who is also nearly always a member of the municipal council, and he throws the municipal councilmen who are workingmen out on the street if they wish to do anything he does not accept.

The result of the action of the Socialists in the townships is not satisfactory. The fifth congress recognizes that it is necessary to impose upon the municipal councilmen who belong to the Socialist party a strong control on the part of the local organizations of the districts. The congress recommended to the organizations to aid the municipal councilmen by their advice and to interfere always if they see that the action of the municipal council, especially the action of the Socialist members, does not correspond to the programme of the party. The executive committee has been invited to convoke from time to time congresses of municipal councilmen. The party press must accord more attention to municipal Socialism than it has done up to this time.

That is the most important resolution that the fifth congress took. The circumstances of Bohemia oblige us to be attentive to this opposition movement in the township. Well directed it will enable us to diffuse our ideas and to increase the chances of the Socialistic party in future electoral campaigns.

Dr. Leon Winter, in L'Humanite Nouvelle, translated by Charles H. Kerr.

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Political Problems in Germany

EVEN the mentally most inert Philistine and the most brainless minister of state will now certainly stir from his stupor and anxiously inquire, What next?" writes Comrade Kautsky in a recent issue of the *Neue Zeit.* "He must realize that things can no longer continue as heretofore, that the so-called 'fight with the weapons of the mind' against Socialism is a total failure. This fight has never been much more than a string of misquotations for the purpose of proving that the strongest party in Germany is composed of a lot of idiots, scoundrels and vandals. And it is the sum total of the intellectual ammunition which the bourgeoisie used against us during the recent campaign."

But a thorough bourgeois never learns anything. Says the *Neue Zeit* editorially in its issue of July 4: "One would think that those diminutive fractions of the bourgeois left would bethink themselves a little after the crushing defeat which they have suffered. During the first few days after the catastrophe, they indeed made some desultory remarks that might have caused some unusually confiding mind to harbor the expectation that they would repent in sack and ashes. But this mood passed off rapidly, and to-day they are once more masters of the situation. It is not the *Berliner Tageblatt,* not the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* nor any of the other charming members of that newspaper family, that have received a shameful drubbing in the elections, but rather—the Social Democracy is once more on the eve of its internal dissolution, or it is in the moulting stage toward liberal radicalism, or—well, in short, it is really the Socialist party that has lost the electoral battle, and we should be thankful to at last follow the wise counsels of those honest papers."

According to the capitalist press, the Socialist party is once more on the verge of disruption, because—lo and behold!—Comrade Edward Bernstein has stirred up a little storm in a teacup about non-essentials by an article in the *Socialistische Monatshefte,* in which he warms up the old contention that the Socialist party should assert its right to the vice-presidency in the Reichstag. Of course, for Bernstein and his opportunist friends this matter is by no means unessential, but of the gravest diplomatic consequences. Our great revolutionist friend inflates this vice-presidential bubble into a mighty balloon which will carry the Socialist party, in his opinion, from a position of cold and unsympathetic criticism to one of fruitful and effective

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political activity. He declares that no principle will be violated by accepting the representative duties of this position together with the parliamentary duties, because "a visit to the emperor is a formality pure and simple" which does not in the least touch any of our fundamental principles. It is "purely an acknowledgement of the present political status, by which we do not in the least signify our adherence to the principles of monarchy." Moreover, "the imperial constitution, more than any other, stands in its origin and stipulations next to the principles of a republic." The constitution does not recognize the traditional rights of monarchs, because "it does not recognize an emperor of Germany, or an emperor of the Germans, but only a German emperor." In some parts of Germany the Socialist representatives are compelled to take the oath of allegiance, and "that is a much more serious matter than a simple visit to the emperor. A Socialist does not sacrifice his principles by making a visit, once or twice in the year, to the executive head of the state, as a representative of the elected representative authority, under the provisions of the constitution."

The capitalist press takes this very minor matter as seriously as does Bernstein himself. The *Nationalliberale Korrespondenz* declares that it does not wish to give rise to "the erroneous idea that only a certain part of the liberals is liberal enough to fully recognize the claim of the Socialists to the position of vice president. This is in no way the case. Especially in the national liberal party there is no desire to deny a claim that follows *per se* from the proportional strength of the various parties in the Reichstag." But the *National-Zeitung,* liberal radical organ, is not so willing to accede to the claims of the Socialists. If the Socialists should nominate Comrade Singer for this position, it would be "a matter of course that all parties of the right should refuse to sanction the choice, because "Singer, after being ordered to leave the session by authority of the rules of order, did not comply but violated these rules." In reality, Vice President von Stolberg ordered Comrade Singer out of the house by a flagrant breach of the rules, and the "liberal radical" organ champions this reactionary despotism. The conservative organs take it for granted that no Socialist can ever occupy the seat of vice president, because we are opponents of monarchy and would not rise to join in the customary homage to the emperor. The organs of the center party are divided. The *Centrums-Korrespondenz* and the *Koelner Volks-Zeitung* recall the fact that once upon a time the center party was treated by the parties of the right like Cinderella, but hedges on the question of the personalities to be nominated by the Socialists. And the *Germania,* after repeating the old lie that "the Social Democracy proclaims atheism," continues: "Let us wait

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and see what the beginning of the reichstag session will bring in the matter of the vice presidency. If the majority of the Reichstag should offer the Socialists that position, they will hardly be so 'inhuman' and impolite as to refuse it. But if Mr. Paul Singer should be nominated by them, then the majority of the Reichstag will no doubt refuse to accept him" on the specious ground mentioned above. Besides, the clerical organ complains that "that no Socialist will accept the duties of representation connected with the vice presidency, or call for a 'Hoch' for the emperor, as required by the majority of the Reichstag and by the loyalty for the monarch."

Vorwaerts replies that "We are quite satisfied, if the center fraction will violate our good right by hypocritical interpretations. We are fully alive to the difficulties growing out of an acceptance of the vice presidency by a Socialist. And we offer no objection if the majority of the Reichstag will open the new session by a violation of justice, which will brand them as a reactionary mass opposed to the Socialist Party, a party representing three million working class votes."

Comrade Singer is much surprised at the stand taken by Bernstein. "It is queer," he says, "that the result of the elections, which opens up a great perspective for the future power of the party, should give Comrade Bernstein no other concern than the discussion of such a minor and unessential question. Power and influence are not vested in the vice presidency, but in the Reichstag. So far as urging a determined claim on the vice presidency is concerned, Bernstein is once again making an assault on an open door. There is no difference of opinion about that in the party. Speaking for myself, it seems to me that we shall insist on our claim, just as we did in 1898. It is also a matter of course that a Socialist vice president fulfills all the duties prescribed *by the rules of business.* We have so declared in the convention of seniors in 1898, when we made our claim to the vice presidency. But it was then sought to saddle certain *social* duties on us which are not provided for by the order of business. And when we declined to attend the imperial court our just claims were denied.

"I can see no reason for abandoning our standpoint, so much less as the vice presidency has not by far the importance attributed to it by Bernstein. * * * Of course, it would do us no harm to have a Socialist vice president. But neither can I see what great differences it would make for us whether one of us could ring the presidential bell or not. I deny that there is any occasion for the party to covet that position at any cost. * * * I lack the understanding for the necessity of opening up, without need, and immediately after a glorious campaign, such questions

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as will give renewed countenance to the widespread legend of the fundamental differences of opinion among the Socialists. * * * "

The *Leipziger Volkszeitung,* the organ of the Leipsic Socialists, thinks that it is not worth while to enter into the sophisms of Bernstein at the present moment. But the *Volksfreund* of Karlsruhe is very angry at the insinuation that Bernstein's argument is based on sophisms and announces that there will be a great revisionist campaign in the near future. The *Neue Zeit* points out that "The priority for this idea of Bernstein's belongs to the *Berliner Tageblatt.* Bernstein has aroused a great enthusiasm in the radical press by mentioning the idea that the Socialist fraction of the Reichstag should translate the valiant and heroic battle of three millions into a courteous bow before the monarchic principle. The capitalist paper suggested the idea immediately after the main election. But however much it is otherwise inclined to demand credit, it has not insisted on its prior claims in this instance, but prefers to regard as the mightily rushing spring of Socialism that which is in reality only the sluggish flow of muddy water from its own pipes. It is jubilant over the impending *admission of the Socialists at court,* because Comrade Bernstein recommends that the new representatives of the party, at the command of the bourgeois majority, should stoop to an action which is repugnant to their political principles."

Bernstein's assertion that the German constitution is almost democratic elicits the following from the *Neue Zeit*: "We confess that we rubbed our eyes when we read that, for we thought we were dreaming. The origin of the German constitution is sufficiently known, and no one ever thought of denying that there was no constitution in Germany that had been made to such an extent without the people and its representatives, and so entirely by monarchs and princes, as the imperial constitution." The *Neue Zeit* strongly suspects that Bernstein does not know the literature dealing with the origin of this constitution, especially since he attributes such a high diplomatic value to the distinction between an emperor of Germany, an emperor of the Germans and a German emperor. The *Neue Zeit* then quotes from a work of Professor Lorenz, how the German emperor was the creation of the meanest intrigues of the German princes during the Franco-Prussian war. "When all these contemptible intrigues began to blossom out in their sins, Bismarck asked one of his conspirators what was the Latin word for sausage. When he was told that it was 'farcimentum' he joked about those fine diplomatic distinction now mentioned by Comrade Bernstein: '*Nescio quid mihi magis farcimentum esset*'—I don't know what would be more sausage to me—in other words, all kaisers look alike to me."

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The *Neue Zeit* concludes by saying: "If those (capitalist) papers rejoice at Comrade Bernstein's proposition as if somebody had fried an extra sausage for them, then the party should, in our opinion, close the books for once and all in this matter of eternally revising our most elementary principles, by repeating the words of Bismarck: *Nescio quid mihi magis farcimentum esset.* We can really afford to do that after the 16th of June, and it would not be the least gratifying result of that glorious day."

While Bernstein, with characteristic opportunist smallness, is wasting time and paper on a bagatelle, Kautsky publishes an exhaustive and deep analysis of the new situation created by the result of the elections and the probable course to be followed by the government against the Socialists. He shows that the government has two ways to oppose us: Either by weakening the proletariat through a corruption of its leaders. This method is hopeless in Germany. It is also futile to hope for success by trying the tactics of the English bourgeoisie against the trade unions. The German trade unions have a generation of class conscious political action behind them, and the German bourgeoisie is not as strong as the English. The other method is brutal suppression of political rights under the leadership of the army officers, the representatives of the aristocrats. Kautsky thinks that the growth of the Socialist movement will increase this tendency toward violent methods, but that the reaction of to-day is not as strong as it was in the years following 1848. "Then it followed in the wake of the violent suppression of the revolutionary classes and countries; today it grows with the continuous increase of the revolutionary masses. Then it drew its strength from the complete helplessness of the masses against the government; to-day it is accompanied by a growing rebellion against the ruling regime. Then it was mainly supported by a strong government, behind which stood a small but aggressive caste of nobles; today the government as a reactionary factor is far outdone by the reactionary parties, and these are not produced by one class, but by various classes with different interests and methods of warfare. It is extremely difficult to unite them all under one leadership, and it is impossible to keep them permanently together for united action." * * * This dissolution of the reactionary elements is furthermore offset by the fact that with the decline of liberalism the revolutionary Socialists become more and more a political necessity. "Liberalism is dead, and a strong Socialist Party alone offers the possibility to protect the German nation against brainless experiments and to do justice to the most elementary needs of the economic and intellectual development."

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From these premises Kautsky concludes that "a regime of great political and economic reforms is excluded by the present situation. But neither is a regime of permanent restriction and violent suppression of the proletarian movement probable, although it is more likely to be tried than an era of reform. However, if it should come to such a regime of the 'strong man,' and he should succeed in stifling some of the signs of life of the Socialist Party for a short time, it could only be a regime so absolutely out of harmony with the requirements of modern life, so narrow and stupid, that it would soon bring Germany to the verge of ruin and face to face with a catastrophe, which would result in a much greater victory of the Socialist Party and in the conquest of the political power by the proletariat."

The probable policy, according to Kautsky, will be one of inconsistency, vacillating between concession and violent repression. To those who would derive from such inconsistency the hope that the government might try to seek a *modus vivendi* with the Socialists, if they would accept the tactics of state Socialism, Kautsky answers: "This is a conception which looks very clever, but is in reality extremely foolish, because it neglects the economic basis of things. It emanates from the premise that the governments derive their powers from within themselves, as if they were not dependent on the ruling classes."

It follows from the foregoing that the work of the Socialist representatives will largely deal with the problems mapped out by the so-called immediate demands. *Vorwaerts* of July 4 declares that the Socialists will more than ever demand a fulfillment of its social duties from the government. They must try to obtain the legal eight-hour day, combat female and child labor, provide for greater protection of the employes of house industries, and meet the problems of factory inspection and workingmen's insurance. The problem of the unemployed and of providing for widows and orphans of the working class should also be solved in the next Reichstag.

But whether the Socialists will succeed in obtaining these demands or not, *Vorwaerts* is certain that the German working class will not permit the ruling classes any longer to rest in sloth and idleness. "The working men will press the spur of critique into the flanks of the class state, until it starts ahead—toward the final goal, *Socialism.*"

Ernest Untermann.

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Economic Aspects of Chattel Slavery

(Continued from last issue.)

AT the formation of the union the rice of Georgia and South Carolina and the tobacco of Virginia were almost the only crops which demanded slave labor for their cultivation. These two crops were much too limited in importance to constitute the basis of a wide-spread industrial organization, such as that to which chattel slavery later gave rise.

It was a revolution in the field of manufacture, that, finally reacting upon agriculture, fastened chattel slavery upon the Southern States of America. The inventions of Hargreave and Arkwright mightily increased the demand for cotton. But the raising of cotton was restricted by the difficulty of separating the cotton fibre from the seed. On this point I quote from Census Bulletin of 1900, No. 206 (page 10): "Prior to the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1794, the separation of the seed from the lint had to be done by hand, a task being four pounds of lint cotton per week for each head of the family, working at night in addition to the usual field work. Thus it would take one person two years to turn out the quantity of cotton contained in one average standard bale. One machine will gin from three to fifteen 500-pound bales per day, dependent upon its power and saw capacity. While several machines had been invented for the seeding of cotton, it was reserved for Eli Whitney to inaugurate, by his invention, the era which was to perfect the industry of 'cotton ginning' and revolutionize the culture and commerce of the staple."

And also on page 11: "Possibly no invention ever caused so rapid a development of the industry with which it was associated as that brought through the saw cotton gin. In 1793 the exportation of cotton from the United States was 487,500 pounds, or 975 bales of an average weight of 500 pounds. In 1794, the year in which the Whitney gin was patented, the number of pounds of cotton exported from the United States was 1,600,000, equivalent to 3,200 bales of a 500-pound standard."

In "Eighty Years' Progress of the United States" an article by Prof. C. F. McCay, of Columbia College, South Carolina, Page 113-14, says: "The introduction of Whitney's 'gin acted like magic on the planting of cotton. In eight years, from 1792 to 1800, the exports of the United States increased more than a hundred-fold. The value rose from $30,000 to $3,000,000, and

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the amount from 138,000 pounds to 18,000,000. The whole of this was wanted in England, and the rapid increase in the demand there that followed the general introduction of Arkwright's inventions prevented any decline in price. The population of South Carolina and Georgia, where all of the cotton was raised, was only 507,000 in 1800; so that the amount was $6 to each individual, including young and old. . . . In the next ten years, from 1801 to 1810, the production increased more than five-fold, from 18,000,000 to 93,000,000 of pounds, and the value from $3,000,000 to $15,000,000. As the population had only increased 30 per cent in these ten years, and as the expense of cotton and rice had risen from 94,000 to 119,000 tierces, the great change was in the transfer of labor from tobacco to cotton. The exports of cotton and rice in 1810 were more than $30 to each person, white and black, young and old, male and female; an amount which sufficiently indicates that nearly the whole available labor was devoted to these two staples."*

So it was that within a short time cotton had risen to be a dominant element in the industrial life of the South, and indeed almost of the United States and we find the cry of King Cotton being taken up by the defenders of the Southern system. In a book which was extensively circulated as constituting a sort of official statement of the slaveholders' position entitled "Cotton is King" by "An American," we have this summed up as follows, page 98: "Nearly all the cotton consumed in the Christian world is the product of the slave labor of the United States. It is this monopoly that has given slavery its commercial value; and while this monopoly is retained the institution will continue to extend itself wherever it can find room to spread." This same author sums up the facts as to the industrial position of slave labor and the crops which were its necessary base as follows (Page 54): "Slave labor has seldom been made profitable where it has been wholly employed in grazing and grain growing; but it becomes remunerative in proportion as the planters can devote their attention to cotton, sugar, rice, or tobacco. To render southern slavery profitable in the highest degree therefore, the slaves must be employed upon some one of these articles and be sustained by a supply of food and draught animals from Northern agricultural States."

Soon, however, it began to be apparent that the bargain of the Constitution could not remain a permanent one. The two forms of the organization of industry gave rise to the two divergent social systems, and consequently to two ruling social classes with opposing interests. It was inevitable that both of these should struggle for control of the government. Both of them

*See Thomas P. Kettel "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits." pp. 20-24.

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were compelled to grow or die, and it was in the struggle for the control of new territory that the contest became of greatest importance. This conflict had really begun to make its appearance before the Revolution. Horace Greeley, in his "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension or Restriction in the United States," page 5, tells us that "When North Carolina and Georgia ceded their western lands, they especially provided that slavery should not be interfered with in any States that might be made from this territory." The Ordinance of 1787, however, which was formulated by Jefferson, and provided for the organization of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, contained the section which has become so famous forbidding "slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

It is interesting to note the vote on this Ordinance (Bancroft's History of Constitution of United States, Vol. 1, p. 115): "The great statute forbidding slavery to cross the river Ohio was passed by the vote of Georgia and South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, all the States that were then present in Congress. . . . Everyone said 'Aye' excepting Abraham Yates, of New York."

Woodrow Wilson, in his "History of American People," Vol. 4, pp. 101-102, covers this point so thoroughly that I can do no better than to quote him entire: "The chief choice always to be made at every stage of the unhalting westward movement was the choice concerning slavery; the choice which had been debated very temperately at first when the great Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory was adopted in the days of the Confederation, but which had struck many a spark of passion out when handled again at the admission of Missouri into the Union, and which seemed every time it was touched more dangerous and disturbing than before. Now it seemed to lie everywhere at the front of affairs—not the question of the abolition of slavery, but the question of its territorial extension. * * * Slavery within the States which were already members of the Union was an institution with which the Federal government could have nothing to do, which no opinion even could touch or alter, save the opinion of the States concerned; a question of domestic law in respect of which the choice of each little commonwealth was sovereign and final. Had the full roster of the States been made up, agitators in Congress would have found themselves obliged to confine their attacks to the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the commerce in slaves between the States. But the full roster of the States was not made up; all the great Louisiana purchase remained to be filled with them; and with the making of every community there must come again

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this question of the freedom of labor or the extension of slavery. The fateful choice was always making and to be made."

So it was that there were continually attempts on the part of the slave States to reconsider the decision which they had made during the confederation with regard to the exclusion of slaves from the Northwest Territory. The full history of these efforts is to be found in Wilson's "Rise and Fall of Slave Power in America," Vol. 1, pp. 32-33, and in the work by Greeley, to which reference is made above, page 6, *et seq.* The following quotation from the latter work concerning one of these efforts is particularly interesting, because of the light which it throws on the attitude of one who was to play a prominent part in the anti-slavery agitation of later years. This incident took place March 2, 1803: "John Randolph was chairman of a committee having consideration of a proposal to suspend the slavery section of the Ordinance of 1787, which reported unanimously as follows: 'The rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces in the opinion of your committee that the growth of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that great region. That this labor—*demonstrably* the *dearest of any*—can only be employed in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States; that the Committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitant of Indiana will at no very distant day find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and emigration."

One of the most aggravating things about the chattel slavery movement from the point of view of the Northern capitalist was the way in which it used the central government to obtain new territory. It bought up Florida from Spain and fomented and carried to a successful conclusion an aggressive war with Mexico, lobbied through the Gadsden purchase, while at the same time it released without a struggle territory along the Northern boundary which would have been closed to slaves had it been acquired.

Meantime the two forms of society were growing further and further apart. The North was becoming more and more of a manufacturing country. It was the age of machinery. (Woodrow Wilson, "A History of the American People," p. 132): "A great tide of immigration, moreover, began to pour in, such as the country had never seen before. Until 1842 there had never been so many as a hundred thousand immigrants in a single year: but in 1845 there were two hundred and fourteen thousand, and by 1849 there were two hundred and ninety-seven thousand com-

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ing in within a twelvemonth, the tide rising steadily from year to year. These were years of deep distress over sea. 1846 and 1847 were the years of terrible famine in Ireland; 1848 saw European States shaken once again by revolution. Not only men out of Ireland, looking for a land where there was food, but men also out of the old monarchies of the Continent, looking for a land where there was liberty—men of wholly foreign speech and habit, seeking a free place for a new life, bent upon their own betterment, and thinking little of aught that did not touch their own fortunes—came crowding endlessly in. They did not go into the South, where labor was not free, for they were laborers. They crowded rather, into the cities of the North, or pushed on to the virgin West."

Another point on which the interests of the ruling class of the two sections were antagonistic was on the question of the tariff. This point is so thoroughly covered, and that from the materialist point of view by the writers of the time, that I can do no better than to quote their words:

"The close proximity of the provision and cotton growing districts of the United States gave its planters advantages over all other portions of the world. But they could not monopolize the market, unless they could obtain a cheap supply of food and clothing for their negroes and raise their cotton at such reduced prices as to undersell their rivals. A manufacturing population, with its mechanical coadjutors, in the midst of the provision growers, on a scale such as the protective policy contemplated, it was conceived, would create a permanent market for their products and enhance the price, whereas, if their manufacturing could be prevented, and a system of free trade adopted, the South would constitute the principal provision market of the country, and the fertile lands of the North supply the cheap food demanded for its slaves. As the tariff policy, in the outset, contemplated the encouragement of iron, hemp, whisky, and the establishment of woolen manufactures principally, the South found its interests but slightly identified with the system.

"If they (the Southern planters) could establish free trade, it would insure the American market to foreign manufacturers, secure the foreign markets for their leading staple, repress home manufactures, force a large number of the Northern men into agriculture, multiply the growth and diminish the price of provisions, feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates, produce their cotton for a third or fourth of former prices, and rival all other countries in its cultivation, monopolize the trade in the article throughout the whole of Europe, and build up a commerce and a navy that would make us the rulers of the seas."*

*From "Cotton is King" by "An American."

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On pages 80-81 he continues as follows: "They understood the protective policy as contemplating the support of our country with home-manufactured articles to the exclusion of those of foreign countries. This would confine the planters in the sale of this cotton, mainly to the American market, and leave them in the power of monied corporations, which, possessing the ability, might control the prices of their staple, to the irreparable injury of the South. With slave labor they could not become manufacturers, and must, therefore, remain at the mercy of the North, both as to food and clothing, unless the European markets should be retained. Out of this conviction grew the war upon corporations; the hostility to the employment of foreign capital in developing the mineral, agricultural and manufacturing resources of the country; the efforts to destroy the bonds and the credit system; the attempts to reduce the currency to gold and silver; the system of collecting the public revenues in coin; the withdrawal of public moneys from all banks, as a basis of paper circulation; and the sleepless vigilance of the South, in resisting all systems of internal improvements by the general government. Its statesmen foresaw that a paper currency would keep up the price of Northern products 100 or 200 per cent above the specie standard; that the combination of capitalists, whether engaged in manufacturing wool, cotton, or iron, would draw off labor from the cultivation of the soil, and cause large bodies of the producers to become consumers, and that roads and canals, connecting the West with the East, were effectual means of bringing the agricultural and manufacturing classes into closer proximity, to the serious limitation of the foreign commerce of the country, the checking of the growth of the navy and the manifest injury of the planters."

(Page 83): "The vote of the West during the struggle was of the first importance, as it possessed the balance of power, and could turn the scale at will. It was not left without inducements to co-operate with the South, in its measures for extending slavery that it might create a market among the planters for its products."

This struggle soon extended into a contest to obtain the votes of the Western States, and both parties began to appeal to the interests of the small farmer class of the Middle West. The chattel slave owner pointed out to the farmer of the West that the slave economy demanded the purchase of mules, corn, cattle and hay which was raised in that section. So long as the main avenues of communication between this territory and the outside world consisted of the Mississippi river and its tributaries this argument was of great strength. The South always sought to keep the Mississippi river open, while over and over again the

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New England states showed apathy, not to say hostility, to the improvement of Mississippi navigation.

The Southern position is thus stated by S. S. Marshall in "The Real Issue, Union or Disunion," published in 1856, where he claims that the New England states have always opposed the West and says they fought to open the Mississippi to trade.

"Not because it was a slave territory, but distinctly on the ground that if the people of the West were allowed a free access to the Gulf of Mexico the immigration thereby induced would cripple the commerce of New England. * * * But the gallant South came to our rescue and with Jefferson at their head, Louisiana was acquired, the fetters struck off from western commerce and a career of prosperity opened up to us unexampled in the history of the world."

The Northern capitalists appealed to the Western farmer on the ground that the establishment of manufactures would furnish a market for the raw material which he could produce. Very soon the political party of the North began to stand for internal improvements in addition to a protective tariff. They sought thereby to bring the Western farmer, trader and producer of raw material in general in closer connection with their manufactures.

This question of the social effects of routes of communication with the Northwest was summed up as follows by an anonymous observer in a work entitled "The Effect of Secession upon the Commercial Relations toward the United States," which was printed in London in 1861:

(Pp. 37 *et seq*): "A few years ago the only method of getting the produce of the greater portion of the Western states to market was to float it by its own gravity down the Mississippi * * * The consumers of this product lay to the northeast, rendering necessary a circuit of some 7,000 miles to reach districts separated only by as many hundred. The people of New York, consequently, set to work to open another outlet for the great valley, in effect to turn its great river into their magnificent harbor." (Then describes how Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Indiana and Illinois constructed canals leading in the same direction.) "These works, which at the time they were commenced were regarded as superior to all other modes of transportation of property, as well as persons, led to a great change in the direction of western produce. Instead of being sent, every pound of it, down the Mississippi, as formerly, increasing quantities were turned into the new routes.

"But canals could be constructed only in a few localities. A new and more efficient agency, the greatest achievement of modern times, the railroad, came into play. Practicable everywhere, they were commenced in every part of the country and in the decade just closed more than 10,000 miles have been constructed

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in the Northwestern states alone. * * * The cost of the works constructed to change the direction of the commerce of the Mississippi cannot be less than $500,000,000, or about one-half the cost of all the railroads and canals of the United States.

"The results accomplished have been as vast as the means employed, forty-nine-fiftieths of all the produce of the free states of the West are turned over the new channels leading directly to the districts of consumption. The importance of the Mississippi river and its outlets as channels of commerce has been reduced in an equal degree."

As the slavery contest progressed it brought out many interesting points in the way of comparison between wage labor and chattel slavery. Both parties of course declared that they were waging the struggle for the benefit of the subject classes. To be sure, the chattel slavery owner was a little more frank than the bourgeois buyer of wage labor and admitted that he was seeking his own interest. Yet, as we shall see later, he took good care to persuade the non-slave holding white population that the interests of "the South" were bound up in slave holding. The Northern abolitionists continually told stories of the horrors of Southern slavery, which stories reached their climax in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." While there is no doubt that everything described in this book might be found in the South, and I have not the slightest desire to minimize the damnable character of chattel slavery, yet the fact is that nearly everything it describes, with the exception of the blood hounds and rawhides, applies also to wage slavery.

The Southern chattel slave owners were quick to see this point, even though they did not dare to press it too closely lest it might endanger the entire system of exploitation. One of the favorite arguments made by the defenders of chattel slavery was to point to the large number of paupers which were to be found throughout the Northern states as a proof of the inferior condition of the wage-worker. Osgood Mussey, of Cincinnati, made the most naive reply to this allegation in a pamphlet published in 1849: "The native paupers of the Western states come mostly from this class, the laboring class, represented in the South by slaves. There is one saving clause at the latter end of the slave compact—that the master upon appropriating the whole active life of the slave must support him in his old age. Is not this pauperism? * * * Like this compact between the master and slave-labor * * * so is the maxim which governs the relation of society and the poor within the free states—that it is the duty of the wealth of the state to provide for the comfort of all, who, through disability, cannot provide themselves. In these states it is more economical to the public, and more comfortable to the recipients,

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to collect them into houses, especially during the severity of the winters."

We have already noted the fact that even Wendell Phillips at this time argues for wage labor because the children of wage workers can be put to work earlier than those of slaves, and over and over again the superior productive power of wage labor is repeated. One of these arguments, because of the fact that it is the voice of an organization and that of a sect which has long been noted for its philanthropic motives, sets forth this position with considerable elaborateness. The quotation is taken from the report of a committee appointed at a meeting held in Friend's Hall, Philadelphia, in 1839:

"We think the mere maintenance is here overrated, perhaps, and the estimate of 50 freeman as equal to 300 slaves may be considered as an underrate of slave labor. The average cost of a slave is not less than $500, the interest of which is $30. The average serviceable period of a slave's life does not exceed 21 years, counting from his maturity; his annual depreciation, therefore, is $24 yearly. His clothing can scarcely be less than $16 a year. The incidental expenses of medical attendance, average overseership and loss of time by sickness, running away, etc., may be put at $16 more, which together makes an annual amount of $58. What the slave consumes and what he wastes by omission and commission will keep a free laborer, and the wages of the latter will not rate over $85 in the South. But the slave does, on an average, only three-fourths the labor of a freeman at most, leaving a balance against each slave of $21.50 per annum. To this must be added the slave's keeping when past labor, the progressive impoverishment of the land under slavery, and the many vexations that accompany the system, independent of its moral evils."

Perhaps one of the most striking illustrations of this point is in a quotation given by Helper in his "Impending Crisis," p. 363. He is quoting from the testimony of a West India planter: "In 1834 I came into possession of 257 slaves, under the laws of England, which required the owner to feed, clothe and furnish them with medical attendance. With this number I cultivated my sugar plantation until the Emancipation Act of August 1, 1838, when they all became free. I now hire a portion of those slaves, the best and cheapest, of course, as you hire men in the United States. The average number which I employ is 100, with which I cultivate more land at a cheaper rate and make more produce than I did with 257 slaves. With my slaves I made from 100 to 180 tons of sugar yearly. With 100 free negroes I think I do badly if I do not annually produce 250 tons."

Helper himself also goes into capitalistic ecstasies over the possibility of employment of white women and children under

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wage slavery (p. 300): "We want to see more plowing or hoeing or raking or grain binding by white women in the Southern states; employment in cotton mills and other factories would be far more profitable and congenial to them, and this they shall have within a short period after slavery shall have been abolished." On the next page he quotes from Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, as follows (p. 301): "In the extreme South, at New Orleans, the laboring men—the stevedores, the hackmen on the levee, where the heat is intensified by the proximity of the red brick buildings—are all white men, and they are in the full enjoyment of health. But how about cotton? I am informed by a friend of mine—himself a slave-holder, and therefore good authority—that in northwestern Texas, among the German settlements, who, true to their national instincts, will not employ the labor of a slave, they produce more cotton to the acre, and of better quality, and selling at prices from a cent to a cent and a half a pound higher than that produced by slave labor."

And he quotes from Dr. Cartwright, of New Orleans, as follows: "Here in New Orleans the larger part of the drudgery—work requiring exposure to the sun, as railroad making, street paving, day driving, ditching and building—is performed by white people."

As the price of slaves grew higher in the South the care which the master took of them undoubtedly became greater. Kettel tells us in his "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits": "At the North, a horse of $30 value has bestowed upon him a certain degree of care because of even that value; but when the price of the animal rises to five and ten thousand dollars, the care he receives becomes princely. * * * Up to 1808, the New England trader would sell slaves in the South at £30 ($135) each. At a succession sale in W. Baton Rouge, a few days since, the following enormous prices were paid for common field hands: One female negro and four young, $5,650; one male, $4,400; do do, $3,475; do do, $3,400; do do, $3,305; do do, $3,200. In Salina, Ala., a hand 24 years old brought $2,245, a female $3,205, another hand, $2,050. These prices do not indicate merely that the hand is worth so much more because his services to humanity (!!) have risen in that proportion, but they indicate that he has so much greater hold upon the consideration of his master. That not only his material well-being will be better cared for, but all cruelty, moral and physical, that might affect his health or diminish his usefulness, will be more strictly prohibited; that the powers of overseers will be restrained; that his moral culture as conducive to his physical usefulness will be cared for, and the path thus laid open to his highest mental and material development."

This same author tells us on p. 101 that "A considerable num-

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ber of alien laborers have of late years been employed South in the winter in drainage and such employments, as careful masters think too unhealthy for valuable blacks."

The following quotations taken from "An Inquiry Into the Conditions and Prospects of the African Race in the United States" by "An American," published in 1839, will illustrate the attitude taken by some writers at this time. He says, on page 98, "as soon as the demand for manufacturing laborers shall be exhausted by the supply, competition will reduce the wages to a bare subsistence, and then the employer will control the laborer almost without responsibility."

But it remains for one James Shannon, in a pamphlet on "Domestic Slavery," printed in 1855, to set forth a harmony of interest doctrine in relation to chattel slavery that might well excite the admiration of Mark Hanna and the Civic Federation (p. 15): "The relation of master and slave is merely that of debtor and creditor extended; namely, to services for life. * * * (p. 16) This relation (chattel slavery), too, when properly contemplated is much more independent, dignified and endearing than that of hireling. There is an identity of interest, and there frequently is and always should be one of sympathy between master and slave; but no such identity exists between *master* and *hireling*. * * * It must not be forgotten or overlooked that the relations of master and slave are correlative and the duties of these relations reciprocal. Both legally and morally, the master as truly belongs to the slave for the performance of a master's duties as the slave belongs to the master for the performance (when able) of a slave's duties. In this respect each may with equal propriety be said to own the other. Hence, in decrepitude from sickness or old age, the slave can say, "I have all things and abound. I own a master, whose sole estate and whose own personal energies are pledged for my support." The slave is, therefore, independent and happy. Not so the poor hireling who is wholly dependent on his daily labor for his daily bread. In sickness or old age, and often at other times, his only prospect is starvation, or the repulsive charity of a selfish and often heartless world.

"In the very nature of things, then, no such identity of interest or sympathy of feeling can possibly exist between the master and the hired servant, as we have seen to exist between the master and slave. On the contrary, the relation of master and hired servant is purely mercenary, and the interest of the two parties antagonistic, rather than identical. Each is impelled continually by selfishness to obtain the greatest possible amount whether of service or of hire, for the least possible equivalent."

A. M. SIMONS.

(To be continued.)

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Metaphysics and Socialism

I sources from which all phhe article in the July number of critics. It is quite true, as y Wood Simons replies to her the REVIEW in which Mashe says, that there are two great HAVE read with interest tilosophy proceeds—idealism and materialism. But it appears to my mind that it makes no difference, so far as socialism is concerned, whether we derive our philosophy of first principles from the one or from the other.

The idealist says that the Absolute Spirit is striving to express itself outwardly through humanity in positive laws and institutions which shall make the ideas of truth and justice tangible realities; and that wicked men are trying to crush back the Spirit and prevent it from coming into light and life. Can anyone desire a better metaphysical ground for socialism than this?

The materialist, on the other hand, takes his departure from physical law, and sees in society and government, as actually existing, an organization which, to secure the well being of the few, dooms the great mass of mankind to a mutilated existence of ignorance, want and misery. And this basis of Socialism is quite as firm as that of the idealist.

Both idealist and materialist recognize the essential and basic truth that the human individual, in virtue of being born into the world, and without any further ground of claim, is entitled to the enjoyment of all the means necessary for the full development and perfection of his nature, physical, intellectual and moral. And I apprehend that it is not a matter of any moment whether we say with the idealist that this is a divine right, or with the materialist that the right accrues under the natural law.

It is worthy of mention in this connection that, in their great revolution, the French people, while openly professing the most thorough-going materialism, and boasting of it, manifested in their action a sublime idealism never before witnessed in the history of the world.

There is, then, not the least occasion for a quarrel among Socialists over the question of idealism and materialism. Plato was an idealist of the purest type. He believed, however, that to bring idealism to the people, economic conditions must first be remodeled so as to conform to justice, and he constructed a State in which these conditions would conform to this idea. His State is very far from what the twentieth century demands, but the principle of its construction stands like a rock. And it is not unworthy of notice that the first rough draft of the cooperative

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commonwealth came from the hands of Plato, the father of idealism in our western world.

In fact, Socialism and idealism have no point of contact. The region of the idealist is the supersensible—the *noumenal,* as Kant calls it. This region is confined to the consciousness of the individual, and in this region the individual has no manner of relation to other members of society, and hence, in this respect, he is outside the sphere of society. There is no earthly reason why idealist and materialist cannot fight side by side with equal zeal and enthusiasm in the great world-battle which is now on between humanity on the one side and the powers of darkness in high places on the other.

I heartily agree with the writer of the article above referred to, that: "Few indeed are the American scholars who would father the statement," made by her critic, that the freedom of Cuba and the acquisition of the Philippines was "in no degree prompted by the hope of economic benefits."

William Macon Coleman.

Washington, D. C.

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Oh, World's Oppressed!

O, WORLD'S oppressed of every name,
Sustaining scorn, starvation, shame!
Calling and calling: assuming control.
Hark, to the summons saluting your soul!
Sending you forth to the quest of the world—
Sending, that tyranny down may be hurled.

O, world's oppressed of every name—
Mere pawns where monarchs play the game!
Hark, how the masters are laughing at you—
Laughing, that loafing and feasting, the few
Live on your labor and lull you with lies—
Promising plenty: suppressing your cries.

O, world's oppressed of every name,
For all your ills, assume the blame!
True, there are chains—and your children are slaves!
True, you have title to nothing but graves!
False—as their threats of a bottomless pit—
False, that *enduring* you need here to sit.

O, world's oppressed of every name,
Arise, arise, with souls aflame!
See, there are centuries yet for the race!
See, there is dawning the day of your grace!
Dawning—and daring to deeds of the free—
What shall the verdict of centuries be?

O, world's oppressed of every name,
Behold! to you this message came:
Ask, and the world shall be given to you;
Seek, and the world shall surrender the clue;
Knock, and the nobles of earth shall obey.
KNOCK: oh, the knocking that heralds your day!

Edwin Arnold Brenholtz.

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EDITORIAL

The Farmer and Wageworker in the Socialist Party

A rather warm controversy is just now going on as to the functions which these two divisions of the producing classes are to play in the Socialist Party. In some respects it is largely a tempest in a tea pot and there is some reason to think that some of its features, at least, have been exaggerated because of its value to a few individuals.

Some rather ridiculous propositions have been put forward in relation to the immediate and future material interests of the farmer. It has been stated that the immediate interest of the farmer lies in the perpetuity of private property while the wageworker is immediately interested in its abolition. Another assertion which is coupled with this is that everybody follows their immediate interests. Whatever may be true of the first statement the second is certainly ridiculously untrue and at complete variance with the Socialist philosophy and particularly with the Marxian wing of Socialism and the doctrine of the class struggle. It is just because Socialists see that men can be made to sink their immediate personal and individual interests in their class interests that class-conscious action of the workers is possible. The momentary individual interest of the wageworker is the prosperity of his employer and the increase of the rate of production, since only under such conditions is there a possibility, though to be sure by no means a certainty, of better wages. This is the grain of truth in the "identity of interest" argument so glibly repeated by the labor fakir.

But the interest of the wageworker as a class lies in the abolition of the employing class and with it the entire wage system. Hence it is that we ask the individual to forego his immediate interest as an individual which might probably be better furthered by fawning on his employer, working overtime, and, in general, merging himself in the interests of his master, and instead to throw himself, with his class, into an effort to better the condition of all and ultimately abolish wage slavery.

When we turn to the farmer it is evident at once that the questions of immediate, individual and class interests are by no means as simple as with the wageworker. His exploitation and his social relations are much more complex. This is only one of many reasons why it will be difficult to win him for Socialism, and incidentally is a reason why there is never the remotest danger of his capturing the Socialist Party. His immediate individual interest consists in securing larger crops and higher prices, a matter which is to a large extent beyond his immediate control. Some comrades have claimed that his immediate interests lie in the reduction of railroad freights and the decentralization of trustified industry. A very slight knowledge of economics, especially of Socialist economists, would

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have shown that these will afford the farmer no relief whatever. The competition between farmers with the vast extent of still uncultivated land, and the almost limitless possibility of increasing the productivity of that now cultivated makes it certain that the farmer would never receive any benefit from any change in railroad rates. Just how decentralization of industry would help him no one has, as yet, attempted to explain. That he has been fooled into believing he was interested in such measures is of no more importance than the fact that a majority of the workers believed that their interests were bound up in a full dinner pail or free silver at the last presidential election.

In considering the question of the farmer there are one or two facts which might as well be admitted. In the first place it is high time that Socialists who make any pretence to scientific accuracy, or even to the possession of common sense, should recognize the fact of the permanence of the small farm owner. We may juggle with figures and dream and theorize as much as we will, but the fact remains that neither concentration, nor tenantry, nor mortgages have as yet shown any sign of encroaching on the number of small farm owners. On the contrary, such owners have increased in numbers continuously and increased most rapidly where agriculture is most highly developed. The confusion on this point grows from the fact that with the immense number of new farms that are being added to the total number of farms, a large percentage are mortgaged or operated by tenants. But of the old farms there has as yet been no evidence of any decrease as to those owned and this is the whole point under discussion.

Now, the number of these small farm owners is sufficient when combined with those who are directly interested, both individually and as a class, in the capitalist method of exploitation to perpetuate that system—IF the interests of the farmers demand perpetuity, and political action is capable of checking economic development. These are two very large "ifs," however. Some comrades accept this philosophy which is largely that held by the opportunist school in Europe, without, however, being logical enough to accept the opportunist programme which such a philosophy demands.

Standing as we do on the materialistic interpretation of history and the doctrine of the class struggle as fundamental principles of our social philosophy, we do not believe that the opportunist or the utopian impossibilist position is a scientific one; that is to say, one which is in accord with facts.

Viewed in the light of the principles of scientific Socialism certain things seem evident to us. In the first place, the wage earners will always be the dominant element in any Socialist movement, or in any movement which has for its object the overthrow of capitalism. This will be not because of any silly rules as to membership which would raise occupation distinctions within the Socialist party and which are absolutely at variance with the whole international Socialist position and indicate a cowardly fear of elements which we do not feel able to meet in other ways. Wage workers will dominate in any such revolutionary movement because they are the distinctive product of capitalism and because their concentration in factories for work and in cities for dwelling makes possible the class-consciousness which cannot arise in more isolated groups of producers, and also because of the fact that they represent the more energetic and rebellious

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portion of our present society. The migration from the country to the city is always of these elements, leaving the more conservative and less energetic behind. It will be recognized at once that the Western States present an exception to this latter proposition, although not to the others. The class struggle which Socialism recognizes is one between the exploiters and the exploited, the producers and the parasites. Since the wageworking proletariat constitutes the great essential dominating portion of the producing exploited class they must always constitute the dominating element in the Socialist movement. But this does not mean that we are not to welcome to our ranks any one who is willing to accept the Socialist position and throw in his destinies on the side of the producing exploited class in this class struggle. The way to keep our movement clear from capitalist influence is not to exclude certain members of the exploited class but to insist that all who come in accept the fact of the class struggle and its logical outcome. This, too, will be mainly secured not by any artificial restrictions on membership or any childish catechism or system of training, but by the widest freedom of discussion and dissemination of Socialist literature.

Unfortunately there are some very deplorable features of this present contest which, although superficial, tend to complicate it. It appears to us as if some individuals had taken advantage of the quarrel to enroll themselves as leaders upon one side or the other and to exaggerate the importance of the elements which they claim to represent. One phase of this has a specially familiar ring to those who went through the old fight within the Socialist Labor Party. It was the main stock in trade of the little politicians who clung with De Leon that they were the only clear-cut, class-conscious, etc., fellows. By constant reiteration they really succeeded in making some people believe that what they said was true, and that all who opposed them were muddled and confused. The same effort is being made at the present time by the same class within the Socialist Party. A little body of men, almost exclusively professional agitators, editors and party officials, are shrieking and screaming about the great danger to the wageworking movement. They are continually shouting about the need of clear economics, but unfortunately are themselves, in many cases, most ridiculously ignorant and confused. We have not the least hesitation in saying that we could find in the publication of this division and in the speeches which its members have made more examples of ignorance of primary Socialist truths and confusion as to Socialist doctrines than has appeared in almost any of the papers against which they are railing.

There is this to be said in favor of the comrades who are supposed to represent the farmer element, or the "new" element, or the "western" element, as it is sometimes called, that they at least have shown some willingness to learn, while their opponents seem to look upon themselves as having become endowed with the cloak of infallibility.

There is not the slightest doubt but what the Socialist Party has the greatest need of this class of small politicians and professional agitators. They are men who are generally willing to do much very necessary and rather disagreeable work for the sake of the little brief authority which they receive, but they are, of all men, the most unsafe from which to take counsel as to tactics. They are always afraid that their little machine will be upset. They instinctively realize their own smallness and are frightened lest the party grow too large for them to control. They constantly

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lend themselves to intrigues and ring rule, and this with the very best of motives. Very few of them are now, or have been for some time past, wageworkers. While under ordinary circumstances it would be disreputable to raise this point, yet it cannot but be suggested when such a hue and cry is being raised about maintaining the control of the party by wageworkers. Furthermore, the attempted revival of the brag and bluster which we have so long associated with De Leonism is disgusting. This blowing about having whipped everything in sight by people whose marvelous abilities as gladiators has not been so pronounced as to justify any overwhelming admiration for their prowess, does not carry conviction. Too frequently we have witnessed the ignominious defeat of Socialist Labor Party men who had been filled with the sort of courage that proceeds from New York, and who had started out to annihilate some poor "kangaroo" in order to have the glory of writing it up for "The People."

At the same time we feel that there is undoubtedly some cause for complaint concerning some features of the Western movement. We feel that the attempt which has been made by some comrades to build up organizations alongside of the Socialist Party is something to be deprecated. It also tends to the creation of cliques and rings and to the creation of a "holier than thou" spirit which has no place in the Socialist movement. The place for the person who wishes to work for Socialism, and especially for the Socialist Party, is within the organization, and once within the organization, it is his duty to work in accord with it. This does not mean that he does not have the right to criticise it as severely as he wishes and to work for its alteration. But nothing is gained by encouraging outside organizations, or co-operating with elements outside the party, even if, in some cases, these elements may appear to him to be more nearly right than the party membership.

Just in closing it would be more convincing if some of the men who are raising so much of a fuss would give a few definite examples of the terrible tendency toward compromise which they claim exists. Who has proposed fusion, or the adoption of any tactics tainted with capitalism? It will not do to simply say that certain persons do not preach scientific socialist economics, because the writings and speeches of some of the accusers speak too eloquently of their inability to recognize such teachings if they heard them. Let us have something definite as to issues, and less of personalities and abstractions. Let us have less bluff, bluster, braggadocio and "buzz-saw" and more facts. We will assure them that the very moment that they point out any tendency within the Socialist Party to deviate from the position of clear-cut, class-conscious revolutionary Socialism (and these words are something more to us than canting phrases with which to conjure the ignorant) they will find us fighting as vigorously as any one against such tendencies. But we do not believe in this attempt to maintain a machine and scare off all criticism by throwing up a mass of mud and indulging in wholesale abuse.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

"Hell's broke loose in Texas!" is the somewhat startling saying that has become more or less popularized in the Southwest, and it expresses the present situation correctly so far as organized labor is concerned. Readers of the REVIEW will recall that mention was made in this department several months ago that the Texas legislature had enacted an anti-trust law under the provisions of which trade unions could be attacked in the courts. The Texas unionists attempted to have the law changed, but were unsuccessful, and the attorney-general wrote to President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., in reply to an inquiry, that there was no cause for alarm, as the law would not be enforced against the unions. But what is the result? Were the criminal trusts proceeded against? Not a single capitalistic combine was driven from the state. On the contrary, Attorney-General Bell, who possesses a treacherous memory, and District Attorney Bee have begun proceedings against the Electrical Workers' Union of San Antonio for $6,000 damages for boycotting, and for an additional $50 a day for every day that the boycott is continued, and the anti-trust law is the weapon that is being used against the unionists. These Bourbon hypocrites never intended to smash the trusts. If the truth were known it would probably demonstrate the fact that the anti-trust law was enacted for blackmailing purposes, to furnish boodle for corrupt politicians. The unions, having no boodle to feed the hungry grafters, will be bled in another way. In addition to this case, as well as the damage suits reported in the last couple of numbers of the REVIEW, several more can be mentioned. There seems to be a regular craze in Chicago to mulct the unions. Another suit has been commenced in that city and the sheet metal workers are in this one. An independent contractor charges that the bosses' association and the union conspired to drive him out of business, and he wants both sides to soothe his wounded feelings with $100,000. Still another case has been begun by the Bourbon bosses in Richmond, Va., who want $10,000 from the stone masons for refusing to work on boycotted material. So the new scheme to disrupt unions and confiscate their treasuries is spreading to every section of the country, and Democratic and Republican politicians are doing nothing to hamper Democratic and Republican capitalists from injuring organized labor. All the same, the rank and file are rapidly learning that there is a class struggle, and they will strike back at the polls through the Socialist party, no matter what the views of a few back-number leaders, so-called, may be.

It is well that the Socialist Party has taken a firm stand on the so-called negro question, and that Eugene V. Debs, G. A. Hoehn, A. M. Simons and other writers and speakers have delivered some sledge-hammer blows through the REVIEW and other party publications along this line.

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There is no doubt that a surreptitious attempt is being made to make an "issue" out of the unfortunate race hatred that is being engendered in different parts of the country, just as the politicians have played the North against the South and the Protestants against the Catholics in the past to obscure the economic problems that pressed for solution. Tariff, imperialism and finance are dead issues, and the bosses are aiming to stave off a discussion of the dangerous trust question by arraying the black and white laboring people against each other. This view is clearly substantiated by the action at Yale, the institution presided over by the scab-loving Hadley, where the Townsend prize was awarded in the law school to George William Crawford, a young colored man of Birmingham, Ala. His address was entitled "Trades Unionism and Patriotism," and the portion that won the ecomiums of plutocracy and quite likely the prize was clothed in these words: "The vicious syllogism that labor creates wealth and wealth belongs to those who create it and doctrines which flow from it have been universally adopted by the workingmen and the trades union as the means by which they hope to regain their loss. The union reduces all to a common level; makes worthy support unworthy; prevents honest citizens from serving their country; disregards rights of individuals and of the community, and finally stands for lawlessness and disorder. No completer indictment could be made against the patriotism of trades unionism than proof of these facts. And for this proof we have but to turn to the events of a single year. Let organized labor seek vindication in the forum of reason; let it seek redress by just and lawful means, remembering that it always has that ultimate court of appeal—the conscience of a great people, a great country of equity, where legal forms and fictions avail not against justice." Without attempting to reply to the peculiar philosophy contained in the foregoing, which can be riddled by any novice in social science, there is reason to suspicion that the Yale plutocrats passed the prize to Crawford for two reasons: First, to give public expression of their contempt for labor, and, secondly, with the expectation that it would intensify the hatred of one race against the other. But these conspirators will find that their transparent schemes will be perforated. The Socialists and trade union spokesmen are as keen as they; and capitalism's new "issue" will be battered into smithereens by the class-conscious workers of America.

There is a well-founded belief that, despite the "prosperity" bluster of editorial writers, the big capitalists are preparing for another period of industrial depression. Western newspapers have been printing stories in their news columns that large speculators and trusts are now preparing to force a panic to cause a depression that will throw many industries into idleness, and thus, while they gobble up the stocks at a low price, will also break up the labor unions, the latter being the principal object of the move. They hope to kill two birds with one stone. Henry Clews, "Divine" Baer, Senator Hanna, the New York Board of Trade and a whole brood of daily papers, headed by the New York Sun, have been telling us for some time that unless organized labor ceases to make "unreasonable demands," that discourage investment and cut down profits, "capital is likely to take a holiday." Whether an industrial panic comes this year or next, and whether the conspirators succeed in putting a stop to the unprecedented work of organizing unions, the fact remains that the big capitalistic sponge which has been inflated by the formation of trusts is being squeezed, and hun-

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dreds and thousands of small-fry, get-rich-quick capitalists, who invested the pennies that they fleeced from labor for wind and water, are being beautifully shorn. They purchased common stock and the market has been hammered down to a point that means a billion-dollar loss for the little fellows, who are now enabled to frame their certificates and hang them in the cellar and dream of the days when they were trust magnates (?). Old Russell Sage declares that Rockefeller and Morgan "do not make money out of each other." They add to their pile no matter what the condition of the market is. As unionists we are wasting no sympathy on the bankrupts and weaklings. What's bothering us is, are our dear old employers, the manufacturers and merchants, mixed up in the financial legerdemain on Wall street, and are they likely to have their working capital confiscated by the big fellows? If so, they may try to cover their losses by beating down wages or close their shops and throw labor out of work. That would mean a slacking of union activity. These are some of the fruits of the capitalistic system wherein many workingmen believe they cannot live without a master, like the negro slaves once did.

Despite all obstacles the American Federation of Labor is making tremendous progress, and probably by the time the Boston convention assembles the organization will have in excess of 2,000,000 members. At the present time the A. F. of L. has 1,050 commissioned organizers in the field, and from the reports being received all of them are being kept busy. There were 2,542 organizations affiliated with the Federation on May 1, and 107 of that number are national and international unions, with from ten to 1,500 local unions each. It shows the immense growth of the trades union movement in this country, and it is not stretching the situation a particle by estimating that, counting the unattached nationals, the railway brotherhoods and the Western unionists, there are fully 2,500,000 organized men and women in the country.

Mayor Sullivan, of Hartford, Conn., who was elected by a local Union Labor party, is in hot water. Mr. Sullivan is quoted as saying that the "walking delegate" should be abolished, because he is entrusted with too much power; because he is tempted to abuse the trust put in him, and his interest is in fomenting trouble and not in preventing it, and because he is too expensive. This is precisely the position that is taken by the bosses' combines, and the mayor is being denounced in strong terms by union people in his neighborhood. Trades unions have as much right to employ a business agent as a corporation has to hire a manager, and Mayor Sullivan's statement shows that the working people of Hartford were buncoed when they elected him, as he seems to be a workingman with a capitalist mind.

When all else failed the Philadelphia striking textile workers attempted to get the "best citizens," who recently held a Kishineff protest meeting, to call another meeting to denounce the textile manufacturers, but the first citizens refuse to "indignate." Then the workers sent for Debs, for which they were roundly scolded by the leader of the employers' combine, one Alexander Crow, beneficiary of a protective tariff, Republican boss, mill owner and child slave driver. The textile workers, mostly women and children, have made a magnificent fight for a 54-hour week and humane treatment, and they were ably assisted by Mother Jones, John Spargo, Isaac

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Cowen, Edward Moore, Mahlon Barnes, Caroline Pemberton and other well-known Socialists who collected funds for them and encouraged them by making speeches at their mass meetings. Mother Jones also aroused considerable interest by marching a small army of strikers to New York and the seashore. Speeches were made and funds collected along the route.

The strike insurance scheme of the National Association of Manufacturers is assuming tangible shape. In accordance with the resolution adopted at the New Orleans convention of that body recently, the executive committee held a session in Indianapolis and formulated a plan to create a fund of $1,500,000 for the purpose of assisting members who resist the "tyranny" of organized labor. The proposition is to be submitted to a vote of the membership and if it is approved work will be commenced to accumulate the fund. In order to throw dust in the eyes of the public it is specifically mentioned that employers who declare lockouts will not secure aid from the N. A. M., but care was taken to say nothing about actions of bosses who force lockouts by making conditions unbearable for employes and who are thus compelled to go on strike. It is also reported that the name and by-laws of the Parry organization will be changed to National Association of Manufacturers and Employers in order that all classes of capitalists can be admitted. A convention of employers' associations that are independent of the N. A. of M. is to be held in Chicago for the purpose of perfecting a federation along the lines of the A. F. of L., and it is probable that the N. A. of M. will form the nucleus of the new body. The latter association has riding delegates in the field forming local branches, and from the Pacific coast and the Southwest, as well as the East and Middle West, come reports almost daily of new associations that are being perfected by the capitalists to combat "the evils in trade unions." Hardly a national convention is held by employers already organized that is not visited by Parry in person or one of his satellites to gain its affiliation, and a string of daily newspapers from New York to Los Angeles and New Orleans boom the capitalistic organizations early and late. The auxiliaries of the employers' associations, the "independent" or "non-union" unions are also being encouraged and assisted in the industrial centers, and a convention is to be held to form a national organization. While many officials of trade unions may consider it good policy to ridicule the formation of these bosses' combines, they may as well make up their minds that such tactics will not check their growth and expansion one iota. The employers' associations are here to remain, and the best manner in which to deal with them is to put forth renewed efforts to organize the workers into unions and into the Socialist Party as well in order that we may meet them upon an equal footing. If they have economic power, we must have the same; if they have political power, we must have the same. They have such power and it is in order for us to keep busy and vote as we organize and strike, for labor.

The anthracite miners complain that they were buncoed because of the award of Dr. Charles P. Neill, the statistical commissioner, who was appointed by Judge Gray to compile data regarding coal prices. The strike commission had decided that when the average price of coal in New York shall go above $4.50 a ton the miners shall receive 1 per cent increase in wages for each full 5 cents advance. The miners knowing that the coal

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companies were adding 10 cents per month to the price of coal beginning with May, argued that an advance of 20 cents per ton entitled them to a 4 per cent increase in wages. But along came Dr. Neill, and, by some clever now-you-see-it-and-now-you-don't averaging, showed the miners that instead of the 4 per cent advance the miners were anticipating they would only get 1 per cent. And then "Divine Rights" Baer and his brother barons laughed again. They had a second spasm of hilarity when they passed a financial statement among themselves on the first of June. It will be recalled that last November the Reading road reported a deficit of nearly $2,000,000 for the period of July, August, September and October, the strike months, and compared to the same period the year previous the loss was $3,500,000. At the end of May this year the Reading reports a surplus of over four and a quarter millions. In other words, the Baer crowd is over three-quarters of a million dollars ahead of the game, and from now on will be in clover because the profits, on account of the high price of coal, will be greater than before the strike. But the "divine" gentlemen are not yet satiated. Baer is quoted as saying that the coal combine will accumulate a surplus of 10,000,000 tons of anthracite and store the same in anticipation of another strike. Prices will also be maintained despite "the law of supply and demand." The people like to pay the freight, and quite likely after the Presidential election next year the miners will be given another battle by Bro. Capital. Of course, so long as the miners and the great majority of other workers believe that the mines and railways belong to a privileged few, the rest of us will have to stand it. But the issue, Shall the people own the trusts or shall the trusts own the people? is here just the same and must and will be fought out.

It would require many pages of the REVIEW to relate in detail the extraordinary activity and rapid growth of the Socialist Party. The immense victory in Germany seems to have electrified the whole United States, and organizers and speakers are busy in every state. The party press and friendly trade union papers are also doing great work and report the progress that is being made from week to week very faithfully. Probably the statement of National Committeeman Berger, of Wisconsin, covers the situation in a few words. Mr. Berger attended the last meeting of the local qucrum in Omaha, and reports that during the last quarter (April, May, June) the Socialist Party membership increased by six thousand, and he prophesies that if this rate of gain is kept up the Socialists in this country will outnumber those in Germany before four years.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Germany

The articles which appear elsewhere in this number cover the various phases of the German election so thoroughly that there is need of little more in this department. The official return as published in Vorwaerts gives a total vote in the empire of 3,008,377, against a previous vote of 2,107,076. The vote in various provinces compared with the previous election is given as follows:

Province.	1903.	Previous Election.
Prussia	1,647,603	1,141,958
Bavaria	212,506	138,218
Saxony	441,764	299,190
Wurtemburg	99,743	62,452
Baden	72,300	50,325
Hesse	68,834	48,942
Alsace Loraine	68,267	51,990

Owing to the outrageous gerrymandering this great preponderance of Social Democratic strength is not shown in the Reichstag. Nevertheless there have been great changes in the interest of the Social Democracy in spite of this gerrymandering.

As to the probable effects of the election there is considerable disagreement. One phase of this is discussed by Comrade Untermann in this number. The question of what the Emperor will do is one which is arousing considerable interest. Many of the conservative papers urge the abolition of universal suffrage and some even go so far as to demand a coup d'etat and the establishment of a military autocracy.

	Definitely Elected	Previous Strength.	Gain or Loss.
Conservative	53	52	+ 1
Deutsche Reichspartei	19	20	— 1
Antisemiten	9	12	— 3
Centrum	101	106	— 5
Nationalliberale	52	53	— 1
Freisinnige Volfspartei	21	28	— 7
Freisinnige Vereinigung	9	15	— 6
Deutsche Volfspartei	6	7	— 1
Socialdemokraten	81	58	+23
Bund der Landwirte	2	6	— 4
Bahrischer Bauernbund	5	5	0
Polen	16	14	+ 2
Melsen	5	3	+ 2
Elsasser	9	10	— 1
Miscellaneous	9	8	+ 1

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The last returns given by Vorwaerts as to the principal other parties are as follows: Center, 1,455,100; National Liberal, 1,290,000; Conservative, 920,000. These figures are not official and probably contain considerable errors.

The last quarterly report on the Socialist press gives 51 dailies in addition to Vorwaerts, one scientific weekly; Die Nieu Zeit; nine papers appearing three times, and three papers appearing twice a week; six weeklies, two semi-monthlies and two monthlies. In addition, there are two comic papers, and two illustrated papers dealing more with general literature. The same report shows that there are 65 periodicals issued by the unions affiliated with the Socialists.

The Spanish Elections

Spain is not yet ripe for an important socialist movement. In the first place the economic development is wanting. There are a few large cities of modern industry where there is something of a movement. The laborers in the country, the mines and the harbors are almost all illiterate and the educated industrial laborers are too remote from the mass of wretched proletarians, so that the elements for realizing a class-conscious labor movement are lacking.

Poverty excites revolutionary currents among this population, but the complete absence of class-consciousness turns these revolutionary ideas into a sort of anarchism decidedly brutal and not at all practical, which can only serve to make the ruling class feel the need of a more and more tyrannical government and prevent it from establishing social reforms which the quasi-revolutionary working class would have none of.

Nevertheless the Social Democrats in certain cities exercise more or less influence. At Madrid, Bilboa and some other places their influence is stronger than that of the anarchists over the working class, but at Barcelona, and still more in some other large cities the contrary seems true. To concern itself with politics the working class has need of a certain degree of consciousness and a certain need of development which is lacking to the Spanish proletariat. It is partly owing to these circumstances that Spanish Social Democracy plays no great role as yet in the politics of the country; but there are other reasons still. The republican movement in Spain has made great progress during these last years. That is the result of the war with America. In Spain the monarchy and the church are one and the same. The king is called his Catholic Majesty; the clergy reigns as a master.

After the war there arrived from Cuba, Porto Rico, and especially the Philippines, an army of monks and nuns who distributed themselves all over Spain and set immediately to work. They have millions of money at their disposal. The religious congregations are established on a large scale industrially. This capitalist power of the clergy, disastrous for the people, on the one side, and the anti-clerical sentiments of the young bourgeoisie along with the revolutionary spirit of the working class on the other side, have given a new strength to the republican current. It is worth observation that according to the law there can be no convents in Spain. Indeed in 1841 a law was established suppressing the convents, but that does not prevent the fact that at present forty-one orders may be counted, including about 60,000 monks and nuns.

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The legislative party in Spain is composed, first, of a senate, containing 360 members; half of these are appointed for life by the king; second, of the cortes (chamber of deputies) formed of 443 deputies elected by universal suffrage. Since 1890 every man 25 years and upwards has the right to vote for the Cortes. The deputies have no salary. But in view of the fact that the election tickets have to be filled in by hand and that no one in the country knows how to read or write, it follows that it is the alcade appointed by the government who is the geenral elector for the whole village. Now the alcade thinks as does the curate. In Spain the elections never have any other result than that desired by the government, which prescribes to the alcades what they have to do, and they lead the rural populations. In the cities where the republican movement exists this is becoming less and less true.

The results of the elections should not be judged by the number of seats obtained by the government; this signifies nothing. We must consider the centers of national life where men are united, have some education and live under the influence of modern civilization.

At Madrid the republicans obtained six seats out of eight; the monarchists had only 12,000 votes. At Barcelona the republicans obtained 35,000, the liberalists 10,000, and the Carlists 6,000. At Gerone and Saragossa the republicans were elected; at Corunna and Cadiz they also took part in the elections.

The socialists have registered few votes; we have explained the reasons for this, and the fact is of no great importance. The working class must, before it can acquire class-consciousness, first overcome reaction, and to that end it is first necessary to overthrow the monarchy. The growth of the republican movement is a good sign for Spain.—*L'Avenir Social.*

France

The Central Council of the Parti Ouvrier Francais has just issued its report preliminary to the congress which will meet on the 27th and 29th of September. This shows that in the last three months three new federations have been formed and the weekly central organ *Le Socialiste* has shown a financial surplus for the last nine months. The report shows that the Jauresist faction is in process of dissolution, that a number of bodies affiliated with it are protesting against the policy of its representatives and are preparing to leave the organization.

Holland

General municipal elections were held on the 10th of July. For the first time there was a general coalition of all of the capitalist parties against the socialists. This was especially true in Amsterdam where the campaign cry was "Down with the Social Democracy." As a result all of the Social Democratic candidates were defeated although the vote was raised from 5.680 to 7.493.

Japan

Some items from the latest number of the *Socialist* of Japan which has just come to hand show the difficulties which are confronted by the workers for socialism in that country. Because this paper published a poem entitled "International Liberty," which was taken from the Cleveland *Citi-*

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zen of June 17th, the paper was at once confiscated and Comrade Katayama indicted. Under these conditions the following items which are taken from the same number gain a double interest:

"The freedom of press and speech is guaranteed by the Imperial constitution to all the citizens of Japan, but now-a-days both are hindered by that obnoxious police regulation and the press law. Every labor meeting is interfered by the policemen present; and the press is so severely censured, and even common expressions pertaining to labor organization and strike are instantly stopped by the police now for the laboring classes and their leaders. Socialist meetings are so much troubled by constant stoppages and in some cases a dissolution of the meeting."

"Socialist agitation will be started by Messrs. Nishikawa, Matsuzaki and Katayama leaving the city for Kobe on the fifth, provided that the verdict in the case referred to will not be the imprisonment of the last named member. In that case, of course, two of them will constitute the party."

Denmark

On June 16th, the same day on which the great socialist victories were won in Germany, an almost equally great advance was made in Denmark. This is especially worthy of note because of the fact that for the first time all alliances with the Liberals were rejected and the socialist party stood entirely independent. It was feared by many that the taking of this step would mean at least a temporary loss of many votes. The fact that the contrary was the result is gratifying from every point of view.

In the last parliament there were 14 Social Democrats. Thirteen of our 14 districts we carried again on June 16, losing only that of Lungby. On the other hand, we carried three new districts—the Seventh, of Copenhagen, Valby, and the first of Odensee. In the Seventh Copenhagen district our comrade, C. A. Smidt, defeated the reactionary Finance Minister Hage. We now hold eight of the 13 districts of the national capital, besides one in Friedrichberg, one in Odensee, and those of Valby, Helsingor, Aalborg, Aarhus North, Aarhus South and Horsens. The new lagthing is composed of 16 Social Democrats, 74 Left Reformists, 11 of the Moderate Left and 12 of the Right.

In the election of 1872 our party enetered the field for the first time, polling 268 votes. In 1876 this was increased to 1,076. In 1881 it rose to 1,689. Then began a more rapid and progressive increase, as indicated in the following table, which shows also the number of districts in which we had candidates at each election:

Year.	Districts.	Vote.
1884	3	6,806
1887	4	8,408
1890	10	17,232
1892	15	20,094
1895	17	24,508
1898	23	31,872
1901	30	42,972
1903	55	55,479

The total vote by parties this year is as follows: Reformists, 118,957; Social Democrats, 55,479; Right (Conservative), 50,559; Moderates, 20,613. We have thus about 23 per cent of the popular vote and rank as the second party.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Heredity and Social Progress. Simon N. Patten. New York: The Macmillan Company. 214 pp. Cloth, $1.25.

Professor Patten sets before himself the answering of the following definite questions:

"How is the social surplus of an epoch transformed into permanent conditions and mental traits?"

"Does progress start from a deficit, or from a surplus?"

"Does genius come by additions, or by differentiation?"

"Does education improve natural or acquired characters?"

"Does reform come by strengthening the strong, or by helping the weak?"

He agrees with Professor Lester F. Ward that the surplus can only be secured by transformation into permanent conditions, or into mental traits. He closely follows biological analogies and takes great pains to test the laws of development which he uses by applying them in various fields. He decides against the inheritance of acquired characteristics by the individuals and points out that such characteristics are largely handed down through customs, habits and local traditions which make it easier for each succeeding generation to acquire the desired character. On this point he makes use of John Fiske's theory of the desirability of a long childhood by showing that this gives opportunity for the attainment of socially desirable acquired characteristics. He shows that once a surplus energy has expressed itself in some desirable addition to character that there will be a tendency on the part of the possessor to move into localities more favorable to this characteristic. Or as he says: "Personal environments do not make the qualities of those who live in them. But people seek these environments because they have the characteristics necessary to their utilization."

He has much very suggestive discussion of psychological problems and especially in relation to physiological states and the effect of these states on the physical structure of their possessor. This, however, is so extremely condensed that any attempt to summarize it would simply give a misleading idea. Many of his positions seem to lack proof and are so daring as to cause doubt as to their correctness. Nevertheless it is gratifying to find a man who dares to push his ideas to their logical conclusions, even if the conclusions be somewhat doubtful, and at the least the treatment is extremely stimulating and suggestive.

In his later chapters he applies his theories to education and reform and comes to this conclusion: "Education cannot improve on natural characters. Progress is the development of the strong, not where they are strong, but where they are weak. The strength of the strong character is the result of a natural differentiation with which men have little to do,

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but the strength of weak characters is in their hands. Men can level up their weaknesses until their whole character is strong."

In the social field the application of the same principles leads to analagous conclusions:

"Progress then is not the making of the strong, but that protection of the weak by which differentiation becomes possible. A forward movement can care for itself if the initial conditions are favorable, and human efforts are of little avail in augmenting or in changing the direction of these forces. With the aid of their strong characters men may move forward as far as the initial economic forces take them. But these forces will not aid men on their weak sides, because natural changes make individual weaknesses feebler instead of stronger. The series of steps making for progress, although almost complete, lacks enough elements to block progress, when no efforts are made to strengthen the dwarfed characters in men. And strengthening the weak is not a final process, but one which must be repeated by each generation with ever increasing care. The strength of the strong is natural, that of the weak is acquired. The differentiation of powers is the outcome of natural processes; the movement towards equality must be nurtured. The exploitation of the weak by the strong and the dwarfing of feeble characters by the strong are natural results of the pressure exerted by the strong. A check to progress here arises for which there is no natural remedy. When, therefore, nations wish to progress, it is these tendencies which nullify their efforts.

"A backward race or class need not be radically altered to fit it for civilization. Most of the changes come of themselves if the initial evils are removed. Give the class or the dwarfed character a surplus, and spontaneous changes will reorganize society. The initial step in progress is protection, and a flow of income from the strong to the weak.

"An illustration is furnished by the changes in the immigrants to America. A few generations make them completely American not because the conscious educational process has had sufficient power to do it, but because a few initial changes start a chain of natural causes which strengthen the strong individuals of the new classes and force their transformation into Americans. Two things are necessary for this; the presence of a growth-creating surplus and the existence of common emotions, so that men's qualities may be uniformly pruned, and may also grow anew in the same directions. The emotions of a race are not a natural inheritance due to growth, but are a part of the social environment of its members, and act alike on all individuals under the stress of the emotions. Regeneration results wherever the surplus permits growth and places the person in proper contact with his environment. Society, therefore, may expect these emotional changes to act upon every class which has gained the surplus on which growth and regeneration depend. It must guard, not these natural results of every forward movement, but the acquired characters which become weaker with progress, and require an increasing surplus in order to preserve the natural equality of classes and of related parts.

"The development of a lower race—let us say the negroes in America—does not necessitate remaking the negro by an artificial process. Set free the series of natural changes, and the final results will take care of themselves. A surplus includes regeneration and new emotions, forces which will act and react until the whole class has been brought up to the level

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EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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ENGLAND—H. M. HYNDMAN, WALTER CRANE, SAMUEL HOBSON, H. QUELCH, J. KEIR HARDIE, J. R. MCDONALD. FRANCE—PAUL LAFARGUE, JEAN JAURES, JEAN LONGUET. BELGIUM—EMILE VANDERVELDE, HENRI LAFONTAINE, EMILE VINCK, MME. LALLA VANDERVELDE. DENMARK—DR. GUSTAV BANG. GERMANY—KARL KAUTSKY. ITALY—DR. ALESSANDRO SCHIAVI, PROF. ENRICO FERRI. SWEDEN—ANTON ANDERSON. JAPAN—T. MURAL

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A Review of Essentials

THE zeal of the new convert is proverbial—his energy, his interest in novel surroundings, his impatience for results, his final realization and philosophical acceptance of the fact that "Rome was not built in a day," and then if he is made of the right stuff, his grim determination to settle down for a long, hard fight. There are few of the tried workers in the Socialist movement who have not passed along this road. In the enthusiasm following their discovery of what they considered a panacea for the ills of society they have plunged into propaganda and proclaimed in a mighty voice the glad new tidings. They have expected all those who love their kind to pause entranced at the sweetness of the new song. They have expected the oppressors of the poor to stand at first appalled when their infamy was proclaimed in the market place and then flee in confusion and dismay into the darkness of oblivion. Then, slowly, the light begins to break in upon the new convert. He learns the bitter lesson that the world has no particular interest in abstract justice, that the electorate doesn't generally vote "yes" or "no" on the simple right or wrong of a given policy. This lesson learned, the convert, if he is persistent, begins to re-examine his ground—his Socialist philosophy—and discovers some of the meaning of "economic determinism," realizes that it is a mighty hard proposition to hurry evolution. Once these things are realized the Socialist movement has a valuable worker, a veteran who, while not despising the advantage of the moment, knows it is more important to emerge victorious from the war than to win an isolated battle.

There is another type of Socialist recruit almost equally familiar. This is the "reform" politician who has expended time and energy, voice and money, in pushing the movements whose

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bleaching bones strew the political battlefield. He has been able to arouse great enthusiasm; he has swept certain sections like a prairie fire; he has won victories and captured public powers, only to see his fond hope for humanity go glimmering. Undismayed and with beautiful courage he has sought the reason for his failure, determined, when it was found, to push on again. He has decided his weakness was in a mistaken apprehension of the exact cause of economic, political and social evils. He has said it was this, that or the other, only to fail, and now he has embraced with enthusiasm the Socialist position—or at least that part of it which indicts the wages system as the basic cause of poverty in the midst of plenty, serfdom in a "sweet land of liberty." Apprehending so much the reformer buckles on his harness again and sallies forth, determined to "whoop 'em up" and "set the woods afire" with his new battle cry. He is an experienced politician, familiar with the most approved methods of generating enthusiasm, he expects to work up "the people," go lickety split to Washington and usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth with a "hip, hip, hurrah."

The reform politician—(no reproach in the word "politician," for he is a good fellow)—hasn't had opportunity yet to fail on his new tack, but the old Socialist—the believer in evolution and economic determinism—knows that failure is as sure as death. And the old Socialist, even if he makes himself disliked by saving it, must utter his warning cry and proclaim the necessity for adherence to the classical Socialist position—a position taken after a critical study of all history by master minds, a position which has proved impregnable through fifty years of bitterest assault.

As eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, so is a clear comprehension of the essentials of Socialist philosophy an absolute necessity in the minds of the governing power in the Socialist party—the majority of the membership. It is only by a knowledge of what it is fighting for, a knowledge of the historic means by which social changes are effected, that the party can achieve its great mission, avoiding the pitfalls of an alluring opportunism and the traps set by a crafty, resourceful and unscrupulous enemy. With a rapidly swelling party membership it becomes a matter of vital importance that the recruits understand the conditions of the fight they are to wage. A sane conservatism must see to it that neither the new convert, impatient for results, nor the reform politician, with an unassimilated knowledge of Socialist essentials, is allowed to dominate party councils or direct party activities. This must be done from motives of common prudence and with absolutely no reflection upon the honesty or capacity of the friends who come bringing to us rich gifts of mind and heart.

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All our civilization has not been able to eradicate that human credulity which is always looking for the miracle, that impatience which chafes under the slow operation of natural laws. We see the trait in the faith curist, who, disdaining the accumulated knowledge of the centuries regarding the treatment of disease, jumps with avidity at a theory according to which it is only necessary to say Presto! and that which was is not. There are other amiable "new thought" people to whom the process of ratiocination is too slow and who spend long hours prayerfully contemplating the ends of their noses in order that they may cultivate a power higher than mind and reach conclusions independent of the syllogism. But in spite of these amiable people the world is not yet ready to cut loose from logical, scientific methods and substitute for law, ascertained by painful investigation, a supernaturalism whose sacred word is abracadabra.

The type of mind which these credulous supernaturalists exemplify is restive under the restraint of cautious science, but its impatience cannot make us forget that according to our scientific Socialism social changes are accomplished in a certain way.

We believe that the "history of mankind has been a history of class struggles" and that men as a rule have fought on one side or the other to serve their immediate material interests. Anv other than the economic interpretation of history is as archaic and useless as the theory of special creation and it must necessarily be the key to our interpretation of contemporary events and the basis of our party organization. Never before were the great classes in conflict so clearly defined and never before was the necessity so urgent for a strict adherence to the class struggle plan of campaign. It is not mere dogmatism to assert and insist upon this. It is only a recognition of scientifically ascertained facts—facts which cannot be safely ignored or declaimed away by advocates of an invertebrate philosophy of universal brotherhood. Of course we all concede the essential unity of the human race and the desirability of harmony in social relations, but as "fine words butter no parsnips," so do platitudes about fraternity fail to advance the day of peace on earth. Humankind is arrayed in hostile camps, and if we want peace we've got to fight for it—the class struggle must be waged to its logical conclusion before the final emancipation of "society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

As hard and as cold as these facts may be—and science is never alluring to the sentimental temperament—they are not inconsistent with a liberal and enlightened propaganda. They have never and need not in the future keep from us individuals, who, though their immediate material interests are with the capitalist class, are yet able to judge the trend of events and desire to fight

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for the cause which means a larger liberty, comfort and happiness for the race. History is irradiated by the example of men who have battled, and suffered if necessary, for the abstract ideal of justice. The Socialist movement today owes much to these men of education and ideals, but their usefulness is largely due to the promptness with which they apprehend the fact of the class struggle and the faithfulness with which they adhere to their perception of scientific truth.

It would be idle to deny that there are differences in the Socialist movement today as to the wisdom of certain features of organization and methods of propaganda. It is unfortunate, of course, that these differences should bring from the adherent of this or that idea vigorous statement and heated retort, but most of us philosophically recognize that we can't have perfection, even in debates between Socialists, in this sadly imperfect world of ours. However, we can insist that every proposition advanced for the good of the movement be judged according to its harmony with our fundamental principles and demand of all more than a mere lip recognition of the essentially proletarian character of our movement. The cry for "American methods for an American movement" is all right in so far as it takes into account our peculiar political conditions, but there can no more be a distinctive "American Socialism" than there can be an "American mathematics." American human nature is just like European human nature and the law of economic determinism rules in the United States just as surely as it rules in the countries of the old world. So the conclusion is irresistible that when the cry for "American methods for an American movement" is not merely an expression of the restiveness of the impatient recruit it is either disingenuous or the evidence of a chauvinism absurd in the light of our boasted internationalism.

One sometimes hears the sneer that some Socialists are "afraid the movement will get too big," and there are proposals that the so-called "military character" of the movement be abandoned. Of course no one fears bigness when bigness means solidity, but we may well fear and fight against the bigness which represents mere hot air which will vanish at the prick of a pin. The so-called "military character" of the movement, in so far as that means a pledged and dues-paying membership, is our tower of strength, and proposals that the party "simply pledge to everybody, and to everybody alike, the collective ownership and democratic management of industry" is the crass Utopianism of a sanguine camp-meeting exhorter who imagines the movement can be adequately supported by inviting the brethren to step up to the contribution box. We must have organization, and a well disciplined organization at that. We can't achieve or eat the fruit of victory with

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a mob. The Socialist party organization, in giving to every member a voice in the discussion and settlement of questions of policy, cultivates individual initiative and that capacity for self-government which is showing many signs of atrophy under the so-called representative, but rather machine, system. A membership thus actively participating in party affairs is the strongest bulwark against the ever threatening political vampires—the tricksters, bosses and grafters—seeking a new and vigorous body whose blood they may suck. It has proved its efficiency by standing fast in many a storm that threatened to destroy the party and there is no evidence of its incapacity to settle right present and future problems. There have always been well intentioned men who have thought they could do better for the people than the people could do for themselves, but that is the theory of benevolent despotism—of theocracy, not democracy—and we want none of it. We shall have—we already have—honest, astute, and masterful men whose influence will intensify the effectiveness of our efforts, but it is a delusion to think that we are sheep without a shepherd, a helpless mass waiting for some Moses to lead us out of the wilderness. The working class must emancipate itself, and while it welcomes the assistance of all those "in sympathy with it," the Socialists at least entertain no delusions and must prepare for the work ahead as prudent, practical men. CHARLES DOBBS.

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Some Phases of Civilization

IN AN article written by Frederick Harrison, originally published in The Fortnightly Review, for April, 1882, entitled "A Few Words about the Nineteenth Century," I find the following:

"In one of those delightful tales of Voltaire, which nobody reads now, I remember how the King of Babylon cured of excessive self-esteem a great satrap called Irax. The moment he awoke in the morning the master of the royal music entered the favorite's chamber with a full chorus and orchestra, and performed in his honor a cantata which lasted two hours; and every third minute there was a refrain to this effect:

" 'Que son mérite est extrême!
Que de grâces! que de grandeur!
Ah! combien Monseigneur
Doit être content de lui-même!'

The cantata over, a royal chamberlain advanced and pronounced a harangue that lasted three-quarters of an hour, in which he extolled him for possessing all the good qualities which he had not. At dinner, which lasted three hours, the same ceremonial was continued. If he opened his mouth to speak, the first chamberlain said: 'Hark! we shall hear wisdom!' And before he had uttered four words, the second chamberlain said: 'What wisdom do we hear!' Then the third and the fourth chamberlain broke into shouts of laughter over the good things which Irax had said, or rather ought to have said; and after dinner the same cantata was again sung in his honor. On the first day Irax was delighted; the second he found less pleasant; on the third he was bored; on the fourth he said he could bear it no longer; and on the fifth he was cured.

"I sometimes think this (the nineteenth) century, with its material progress and its mechanical inventions, its steam and electricity, gas, and patents, is being treated by the press, and its other public admirers, much as the chamberlains in Zadig treated the satrap. The century is hardly awake of a morning before thousands of newspapers, speeches, lectures and essays appear at its bedside, or its breakfast table, repeating as in chorus:

'Que son mérite est extrême!
Que de grâces! que de grandeur!'

"Surely no century in all human history was ever so much

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praised to its face for its wonderful achievements, its wealth and its power, its unparalleled ingenuity and its miraculous capacity for making itself comfortable and generally enjoying life. British associations, and all sorts of associations, economic, scientific and mechanical, are perpetually executing cantatas in honor of the age of progress, cantatas which (alas) last much longer than three hours. The gentlemen who perform wonderful unsavory feats in crowded lecture halls, always remind us that 'Never was such a time as this nineteenth century!' Public men laying the first stone of institutes, museums, or amusing the Royal Academy after dinner, great inventors, who have reaped fortunes and titles, raise up their hands and bless us in the benignity of affluent old age. I often think of Lord Sherbrook, in his new robes and coronet, as the first chamberlain, bowing and crying out, 'What a noble age is this!' The journals perform the part of orchestra, banging big drums and blowing trumpets—penny trumpets, two-penny, three-penny or six-penny trumpets—and the speakers before or after dinner, and the gentlemen who read papers in the sections perform the part of chorus, singing in unison:

'Ah! combien Monseigneur
Doit être content de lui-même!'

"As a mere mite in this magnificent epoch, I ask myself, What have I done, and many plain people around me, who have no mechanical genius at all, what have we done to deserve this perpetual cataract of congratulation? All that I can think of is the assurance that Figaro gives the count, 'our lordship gave ourselves the trouble to be born in it!'

"It is worth a few minutes' thought to ask what is the exact effect upon *civilization,* in the widest and highest sense of that term, of this marvelous multiplication of mechanical appliances of life? This is a very wide question, and takes us to the roots of many matters, social, economic, political, moral, and even religious. Is the universal use of a mechanical process *per se* a great gain to civilization, an unmixed gain—a gain without dangers or drawback? Is an age which abounds in countless inventions thereby alone placed head and shoulders above all the ages since historical times began? And this brings us to the point that the answer to the question largely depends on what we mean by civilization. We need not attempt to define *civilization.* Before any one can fully show the meaning of civilization, he must see in a very clear way what is his own ideal of a high, social, moral and religious life, and this is not the place to enter on any such solemn, not to say tremendous, topic.

"Let us hail the triumphs of steam, and electricity, and gas, and iron; the railways and the commerce; the industry, the appli-

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ances, and conveniences of our age. They are all destined to do good service to humanity. But still it is worth asking if the good they do is *quite* so vast, *quite* so unmixed, *quite* so immediate as the chamberlains and chorus make out in their perpetual cantata to the nineteenth century.

"Let us note some of the mechanical glories of the last hundred years, as they are so often rehearsed. For four thousand years we know, and probably forty thousand years, man has traveled over the land as fast as his own legs, or men's legs, or horses' legs could carry him, but no faster; over sea as fast as sails and oars could carry him. Now he goes by steam over both at least at three times the pace. In previous ages, possibly for twenty centuries, about a hundred miles a day was the outside limit of any long continuous journey. Now we can go four thousand miles by sea in fourteen days, and by land in five days. It used to occupy as many weeks, or sometimes months. We have now instantaneous communication with all parts of the globe. The whole surface of our planet has only been known about a hundred years, and till our own day to get news from all parts of it to one given spot would certainly have required a year. The president of the United States delivers his message, and within three hours newspapers in all parts of the world have printed it word for word. For twenty thousand years every fabric in use has been twisted into thread by human fingers, and woven into stuff by human hands. Machines and steam engines now make ten thousand shirts in the time that was formerly occupied by making one. For twenty thousand years man has got no better light than what was given by pitch, tallow or oil. He now has gas and electricity, each light of which is equal to hundreds and thousands of candles. Where there used to be a few hundred books there are now one hundred thousand; and the London newspapers of a single year consume, I dare say, more type and paper than the printing of the whole world produced from the days of Gutemberg to the French Revolution.

"The Victorian age had a thousand times the resources of any other age. Permit me to ask, Does it use them to a thousand times better purpose? I am no detractor of our own age. * * * We all feel, in spite of a want of beauty, of rest, of completeness, which sits heavy on our souls and frets the thoughtful spirit—we all feel a-tiptoe with hope and confidence. * * *

"Civilization is a very elastic, impalpable, indefinable thing. But where are we to turn to find the tremendous relative superiority of 1882 over 1782, or 1682, or 1582? We may hunt up and down, and we shall only find this: Population doubling itself almost with every generation—cities swelling year by year by millions of inhabitants and square miles of area—*wealth counted by billions,* power to go anywhere, or learn anything, or order

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anything, counted in seconds of time—miraculous means of locomotion, of transportation, of copying anything, of detecting the billionth part of a grain or a hair's breadth, of seeing millions of billions of miles into space and finding more stars, billions of letters carried every year by the post, billions of men and women whirled everywhere in hardly any time at all; a sort of patent fairy-Peribanou's fan which we can open and flutter, and straightway find everything and anything the planet contains for about half a crown; night turned into day; roads cut through the bowels of the earth, and canals across continents; every wish for any material thing gratified in mere conjuror's fashion, by the turning a handle or adjusting a pipe—an enchanted world, where everything does what we tell it in perfectly inexplicable ways, as if some good Prospero were waving his hand, and electricity were the willing Ariel—that is what we have—and yet, *is this civilization?* Do our philosophy, our science, our art, our manners, our happiness, our morality, overtop the philosophy, the science, the art, the manners, the happiness, the morality of our grandfathers as greatly as those of cultivated Europeans differed from those of savages? We are as much superior in material appliances to the men of Milton's day and Newton's day as they were to Afghans or Zulus. Are we equally superior in cultivation of brain and character to the contemporaries of Milton and Newton? * * *

"Why is it that we don't get any farther? Because we know that Shakespeare got to the root of the matter of tragedy quite as deep as Mr. Irving. No one can call Pope or Addison, Voltaire or Montesquieu, wanting in culture. No one can deny that Milton had a fine style and a fine taste; no one can say that Johnson, Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Fielding, Reynolds and Charles James Fox passed narrow, stunted, dull lives. And yet the tools, the appliances, the conveniences of these men's lives were, in comparison with ours, as the tools, appliances and conveniences of the ancient Britons or the South Sea islanders were to theirs. Why, then, with all this arsenal of appliances, do we not do more? Can it be that we are overwhelmed with our appliances, bewildered by our resources, puzzled with our mass of materials, by the mere opportunities we have of going everywhere, seeing everything, and doing anything?

"When we multiply the appliances of human life, we do not multiply the years of life, nor the days in the year, nor the hours in the day. Nor do we multiply the powers of thought, or of endurance; much less do we multiply self-restraint, unselfishness, and a good heart. What we really multiply are our difficulties and doubts. Millions of new books hardly help us when we can neither read nor remember a tithe of what we have. Billions of

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new facts rather confuse men who do not know what to do with the old facts. Culture, thought, art, ease, and grace of manner, a healthy society, and a higher standard of life, have often been found without any of our modern resources in a state of very simple material equipment.

"Steam and factories, telegraphs, posts, railways, gas, coal and iron, suddenly discharged from a country as if by a deluge, have their own evils that they bring in their train. To cover whole countries with squalid buildings, to pile up one hundred thousand factory chimneys, vomiting soot, to fill the air with poisonous vapors till every leaf within ten miles is withered, to choke up rivers with putrid refuse, to turn tracts as big and once as lovely as the New Forest into arid, noisome wastes; cinder-heaps, cesspools, coal-dust, and rubbish—rubbish, coaldust, cess pools and cinder-heaps, and overhead by day and by night a murky pall of smoke—all this is not an heroic achievement, if this Black Country is only to serve as a prison yard for the men, women and children who dwell there.

"To bury Middlesex and Surrey under miles of flimsy houses, crowd into them millions and millions of overworked, underfed, halftaught and often squalid men and women; to turn the silver Thames into the biggest sewer recorded in history; to leave us all to drink the sewerage water; to breathe the carbonized air; to be closed up in a labyrinth of dull, sooty, unwholesome streets; to leave hundreds and thousands confined there, with gin, and bad air, and hard work, and low wages, breeding contagious diseases and sinking into despair of soul and feebler condition of body; and then to sing pæans and shout, because the ground shakes and the air is shrill with the roar of infinite engines and machines, because the black streets are lit up with garish gas-lamps, and more garish electric lamps, and the postoffice carries billions of letters, and the railways every day carry one hundred thousand persons in and out of the huge factory, we call the greatest metropolis of the civilized world—this is surely not the last word of civilization.

"Something like a million of paupers are kept year by year from absolute starvation by doles; at least another million of poor people are on the border-line, fluttering between starvation and health, between pauperism and independence; not one, but two, or three, or four millions of people in these islands are struggling on the minimum pittance of human comforts and the maximum of human labor; something like twenty millions are raised each year by taxation of intoxicating liquors; something like one hundred thousand deaths each year of diseases distinctly preventable bv care and sufficient food and sanitary precautions and due self-restraint; infants dying off from want of good nursing like flies;

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families herded together like swine, eating, drinking, sleeping, fighting, dying in the same close and foul den; the kicking to death of wives, the strangling of babies, the drunkenness, the starvation, the mendacity, the prostitution, the thieving, the cheating, the pollution of our vast cities in masses, waves of misery and vice, chaos and neglect—all this counted, not here and there in spots and sores (as such things in human society always will be), but in areas larger than the entire London of Elizabeth, masses of population equal to the entire English people of her age. I will sum it up in words not my own, but written the other day by one of our best and most acute living teachers, who says: 'Our present type of society is in many respects one of the most horrible that has ever existed in the world's history—boundless luxury and self-indulgence at the one end of the scale, and at the other a condition of life as cruel as that of a Roman slave, and more degraded than that of a South Sea islander.' Such is another refrain to the cantata of the nineteenth century, and its magnificent achievements in industry, science and art.

"What is the good of carrying millions of people through the bowels of the earth, and at fifty miles an hour, if millions of working people are forced to live in dreary, black suburbs, miles and miles away from all the freshness of the country, and away miles and miles even from the life and intelligence of cities? What is the good of ships like moving towns, that cross the Atlantic in a week, and are as gorgeous within as palaces, if they sweep millions of our poor who find nothing but starvation at home? What is the use of electric lamps, and telephones and telegraphs, newspapers by millions, letters by billions, if seamstresses stitching their fingers to the bone can hardly earn fourpence by making a shirt, and many a man and woman is glad of a shilling for twelve hours' work? What do we all gain if in covering our land with factories and steam engines we are covering it also with want and wretchedness? And if we can make a shirt for a penny and a coat for sixpence, and bring bread from every market on the planet, what do we gain if they who make the coat and the shirt lead the lives of galley slaves, and eat their bread in tears and despair, disease and filth.

"We are all in the habit of measuring success by *products,* whilst the point is, how are the products consumed, and by whom, and what sort of lives are passed by the producers? So far as mechanical improvements pour more wealth into the lap of the wealthy, more luxury into the lives of the luxurious, and give a fresh turn to the screw which presses on the lives of the poor; so far as our inventions double and treble the power of the rich, and double and treble the helplessness of the poor, giving to him that hath, and taking away from him that hath not even that

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which he has—so far these great material appliances of life directly tend to lower civilization, retard it, distort, and deprave it. And they *do* this, so far as we spend most of our time in extending and enjoying these appliances, and very little time in preparing for the new conditions of life they impose upon us, and in remedying the horrors that they bring in their train.

"Socially, morally and intellectually speaking, an era of extraordinary changes is an age that has cast on it quite exceptional duties. A child might as well play with a steam engine or an electric machine as we could prudently accept our material triumphs with a mere 'rest and be thankful.' To decry steam and electricity, inventions and products, is hardly more foolish than to deny the price which civilization itself has to pay for the use of them. *There are forces at work now, forces more unwearied than steam, and brighter than the electric arc, to rehumanize the dehumanized members of society; to assert the old immutable truths; to appeal to the old indestructible instinct; to recall beauty; forces yearning for rest, grace, and harmony; rallying all that is organic in man's nature, and proclaiming the value of spiritual life over material life.* But there never was a century in human history when these forces had a field so vast before them, or issues so momentous on their failure or success. There never was an age when the need was so urgent for synthetic habits of thought, systematic education, and a common moral and religious faith.

"There is much to show that our better genius is awakened to the task. Stupefied with smoke, and stunned with steam whistles, there was a moment when the century listened with equanimity to the vulgarest of flatterers. But if machinery were really the last word, we should be rushing violently down a steep place, like the herd of swine."

A few words from R. Heber Newton, from the Arena, January, 1902:

"Labor strikes have tended to end, as in Homestead, in the revolver and the bomb.

"Manufacturers have not hesitated to dispense with the arm of the law and to hire the *condottiere* of our modern civilization, the Pinkerton police.

"Railroads have ignored laws for the protection of life among their employes.

"Corporate wealth has high-handedly bade defiance to law, crushed recklessly all competition by thoroughly anarchistic methods, and not stopped short of corrupting legislatures.

"Out on Long Island life is daily endangered by a high-handed defiance of the laws regulating the speed of vehicles on

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the part of rich men, whose automobiles terrorize horses and drivers alike.

"While such practical anarchism prevails, we must not wonder at anarchistic assassinations. While lawlessness is found everywhere, and *ordinary* life is held so lightly, we must expect lawless disregard of *exceptional* lives."

Had this article been written later he might have included the beef combine, to monopolize meats—one of the necessities of life—and the "divinely appointed" coal combine, to manipulate and control another necessity, and demonstrate to the millions of humanity that it holds inexorably in its hands the right, "divine right," to freeze us.

I wish to call attention to one other writer, Theodore D. Wolsey, D.D., LL.D., ex-president of Yale College, and author of "Political Science;" "Introduction to the Study of International law;" "Communism and Socialism."

In the last named work, written in 1879, about three years prior to the article of Mr. Harrison, above quoted from, how like a prophet he speaks when he says: "If, however, that to which we have referred already more than once should be found to be a law of social progress—that the free use of private property must end in making a *few* capitalists of *enormous* wealth and a *vast* proportion of *laborers* dependent upon them; and if there could be no choice between *this disease* of free society and the swallowing up of all property by the state—then, we admit, it would be hard to choose between the two evils. Nothing would lead the mass of men to embrace Socialism sooner than the conviction that this enormous accumulation of capital in a few hands was to be not only *an evil in fact,* if not prevented, but a *necessary evil,* beyond prevention. We have no desire to see a return to the time of the *'latifundia,'* or broad farms, which, as Pliny and Elder said, were the ruin of Italy. If such a tendency should manifest itself, it would run through all the forms of property. A Stewart or a Claflin would root out smaller tradespeople. Holders of small farms would sink into tenants. The buildings of a city would belong to a few owners. Small manufacturers would have to take pay from mammoths of their own kind or be ruined. Then would the words of the prophet be fulfilled: 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place that they may be placed alone in the earth.' For if it went to an extreme in a free country, *the 'expropriated' could not endure it.* They would go to some other country, and leave these proprietors alone in the land, or would drive them away. *A revolution, slow or rapid, would certainly briug about a new order of things."*

Now for over twenty years (since the above was written)

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we have been waiting for this promised improvement, we have been hoping against hope, and what do we see? Any of the promised restraints by legal enactments; any amelioration of the condition of the wage-earning people?

Is it not rather that there are more millionaires, more gigantic combines, and more lawlessness among this class; that every legislative body, national, state and municipal, has its powerful lobby that usually gets all that it asks for for its friends? Is it not that it becomes a little harder for the laborer—either mental or physical—to "make both ends meet;" that employment is becoming a little more uncertain? Is it not that the once great middle class is being swept from among men and is dropping into the class of wage-earners—no man now, of moderate means, can invest his funds in any legitimate business and pay expenses in competition with the trusts, even if they let him alone. Is it not that the army of employed, those that would willingly work, is becoming daily larger; that the cost of living is advancing at a rapid rate, far in advance of the pittance of advance in wages, where any advance is conceded? Is it not that food stuff, as it advances in price, deteriorates in quality until it is often actually dangerous to take into a human stomach?

Verily the time prophesied by the good doctor has arrived when "we must go to some other country, * * * or drive them away."

The "divine" coal combine, through their Christ, suggests that the federal government should give an island to the Socialists where they could go and invent Socialistic schemes. This is magnanimous, to say the least, and worthy of the brain that evolved it. But, let us ask, where is this island? The Socialists are already numbered by the millions; are casting votes by the millions all over the world; there is no island on this earth large enough to contain one-tenth part of us. Would it not be more expeditious and more economical for the federal government to *give* an island to the capitalists where they could go and exploit themselves and cease exploiting labor? A very small island would contain them all.

There being so many Socialists in all countries that they cannot "go to some other country," then the only ready remedy suggested by Dr. Wolsey is to "drive them away." But we will be more magnanimous than he—we will let them remain where they are. We are not asking for the gift of islands that are already ours; we are asking that the government take over some of the property that belongs to it, to *all the people,* now controlled by trusts and combines, and use it for the benefit of all the people to whom it belongs, instead of for the benefit of the few and the oppression of the many. Our motto is a government "of the

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people, by the people, and for the people," instead of a government "of the people, by the rascals, for the rich."

"I affirm it is my conviction that class laws, *placing capital above labor,* are more dangerous to the public at this hour than chattel slavery in the days of its haughtiest supremacy. *Labor is prior to and above capital,* and DESERVES A MUCH HIGHER CONSIDERATION."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

"The trusts of today are the revival in industrial life of exactly the same spirit that created absolutism in states. Formerly men aimed at *administrative absolutism;* now the trust leaders' object is the attainment of *financial absolutism.*

"It is as pernicious in its latter day as in its former aspect, and *it is as vital to the interests of humanity and progress that financial absolutism* SHOULD BE DESTROYED *as it was that absolutism among rulers should be* ABOLISHED.

"The whole history of Anglo-Saxon civilization has been the history of a steady, tenacious fight against absolutism in the state, a fight which has been entirely successful. *Financial absolutism must be fought, and, in my opinion, the influences that will fight and overcome it will be that same Anglo-Saxon civilization which has* CRUSHED ABSOLUTISM IN OTHER FORMS."—*Benjamin Kidd.*

The haughty, dictatorial conduct of the "divine" combine in the late coal strike to the governor of the state of New York, to the president of the United States, to the commission appointed to hear and arbitrate, tells us only too plainly the position of combined capital today. It is not only imperialistic, but assumes the position of absolutism. *"The earth is mine,"* and *"if you do not like me and my ways, all you have to do is simply to 'get off the earth.'"*

The "revolution" predicted by Dr. Wolsey is now here and certainly will "bring about a new order of things."

When Socialism prevails, and there is no other adequate remedy, we will have "changed cars for Paradise," at least for an earthly paradise.

IRA C. MOSHER.

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Value and the Distribution of Commodities

That which determines how much of other commodities can be gotten for a certain quantity of a given commodity in a free market unaffected by monopoly or force or fraud is its value.

It is apparent that the better the commodity the greater its value and the greater its quantity the greater its value. That is to say in general of a quantity of a commodity compared with another quantity of the same that its value is greater if its usefulness is greater, and vice versa. It is accordingly easy and natural to draw the false conclusion that the value of an article depends upon its usefulness and is determined by the people's desire for it. A thing must be useful in order to be valuable; but nothing is valuable merely because it is useful. A thing more particularly and generally useful than water can hardly be mentioned. Yet water is without value where no one has to work to get it. It may be remarked just here that it requires more labor to make a good article, a good crop of corn for instance, than to make a poor one. It requires more labor to make more of a commodity. If it did not, if a good crop could be made without more labor than the poor crop, the poor crop would not be made at all. It is sure, therefore, if some of a commodity is better than another lot of the same, more labor is generally consumed to make it. The advance in value of one over the other has been preceded by an advance in the labor usually consumed. If comparison be possible, how much more useful is bread than gold, yet how much less valuable, because the labor of production of the latter is greater. If one picks up luckily a nugget of gold, his labor does not fix the average expended for our supply of gold.

Anything usually made for sale is a commodity; but it is impossible to compare the values of these things on the basis of their relative usefulness and people's desire for them. It is as irrational to try to measure the usefulness of iron with the usefulness of bread or of gold as to attempt to measure distance in pounds or temperature in feet. They are no more comparable.

Corn is not sold for corn or beef for beef or gold for gold. Commodities are sold for others not for the same generally. On what do the quantity of other commodities which can be gotten for a certain quantity of a given commodity depend in a free market? In other words, what is value? Where it is shown that no constant consistent relation can be between two things, the one cannot depend upon the other. One article is not worth more than another because it weighs more or because its volume

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is greater. It can readily be shown by an indefinite number of instances that the values of commodities do not vary according to their relative weight, size, color, or any other physical properties. There can be no relation whatever between the values of commodities and their physical properties. Therefore there is no dependence one upon the other. Of all these properties combined the usefulness is made up. The value often does increase through scarcity, whereas the usefulness is less. Value falls where the usefulness has increased in many instance. A certain amount of labor will make now 35 times as many watches, 22 times as much wheat, 4,000 times as many screw posts, 111 times as many pairs of hose as it would without improved machinery fifty or sixty years ago. The products are better than the old. They are not accordingly more valuable. While a few would be sufficient, a multitude of illustrations could be found to show that there is no law of dependence of value upon usefulness and the desire for them. All commodities are alike the products of human labor. They are not exchanged in relative quantities according to their physical properties. We cannot compare their relative usefulness or people's desire for them. But we can measure the amount of human labor which society must expend to provide them; and there is a perfectly obvious and constant relation between the value of commodities and the labor of their production. The greater the labor of production of the commodity the greater its value, and the less the labor the less its value. The quantities of other commodities which can be gotten for a certain quantity of a particular commodity vary directly in a free market with the average amount of useful labor necessary to provide this commodity. This is the law of gravitation of commodities.

Averages are such elastic quantities and the average labor of society so particularly uncertain of close measurement, it is objected that such a basis as the above conclusion is dangerous for far reaching and important deductions. The conception of value presupposes the existence of a community or of a society. Where there is not the exchange of goods there is no such thing conceivable as value. Where there is the exchange of goods we have at least the beginnings of a community. Society values its supply of iron as much more or as much less than its supply of wheat as the labor of making its iron is more or less than the labor necessary to make society's supply of wheat. If society is obliged to expend twice as much labor to produce its supply of wheat as to produce its supply of iron, one billionth part of its wheat supply, suppose twenty bushels, would be valued twice as much as one billionth part of its supply of iron, say one ton. The value of commodities is seen to be society's labor to produce them.

For the measurement of length we take something having

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length. And so for the measurement of value we take something having value, a commodity, and compare others with it. Anything with which society is supplied by human effort may be made the standard, money. Some of the things used have been very curious, cattle, beads, tobacco, slaves. Most convenient, because of the great amount of consumed human labor carried in the small bulk, are the precious metals. It is found convenient to have the money metal made into pieces of regular weight with the denomination stamped thereon—coin. So the human labor usually consumed in producing a few pennyweight of gold is made the standard for measuring the labor in other commodities. That commodity which is sought everywhere in exchange for other commodities and generally accepted as a universal equivalent of value is money. It is exceedingly undesirable to have a changing standard for measurement, as it would be exceedingly inconvenient to use a foot rule that varied in length, sometimes more and sometimes less than one foot. The use of a commodity as standard of value has therefore its disadvantages, since all commodities fluctuate in value with the changes in the labor of their production. Moreover, any commodity can be cornered, gaining thereby a temporary fictitious value. Government credit makes it possible to circulate stamped paper in place of this money commodity, while the public are confident of its exchange for the precious metal or other commodities. The basis of government credit is its power to tax the nation's industries. The standard of value might more reasonably be the average labor of a day than the average labor consumed in a certain weight of gold. The labor certificates, money, of an industrial democracy controlling the industries of the people would be less liable to depreciation than the negotiable paper now in circulation from our banks and other financial institutions and from the government itself.

That value is labor is not inconsistent with its being offered in any of its multitudinous forms, generally in money as the means of payment, for things which in the nature of them could not involve the consumption of society's labor for their production. Things which may be offered directly or indirectly as an inducement to labor come to possess a value as great as the labor they can induce.

Change in the demand for or the supply of a commodity so invariably precedes the fluctuation in its price and is so noticeable that it is rightly considered to be the immediate cause of the change in price and falsely understood to determine the value. Value is determined by the law of supply and demand, it is said. We have no controversy with these people, but let us ask them what determines the supply and demand. When the price for the time being is constant, supply and demand just balance each

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other. One nullifies the effect of the other. What causes them to just balance at this price?

People are moved by an infinite variety of motives. The motive for work is to get the necessities first, and then the luxuries and refinements of life, and the gratification of that infinite variety of human desires which the labor of society can directly or indirectly, wholly or in part, gratify. In a community making commodities men don't make shoes to wear themselves. They make goods for the consumption of others, because it seems to each that his effort expended in this way will better gain the object of his desires than in any other that he can command. In a better industrial order men may find the motive for their work more largely in the love of it. From the same motives that individuals seek the greatest results for their labor, society buys in the cheapest market.

It frequently happens that change in the conditions of production so increase the labor necessary to turn out a certain quantity of product that the same labor cannot turn out nearly so much as before. The supply is short. Some who have expected to buy as usual at the old price, must go without or give more that they who sell may prefer to sell them. The value is advanced by the action of the law of supply and demand with the increase of the labor necessary. Or through an opposite change in the conditions of production, better crop conditions perhaps, or improved machinery, a certain amount of labor produces more product than before. The supply is now greater than the usual demand at the old price. Some must sell for less to sell at all. The commodity will be consumed where it would not have been consumed at the old price. The value falls through the action of the law of supply and demand with the decrease in the necessary labor of production. The price becomes constant again when adjusted so that supply and demand balance each other. The change in value is according to the change in the labor necessary; for this balance of supply against demand cannot continue if a given amount of labor expended in this kind of production or service gets much better or much worse pay and conditions of life, than the same effort expended in other employments. The entrance of the capitalist into the process complicates it without changing the result. He is at least as jealous of his profits as the laborer is of his wages, and can transfer his investment almost as readily as the worker can change his job.

Quite reasonably should we expect in the chaotic conditions of the perpetual financial war now prevailing, where no intelligence whatever can be devoted to the distribution of the productive labor of society, according to the various needs of society, that with one kind of goods the market will be flooded while the supply of an-

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other commodity is so far short of the demand that some people will prefer to pay much more than the price due to the labor necessary in its production, rather than be inconvenienced by the lack of it.

Let us suppose that a premium is offered on the production of a commodity above the normal value because of an increase in demand which occurs without increase in the labor of production. The conditions of production of practically all commodities permit the processes to be hastened to meet unusual demand by the application of unusual labor. But the remuneration offered must be at least as great as the usual labor which must be consumed. It is not now a matter of making corn or iron or paper or some other commodity under the ordinary processes of production, but of forcing production in some places where conditions make this possible by the application of unusual labor. The price of the commodity now increases by the action of the law of supply and demand, just as much as the labor necessary to get the results required.

There also occurs from time to time a reduction of the demand for a commodity below the supply without change in the labor of its production. Other things have been found to better fulfill its purpose perhaps; or its purpose has ceased to be. A part of the labor of production has been useless labor, wasted labor, creating no value therefore, though necessary to produce so much more of the product than can be used. As before, the value of the aggregate product will be the amount of average useful human labor necessarily consumed in it, something less than the labor actually consumed.

It seems that there is a simple law of dependence of the value of a commodity upon the average useful labor alone consumed in its production, and that such constant dependence upon anything else alone cannot be shown to be. It is suggested that value is a dependent, variable function of several independent variables; the law of its dependence is not yet suggested, much less demonstated. Special causes may present peculiar problems. A great many forces in a community may interfere to create unusual complexities, as the passing wind or a falling body disturbs the surface of the lake to its utmost limits. But it will be found at last that according to the general law, after force or fraud, or even a prolonged monopoly have spent themselves, the prices of commodities seek the level of the labor of their production as surely and persistently as water runs down hill. Value is abstract and distinct entirely from those concrete things useful to human wants in which it is embodied, and which constitute wealth.

The manipulation of value for the getting of more value without useful labor on the part of those who profit is common. In-

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deed the consumption of human life in unpaid labor to create profits, interest, and rent is the basis of our business system. Those who successfully manage the accepted and legal processes by which this eminently respectable purpose is accomplished are the men whom we all delight to honor. They are not to be held responsible for a business system they did not design, and which they cannot change; but their willingness to profit by it and defend it is seen. To the value so manipulated only the term capital properly applies. Capital is value manipulated in one form or another according as in one or the other it is expected most rapidly to be increased beyond the useful labor its owners add to it. "Value, therefore, now becomes value in process, money in process, and, as such, capital. It comes out of circulation, enters into it again, preserves and multiplies itself within its circuit, comes back out of it with expanded bulk, and begins the same round ever afresh. M—M', money which begets money, such is the description of capital from the mouths of its first interpreters, the mercantilists (middle of p. 82 of Capital). Its common processes have attained the standing of orthodoxy.

The power to labor being commonly for sale, has become a commodity. As a commodity its value is determined like the value of all commodities by the average labor necessary to produce such quantity and quality of it. The value of labor power is the labor of its production, the labor of producing and sustaining in working order a human being, that is the labor of production of the things he consumes. The opportunities of employment are limited by the chances of profit and the owners of the means of employment. The chances of profit are limited by the possibility of selling the products of industry at a price greater than paid for their production, and consequently greater than the producers can pay for their own product. The sale of the product is therefore dependent upon an expanding market ever beyond the field of present capitalist production. But physical limits have very nearly been reached; and the nations which are now a foreign market for our goods very rapidly become themselves manufacturers competing fiercely for the smaller foreign market remaining. Competition among workers for the inadequate opportunities of employment reduces the wage of labor to the price of its subsistence. The labor power of the man applied to the means of production will create more wealth than sufficient to sustain his own life. If the labor power purchased at the price of his subsistence could not create a surplus above what the laborer must consume, no wealth could be accumulated. The estimate made by the capitalist class in the last United States Census shows that in 1900 by the labor of the wage workers a value twice as great as their wages was added to the raw materials of the products of American manu-

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facturers, after paying all miscellaneous and other expenses besides. (P. 982 of Manufactures, Part II, 12th Census of the United States.) But in order to invest a portion of his capital in the labor power which is the source of his dividends, the capitalist must invest a larger and ever larger part of his capital in the means of production which are not the source of his dividends. The machinery that saves more labor is more complex and more expensive, and in it more capital is tied up. It works up more raw material, with which it must be supplied, and in this more capital is involved. The capital invested per employe in American manufactures in 1850 was $557, in 1900 it was $1,721 (see above reference). Each wage worker must produce the interest on three times as much capital as fifty years ago. The part of his working day consumed in unpaid labor for the creation of profits over and above his wages must be increased, and the part paid for in his wages must by all possible means be reduced. We should expect accordingly what all available evidence converges to a focus upon proving. We are triumphantly told that the average wage of the American employe has increased 77 per cent since 1844. It is of no consequence that the productivity of his labor has multiplied, according to these gentlemen, ten or twenty times, and that against the resistance of the greatest monopolies the prices of his products have been but slightly reduced. Eighty-four cents will buy now what one dollar was required to pay for of the necessities of life when methods of production were crude; so that the average wage will purchase now almost twice as much. But the wage of the working class can now buy a smaller part of their product than ever before.

Since the illogical and unrighteous distribution of wealth produced in the present industrial system is its most intolerable wrong, the determination of the pay of the worker and the distribution of commodities in whatever business system this one is immediately to develop can be a matter of no small concern, and will be its first problem. As a business proposition, socialism guarantees to every worker the full product of his toil. Our principal objection to the present system is that some are enriched by the unpaid labor of others. Many people are confirmed in the belief that socialism involves equal pay to all workers in a co-operative state. A great many do not distinguish between socialism and communism. The motto of communism is, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." That this should be the fundamental principle of a business system immediately to replace the present one is obviously impossible, whatever the development of the industrial order may be beyond industrial democracy. It must be equally impossible to maintain a business system in which every worker receives the same pay for whatever service. This would

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antagonize the very purpose of the socialist movement. It has never been proposed and would be impossible to restrict the desire to do useful work for which unlimited opportunities are afforded by nature. It is moreover true that the labor of various persons is not equally productive, nor could it be made so except in special conditions and to an approximate degree. All cannot receive the same pay, therefore, unless some are rewarded by the unpaid labor of others.

Very few commodities are the product of the labor of one or a few workers. The making of a watch, for instance, involves eight hundred operations. Whose, therefore, shall the product be? While it is plainly impossible to divide the product into the shares that belong to each worker, it is equally plain that the part of the work done by each can be estimated as to its time, its intensity, and its skill. And every worker shall be paid accordingly if each receives the full product of his labor; that is, if industrial democracy secures to every useful worker a share of the whole product of labor, the same as his share of labor. It is not his own product that the worker desires, but the products of other workers in place of his own. The fact that some particular workman in taking a day to make a certain thing consumes three times as much as the usual time, does not entitle him to the product of a day's labor three times as productive as his own, though he is entitled to his own product after the raw material is paid for. Nor would the fact that the skill of another man enables him to get in one hour the results of three hours average labor rightly deprive him of three times as much for his labor.

Here we are at once involved unavoidably in the exchange of commodities, and must consider the law governing, the law of gravitation of commodities. This law rules the middle or the dark ages of finance now passing "as an over-riding law of nature," notwithstanding the ignorance and defiance of its industrial lords. How accurately and how absolutely is shown in "Capital, A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production," by Carl Marx. The desire of men to get the greatest results possible for the effort expended is natural, and legitimate and enduring. The resulting economic law is equally enduring and strong enough to govern the past and present industrial systems not only without their recognition, but against the utmost resistance of their greatest financial institutions and the governments. If we are considering what may be the industrial system which may be expected to develop out of the existing industrial feudalism, rather than in speculations on the distant future, it must be concluded that economic law will rule as surely the immediate future as the immeasurable past. So are the prices of goods adjusted to accord at least approximately with the labor of their production. If the reward for ef-

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fort in a certain kind of employment were better than for the same effort in other lines, labor would be attracted to that employment. The fact that an excessive number sought work therein would be the best possible evidence that the advantages of such employment are excessive. Vice versa, there could be no better proof that the conditions and remuneration of a certain class of work were relatively poor, and that injustice was being done than that the number seeking employment therein was insufficient to meet the requirements of the work. There must be readjustment accordingly. Mistaken attempts to fix arbitrarily prices and the wages of various kinds of labor would be overwhelmed, even if these mistakes were enforced by the greatest of all monopolies, the machinery of the state, organized society. That the equalizing of the attractiveness of the various employments and the approximate equalizing of pay would gradually result in industrial democracy "in order to attract or retain a supply of labor equal to the demand in any stated employment," is a happy condition that must grow out of equality of opportunity to all.

New York, July 26, 1903. WARREN ATKINSON.

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Ascending Stages of Socialism

The central idea running through that conception of the universe which the discoveries and generalizations of modern science have imposed upon the cultivated thought of the present day is that of evolution. We now know that nothing in the universe is fixed or stationary. All things are in a state of flux and constant change, and have arrived at their present state by a long-continued process of development. The solid earth under our feet was once a gaseous mist, and at this very moment is rushing restlessly and with unthinkable velocity toward the unchartered wastes of boundless space. The so-called "eternal hills" have many a time reared their towering summits to the skies only to be washed down again and again into the abysmal depths of the sea. The teeming and varied life upon the globe has risen from humble beginnings, and passed through many mutations of form and fortune, ere reaching, after the strain and strife of the ages, its present perfection and beauty of adaptation; and proud man himself must see in the *Pithecanthropus Erectus,* or extinct Ape-Man of Malaysia, the link of kinship that binds him to the rest of the animal kingdom.

Now the development of the human race from animality, and through savagery to civilization, has only been possible with the slow and concurrent development of its physical, intellectual and social powers, or faculties, and these powers or faculties must continue to grow and expand as man rises to a higher scale of life and a higher civilization. At every stage of human culture there must be an adaptation between the powers of the individual and the requirements of the social environment, and it is impossible to hurry on the development of social forms and institutions ahead of the development that is taking place in the powers of the individuals composing society. The goal of evolution is in that form of economic life in which there shall be a complete harmony of interests between the individual and society, and between each individual and every other individual; a harmony of interests which shall permit and make possible the full and unrestricted gratification of every man's desires without such gratification diminishing the opportunities for the gratification of any other man's desires, and in which none shall have desires which it shall not be possible out of the social abundance to thus fully and completely gratify; but the organic and industrial changes which are required to enable men to attain this most perfect state are too profound for us to rightly imagine that it can be brought about as rapidly as

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paper constitutions can be amended, or as ideological conceptions can be nominally accepted as the political faiths of majorities.

The nature of man as he exists today in the regions subject to the conditions of modern civilization, is the result of the compromise between the egotistic passions inherited from and indispensable in that long period of the earlier evolution of life during which the maintainance of the species and the progress of being could only be achieved by universal conflict and unmitigated individualism, and the altruistic feelings generated in that later form of evolution under which fitness of life comes to mean fitness for social life, and under which conflict tends to give way to concord, competition to co-operation, and individualism to Socialism. While the individual is thus, at the present time, at about the middle point in the development of his moral nature between the conditions appropriate to the isolated and warring life of the past, and the conditions essential to the highest form of social and co-operative life, the changes that in the course of a century have revolutionized industry have suddenly brought us face to face with problems the solving of which requires an equal revolution in government and society and an equal revolution in the mutual relations of the individuals composing society.

The economic development has now reached the point where the old individualistic struggle for existence by the process of competitive production and the private ownership by the user of the means of production has become impossible. Competition is no longer the state of stable equilibrium in the economic life of society. The scale of production has grown and grown until it has become national and international in its magnitude, excluding ever more the possibility of a real rivalry of establishments, and the function of ownership of the now vastly enlarged and costlier machinery of production has become divorced, and necessarily so, from the labor of operating it, while being concentrated under the monopolistic control of a small non-producing class. The just and the unjust, the wise and the foolish, the industrious and the lazy, have thus alike fallen a prey to the exploitation of the few who now own all the means of life and labor, and upon whom society is dependent for the maintenance of its existence.

Clearly, such a state of affairs, so detrimental to the interests of an increasing majority, so destructive of the conditions of social welfare, cannot continue forever. The producers of the world will not indefinitely continue to permit the major portion of the fruits of their labor to be appropriated by a parasitic class owning the earth by divine right.

But a return to primitive individualistic production is now impossible. By an irrevocable edict of progress, production has now become a social function and must remain so. It is only the

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private control of production as a source of unearned profit and the private appropriation by the non-producers of the profits of the social labor that must be eliminated; and this means the substitution of social control and social ownership for private control and private ownership. It means that Socialism is the only alternative to plutocratic individualism.

Here let us stop for a moment to see just what is meant by the word Socialism.

Socialism is a generic term. There are many kinds of Socialists and many conceptions of what Socialism properly is. Much confusion is hence caused since the advocates of any particular form of Socialism usually represent it and often succeed in having outsiders accept it as the real and only true Socialism. Neglecting, however, the narrow construction which fanatics, whether calling themselves Socialists or Individualists, would put upon the word, we will here define Socialism as being any order of society or doctrine favoring any order of society, under which the prevailing mode of production is by public agency.

Now when we study the works of the different writers, from Plato and Sir Thomas More to Bakounine and William Morris, who classed themselves or who would by the above definition be correctly classed as Socialists, we find that the essential difference in the teachings of these various writers consists in the different degrees of confidence which they placed in the individual, and the amount of external control over the actions of the individual which they believed to be necessary for the maintenance of order and the continuance of their system.

We find that, in general, the earlier writers favored rigid supervision and restraint, both in the field of production and of consumption, over the economic activities of the individual, and as a corollary thereto they also favored the existence of a separate supervising and regulating class not responsible to the masses of the people and whose members were to be recruited either by birth within the ranks of the regulating class, or by merit, or else by seniority; this autocratic system having been, indeed, actually realized in the Empire of Peru; on the other hand, the modern school tends to the opposite view as to individual liberty, particularly in the domain of consumption, and to the most unqualified democracy in government and administration.

Of course, it is out of the question to suppose that modern Socialists, simply out of respect for the opinion of theorists of another age, would consent to relinquish any part of the political progress that has already been achieved by the race under capitalism. We need not, therefore, here further discuss those social proposals of writers of past generations which the advancing thought and changed conditions of the world have left so far

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behind. There is no danger of modern Socialism going deliberately backward in the path of political progress upon acquiring possession of the powers of government. The indications point rather to the danger of its going too rashly forward, with the use of the perfected political machinery, towards atempting to realize an economic idealism in the distribution of the product of the social labor for which humanity is as yet far from being ripe. It is in the formulæ of distribution or consumption of the various schools of modern Socialism that there is to be found food for thoughtful consideration at the present day.

If we keep clearly in mind the great truth of evolutionary philosophy, that the present organic and moral development of the race represents but a passing phase of its history, we must see that it is impossible to formulate a scheme of wealth distribution which shall be exactly suitable to mankind in its present state of organic and organically moral progress and which shall at the same time be equally applicable to any and all future stages of advancement. The normal form of distribution prevailing in any society must correspond to the particular stage of progress towards social perfection attained by its units. Any attempt to institute a higher and more idealistic form of distribution in a society than is warranted by the state of moral and organic development of its members must result in retrogression instead of progress; for where the individuals in a community would not voluntarily, and as part of their ordinary private conduct, regularly and habitually practice such self-restraint in the satisfaction of their various desires, both egoistic and philoprogenitive, as would maintain the equilibrium between the collective resources and the demands upon them, it would be necessary for the community, in its coervice capacity, to decide, by means of enactments having the force of law, what each individual's consumption should be. Thus the formula: "To each according to his needs," if that, for example, should be the principle of distribution adopted, would come to mean: "To each according to his needs as determined by others," and would involve the most odious and far-reaching tyranny in its practical application.

But Socialism, as we have seen by our definition, is not committed to any particular scheme of distribution. Socialism has to do, properly, only with the general mode of production. Each generation of the people of the future will have to settle by itself this question of distribution, whether it settle it right or wrong.

However, even though we are living in an age when the cause of Socialism has yet to be won, and indeed, for that very reason, it is incumbent upon us and in no way presumptuous, to endeavor by the method of scientific reasoning and with the light cast upon the subject by the philosophy of evolution, to solve, at least

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to our own satisfaction, this problem of distribution under Socialism and to trace the changes in the form of distribution that must follow the rise of man as an individual to that higher organic life vouchsafed by the teachings of modern science.

We have seen that the fundamental difference between the various schools of Socialists consists in the degree of confidence they put in the individual and in the resulting more or less liberal measures they advocate as to the mode of distribution between the citizens of the Socialist Republic of the product of the common labor. We have also seen that according to the teachings of evolutionary philosophy, human nature is not unalterable, but is on the contrary undergoing a process of constant change, moving ever onward to a higher and higher stage of intellectual and moral development and tending ever to approach the state of perfect adaptation to the conditions of existence that must prevail under the most advanced and ideal social order. If this be so, then a mode of distribution and of the regulation of the social labor which would be wholly inapplicable for men as now constituted and as they will doubtless be constituted for a long time to come, might be perfectly appropriate for men of a more advanced type and at some future period of the world's development. The proposals of the idealists must, therefore, be condemned, not as being absolutely wrong, but as being wrong relatively to the time and the period of history in which they are now advocated. Viewed in this light, it becomes important to examine, even at some detail, these various proposals concerning the mode of distribution under Socialism, since the proposals foreshadow actual future stages of the economic development.

First, then, let us turn our attention to that most popular and least Utopian of these idealistic proposals; the proposal, namely, which would require that every individual in an industrial democracy shall receive an equal income from the community and shall in return be expected or compelled to give the utmost that he is capable of giving in effort for the common weal, at least within the regular hours of labor.

There can be no doubt that such a system of social economy, if we exclude the compulsory feature in the regulation of the individual's labor which it necessarily involves, represents a higher and more generous social idea than where the formula of distribution would be: To each according to his deeds. It must also be conceded that the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood which such a system must promote, must itself be conducive, to that extent, to more intense and more effective economic effort. Notwithstanding all this, however, the objections against this system of distribution of incomes are, as we shall see, too grave to permit

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us to accept it as the form of distribution adapted for men as now constituted.

The rise of man in the scale of being as a member of organic creation may under one of its aspects be regarded as consisting of a growth or progressive increase in the amount of vital energy available to each individual, and the amount of energy available to each individual is dependent upon the biological law of use and disuse. It is by the exercise or *use* of any faculty that its power increases and it is by the putting forth of due effort or energy in the exercise of the various faculties that the total sum of energy or power of effort increases. But the amount of effort that must be put forth in the exercise of the faculties in order to increase their power, the amount of labor, physical or mental, that must be performed, in order as with sufficient nutrition, to permanently increase the sum of physiological and psychological energy at the disposal of the individual, is such as requires a painful and long continued overcoming of natural inertia. This overcoming of natural inertia is, however, indispensable to the organic progress of the race and the maintenance of a high and ever advancing civilization. As there is a difference in the amount of energy that can with the same relative effort be put forth by different individuals, and as there is a consequent difference in the relative value of their labor, physical or mental, the stimulus of reward in the product, or in the value of the product, is essential to induce the maximum social product, the maximum social efficiency, and the maximum social and individual progress.

The formula of distribution for the existing type of humanity, therefore, must be: To each according to his deeds. To be carried away by sentimental considerations and institute the system of equality of remuneration immediately or even within a few generations after the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, would be fatal to the highest interests of human advancement and so diminish the total product of labor and the amount to be divided among each that all would lose. The more capable and productive individuals would not, on the average, exert themselves to the utmost of their power, when the fruits of their efforts would be shared in alike by the slothful and incompetent, and the latter, on their part, would also fail to labor as diligently as they might otherwise do, if all could partake equally and irrespective of one's personal merit or industry in the output of the wealth of a continent. In proportion to the diminution of the per capita income would the dissatisfaction with the system increase and the increasing dissatisfaction with the system would still further reduce the total social product and the total per capita income. Finally, if despite the manifest disadvantages of the system to the great majority of the population, the latter still

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continued to give it their political support, as capitalism is now, for example, supported by its victims, the per capita income would become too small to provide the adequate physical and mental energy to the individual to enable him to labor so as to maintain production even at the point required to supply the bare necessities of life, and there would be at last result a breakdown that would compel the abandonment of the system.

From another point of view we may also see that the arbitrary equalization of incomes of the individuals in a society, and irrespective as it necessarily must be of their individual merit, is contrary to the intentions of nature and must in the end become impracticable.

That fecundity of life which covers the earth from Pole to Pole and from the highest mountain summits to the uttermost depths of sea with animal and vegetable organisms, in the human race likewise stimulates multiplication to the point where over any given area and at any given point in the development of the arts of production and of the institutions governing the distribution of wealth, population could not further increase without reducing the standard of living prevailing at the time by unduly raising the ratio of population to the natural resources and to the available supply of the means of subsistence.

Now where the incomes of the masses of the people depend upon each man's personal efforts or are directly proportionate to the value of their labor, taken individually, then where under the particular conditions as regards the productivity of labor, the natural resources of the country, the ratio in which the producers as a class share in the wealth they produce, etc., population reaches the point where any further increase would involve a fall in the average income and in the average standard of living of the masses of the people; there come into play certain forces and motives which act upon the individual so as to wholly or partly restrain such further increase. Each individual being obliged out of his own earnings, which are proportionate to his exertions, to provide for his own needs and for the needs of his family, if he have any, there results a tendency to restrain the average size of families and to raise the average age of marriage, and the fall in the birth rate which thereby ensues tends to maintain population at an equilibrium with the natural resources and with the desired standard of living.

Far different, however, must it be, where each individual is guaranteed an equal income with every other individual and irrespective of his own condition in labor and effort towards the production of wealth, and where, as a corollary thereto, each individual is also absolved from the task of providing at his own expense for the support of his offspring, however numerous these

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may be, but has the cost of their maintenance and education paid for by the community. Lacking, as he must then, the motive which alone can restrain him from such satisfaction of his sexual and philoprogenitive instincts, as must in the natural course of things involve a rapid and progressive increase of population so long as the physical conditions permit; the income of each individual and the standard of living must, after a certain degree of populousness has been reached, begin to decline and to fall ever lower and lower until it has reached a bare existence level, and then, the motive for the restraint and overcoming of these instincts being still absent, the continuing births must bring about a state of overpopulation in which the scarcity and inadequacies of the necessities of life must result in so increasing the death rate as to bring it to an equality with the birth rate, and thereby, at last, establish an equilibrium, but an equilibrium based upon universal poverty, starvation, and misery.

It is often assumed, indeed, by Socialists of the "more advanced" or Utopian school, that by the biological law of animal fertility, according to which, the higher the scale of life the lower is the power of reproduction, we are justified in asserting that under the intellectually and spirtually stimulating environment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the greater cultivation and development of men's higher faculties will so diminish the power of the lower instincts as to reduce the birthrate to a point where, while it will ensure the perpetuation of the race, it will no longer have a tendency even under a regime of economic irresponsibility in the relation of parents to offspring to cause overpopulation. This assumption is, however, as we must see, unwarranted. The fertility of a race is a function of its physical organism, and the physical organism and the innate power of the physical organism of any race or species can be perceptibly modified only in the long course of centuries or even of geologic epochs.

We are thus obliged to admit, that for many generations after the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment in its place of the system of collective ownership of the means of production and collective administration of industry, it will be necessary to leave untouched those basic principles regulating the relation between the individual and his product and between the individual and his progeny in accordance with which evolution has hitherto proceeded. To fit men for a higher life in the illimitable future which we know is ahead of us, the race must continue for an indefinite time to come under the dominion of that law of progress according to which each individual must be responsible in his own person for the results of his own actions, and according to which as parent he must be responsible for the maintenance and education of his offspring.

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That social polity, then, which while it would secure to every individual equality of opportunity to the use of the means of production, would also ensure to each individual producer neither more nor less than the full value of his individual product, and which out of that product would oblige every individual to provide not only for all his own needs but also for all the just needs of his natural dependents, represents the first stage of Socialism through which the race must pass in its ascending journey toward the Perfect Commonwealth.

When, however, in the course of the further evolution of the race, man will at last have risen to the duties and responsibilities of the co-operative life; when, after the discipline of the ages, the individual will have been molded to the requirements of the future society; and when the old egoism, the old indolence, the old intellectual apathy and vacuity, the old savage passions and brutish appetites, will have disappeared and made way for new aims and desires, for new habits and feelings; when, in short, a new race will have arisen fitted for equality, equality will come.

The second stage of Socialism, however, the stage of equality, equality, that is, in the sense of equality of incomes, as depicted, for example, in Bellamy's works, is apparently not destined to be of very long duration. The superior attractiveness and superior economic advantages under conditions of high productivity of labor and high organic and moral development of the individual of that still more advanced state of society in which there will be neither money nor price, neither buying nor selling, will cause the Communistic principle of social economy to be adopted within a comparatively short period after the abandonment of the system of payment by results or payment according to the value of one's labor. There are practically no arguments against Communism which may not be urged with almost equal force against the system of equality of remuneration, and when the race will have become fitted by reason of its moral and physical adaptation to the conditions of a higher civilization and by reason of the progress in production to successfully apply the latter principle in its economic relations, it will not be long before it will be ready to enter into the next highest stage of social development which we are bound to recognize must be Communism.

Communism represents a higher civilization than mere Collectivism does. Communism represents a higher faith in the individual. Under Communism it would not be necessary to be perpetually carrying about documentary evidence, whether in the form of money or other credit tokens, of the right to partake of the means of existence. The purely economic advantages of this system, and considering merely the saving it would effect in the vast amount of labor now required in the collecting, receiving,

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exchanging, etc., of money and other representatives of value are considerable. In some industries or forms of service from one-third to one-half or more of the cost of operation represents the labor of collecting the charges from the consumers or patrons; as, for example, in the case of street car transportation, privately operated bridges, turnpikes, etc. Even now we are compelled to acknowledge the utter wastefulness and impracticability, in many cases, of the direct payment system, by leaving our streets, public parks, and various other public utilities, free to all who would use them; and as time goes by the tendency to convert purchasable values into free and inalienable utilities will become more and more marked.

As fast as the private man will prove himself worthy of public trust; as fast as the public interest will be increasingly recognized as the individual's highest private interest; as fast as the instincts will become enlisted in the service of altruism, will it become safe to devote the wealth and the resources of the whole of society to the free satisfaction of the needs and desires of each individual. There will be no necessity for restraining consumption by limitations of purchasing power when there will be abundance for all, and there will be no incentive to extravagance in consumption when there will be no honor in ostentatious display.

But freedom merely in consumption does not represent the final and highest stage of social and economic evolution. Evolution cannot be said to have reached its limit until the adaptation of the individual to the social environment has become so complete that pleasure is found in the due performance of all the activities necessary for the maintenance of society. To this happy outcome of the evolutionary process we may, however, with full faith look forward. But when men will have come to perform all the needful labor of the world for the pleasure of the work; when the productivity of their labor, multiplied by now undreamt of inventions and unsuspected natural forces, will have become so great as to provide for their utmost needs; and when their moral development will have come to preclude the possibility of disputes as well about the distribution of the product as about the distribution of the work, there will be no longer need of external regulation: there will be no longer need of the rule of man by man; there will be no longer need of the State.

Anarchist-Communism is thus the best and highest stage of political and economic progress. But how unscientific it is to advocate in the present period of the world's development a theory of society which only after a transformation amounting to a revolution in the very nature of the race, a transformation that would under the most favorable conditions require thousands of

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years for its consummation could scarcely then begin to be practicable.

The true radical is not he who would force the world into experiments which like that of the young frog that as related in the fable desired to expand to the size of an ox, could end only in disaster; but rather it is the man who, recognizing the limitations of our nature and recognizing also the possibilities of its development, would help to so order things that an environment would be created that would tend to the greatest happiness of the greatest number in the present while hastening the world's progress towards the more perfect society of the future.

RAPHAEL BUCK.

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Economic Aspects of Chattel Slavery

(Continued.)

The greater cheapness of the wage slave made itself most apparent in the border states and consequently these states began to show a steady decline in the number of chattel slaves. As a result of this there arose a sharp division between two classes of slave states. Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina became known as the slave breeding states, while Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana were the slave using states. This was accompanied by a shifting of the cotton industry to the southwest, or rather the shifting of this industry was a primary cause of the change in the center of the system of chattel slavery. Another reason for the rapid increase of slaves in Louisiana was the growth of the cane sugar industry. The following table showing the increase in the fifteen years preceding 1850 gives an idea of this movement. It is taken from James F. W. Johnson's "Notes on North America," published in 1851, Vol. 2, p. 363:

"In Louisiana there were of sugar estates and of slaves employed in the cultivation of sugar in

	With Horsepower.	Steam Power.	Total.	Slaves.
1844	671	480	762	63,000
1849	671	865	1,536	126,000

This same author points out the results of this system in a most vivid manner (pp. 354 and 355). "One of the most melancholy results of the system of slavery in Virginia, especially since slavery ceased to be profitable within the state itself, is the attention which proprietors have been induced to pay to the breeding and rearing of slaves and to the regular sale of the human produce to the southern states, as a means of adding to their ordinary farming profits—as a branch in fact of common rural industry. One of the representatives to congress from Virginia in a pamphlet on the slavery question recently published says: 'Virginia has a slave population of nearly half a million, whose value is chiefly dependent on southern demand.'"

The author then makes calculations to show that it is much more profitable to raise slaves for sale than for use. "The number of slaves in Virginia is diminishing. In 1830 it was 470,000, while in 1840 it was only 450,000, and it is probably less now. The number sold, therefore, exceeds in a small degree (by 2,000 a year) the natural increase. Now the annual increase of the whole slave population is about 3 per cent, which upon 450,000 is 13,500. And if only 1,500 slaves a year be sold beyond this

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natural increase, about 15,000 will every year go south to the slave markets from the state of Virginia. As these will generally be sold in the prime of life, they may be reckoned worth at least $300 a head, which for the 15,000 gives $4,500,000 as the price received for human stock exported every year from Virginia.

But Virginia produces yearly 50,000,000 pounds of tobacco, and 2,500,000 pounds of cotton, the value of which, at an average, of 8½ cents a pound, is $4,375,000. That is to say, the slave rearing husbandry brings in more money yearly to Virginia than all its tobacco and cotton do. It is surprising, then, that the Virginians, both individually and as a state, should be anxious to enlarge and keep up the southern demand."*

As the struggle between the two systems of exploitation grew sharper there arose a great amount of literature to show the economic superiority of wage slavery. One book which treated this subject most exhaustively was Hinton Rowan Helper's "The Impending Crisis." This book was written by a resident of the western portion of North Carolina, and right here it is worth while to note the fact that in the mountain regions of West Virginia and North Carolina and northern Georgia and Alabama there was a system of small farming and minor manufactures very similar to that existing throughout the northern states. As we might almost know without examination, this was a strong anti-slavery locality. It was from this region that Helper came. His book consists of a marvelous wealth of facts intended to show the economic disadvantage of chattel slavery. He shows how utterly deficient the south was in comparison with the north in manufactures, enterprise, education and material wealth of all sorts. He points out how the commerce of the south declined as that of the north grew; how the great cities of the south stood still while those of the north advanced by leaps and bounds; how immigration came into the north while it shunned the south; how land on southern plantations was impoverished and taxable property continually grew less and less in value while the reverse was true in the north.

This book had a most remarkable circulation in the years immediately preceding the war, and probably if the truth as to the real factors which made public opinion could be determined, it had far more to do with bringing on the Civil War than did "Uncle Tom's Cabin." At one time a committee of northern capitalists raised sufficient funds to circulate 100,000 copies of a

*McHenry, "The Cotton Trade," pages 212-13, denies that Virginia was a "slave-breeding" state and instances a law passed in 1812 by the Virginia legislature forbidding the exportation of slaves. See also Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," Vol. I, pages 100-101, and especially Wm. Henry Smith's "Poetical History of Slavery," Vol. I, pages 2-5, where the whole subject is treated.

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synopsis of it. When it is remembered that it is a book of over 400 pages some idea is gained of how important it was considered by the ruling classes of the North at that time. Copies of it are still generally to be found in most second hand stores, and I would urge every Socialist to buy a copy and read it, as it will prove an eye-opener to most people, especially if they have gained their ideas of American history from popular text books.

He addresses his book to the poor whites of the south and this calls attention to a class which is ordinarily overlooked. He makes the following classification of slave holders in 1850 which is of so great interest of showing how few men there were who really owned more than five slaves, at a time when one would naturally think from a reading of Southern literature that every white person in the South was a plantation owner.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SLAVE HOLDERS—1850.

Holders of	1 slave		68,820
Holders of	1 and under	5	105,683
Holders of	5 and under	10	80,765
Holders of	10 and under	20	54,595
Holders of	20 and under	50	29,733
Holders of	50 and under	100	6,196
Holders of	100 and under	200	1,479
Holders of	200 and under	300	187
Holders of	300 and under	500	56
Holders of	500 and under	1,000	9
Holders of	1,000 and over		2
Aggregate number of slave holders in the United States			347,525

He points out that even this table is inaccurate in that it includes slave hirers and some duplications and he computes that the actual number of slave holders in 1850 amounted to 475,525. Ingle, in his "Southern Sidelights," p. 263, states that this number remained practically constant until 1860. As there was a total white population in the slave states of 6,184,477 in 1850, it at once becomes apparent that the slaveholding class, like all ruling classes, was really but a small proportion of the whole.

George Weston wrote a book in 1856 which he calls "The Poor Whites of the South," in which he claims that their whole degraded position was due to slavery. His remarks as to the unimportant place which they played in determining public opinion, etc., are extremely interesting:

"The non-slaveholding whites of the South, being not less than seven-tenths of the whole number of whites, would seem to be entitled to some inquiry into their actual condition, and

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especially as they have no real political weight or consideration in the country and little opportunity to speak for themselves. I have been for twenty years a reader of Southern newspapers and a hearer of congressional debates, but in all that time I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard these non-slaveholding whites referred to by Southern gentlemen as constituting any part of what they call 'the South.'"

This appeal to the poor whites of the South by the Northern anti-slavery politicians was not so disinterested and ingenuous as it appeared on the surface. William H. Smith, in his "Political History of Slavery" (Vol. I, p. 76), says concerning a pamphlet issued by Salmon P. Chase and nominally appealing to the non-slaveholding Southern whites: "The chief purpose Mr. Chase had in view in addressing the non-slaveholders was to influence the political action of the intelligent working classes of the North, by bringing into sharp contrast the two systems of social order."

Here indeed was a delicate point for the Northern capitalist. The problem which confronted him was how to rouse the Northern wage worker to the fighting point against the South and chattel slavery without at the same time opening his eyes to the fact of wage slavery. It was necessary to find an "issue" which did not involve this dangerous point and yet on which the North and South would be divided. This was finally found in the cry of "Save the Union." Few people would learn from the text-books on American history used in our schools that the abolitionists were the most rabid disunionists, or that New England states had ever threatened to secede. The "Hartford Convention" of the war of 1812 is an example of the second point, while countless quotations from the abolition sources can be found to prove the first. Wendell Phillips was particularly violent in his advocacy of a dissolution of the Union. In 1856 he delivered a speech entitled "The Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact," in the introduction to which he said: "To continue this disastrous alliance longer is madness. The trial of fifty years only proves that it is impossible for free and slave states to unite on any terms, without all becoming partners in the guilt, and responsible for the sin of slavery. We dare not prolong the experiment, and with double earnestness we repeat our demand upon every honest man to join us in the outcry of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."*

Even in January, 1860, after South Carolina had already seceded, Phillips delivered a speech in Music Hall, Boston, with a mob howling at the doors, in the course of which he said: "'The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice.' The 'Covenant of death' is annulled; the 'agreement with hell' is broken to pieces. The chain

*Capitals in original report circulated by the society.

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which has held the slave system since 1787 is parted. Thirty years ago Northern abolitionists announced their purpose to seek the dissolution of the American Union. Who dreamed that success would come so soon?"

Two years later, however, he had changed his position and in a letter to the New York *Tribune* of August 16, 1862, he states that "From 1843 to 1861 I was a disunionist. * * * Sumpter changed the whole question. After that peace and justice both forbade disunion."

The reason for the fanaticism of the North on the question of the Union is at once apparent to any one with a knowledge of modern capitalism. In the strife for world markets the government would be a prominent factor and the capitalists desired that this government should be as strong, extensive and centralized as possible.

There was still another reason which was seen by some observers at that time and should at once occur to the Socialist student. Capitalism constantly demands new fields for exploitation in order to dispose of the surplus product which it takes from the laborers. For this purpose it has need of some territory with a lower economic organization than itself. This is the motive which impels the seeking of colonies. Kettel, in "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," saw this point very clearly and thus states it (pp. 19 and 42): "We have seen that England, in the course of her colonial system, had, by furnishing goods and slaves, and enjoying the carrying trade of her dependencies, acquired a vast capital, while the colonies that produced that wealth had accumulated nothing; they had, in fact, become poorer. * * The New England states from the first were mostly engaged in navigation and manufactures. It was there that capital first accumulated from application to those employments. Agriculture spread in two directions, viz., across the mountains to the west and southwest from the South Atlantic states. These two agricultural branches divided naturally into free and slave labor, and both sections held the same position to New England as all the colonies had before held to the mother country. The manufacturing and navigating states, as a matter of course, accumulated the wealth which the other sections produced."

Moreover, the capitalist class of the North had already learned how valuable the national government was to them in the enactment of tariff laws, the creation of internal improvements, the granting of land to railroads, etc. Edward A. Pollard, in "The Lost Cause," p. 52, thus describes the attitude of the North on this matter: "In the North there was never any lack of rhetorical fervor for the Union; its praises were sounded in every note of tumid literature, and it was familiarly entitled 'the glorious.' But

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the North worshiped the Union in a very low commercial sense; it was a source of boundless profits; and it had been used for years as a means of sectional aggrandizement."

There is one phase of the evolution of the last two decades preceding the Civil War to which I have never seen any reference in any books reviewing this period with a single exception, to which reference will be made later. Yet it is one which could not have helped but add to the antagonism between the ruling classes. There was quite a tendency on the part of the Southern slave owners to enter the field of manufacturing. At the time this movement was attracting considerable attention. Among the numerous books which were written to reply to Helper's "Impending Crisis" was one by Thomas P. Kettell, which he entitled "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," the meaning of this title being, of course, that the South was the real wealth-creating section of the country, while the North simply traded upon and exploited this wealth. He instances many figures (p. 53 *et seq.*) to show that manufacturing was increasing in a much more rapid rate in the south man in the north during the period from 1840 to 1850. From the census of 1860 we discover that this movement did not continue with quite the same rapidity that he expected, although there was a steady growth in the manufacture of cotton goods, boots and shoes and a few other branches.

The increase in the value of the production of cotton goods from 1850 to 1860 being 43 per cent, the total value of the production for 1860 amounting to $8,145,067. In regard to boots and shoes the census of 1860 says: "In the southern states there was an increase equivalent to 89.9 per cent, the aggregate value being $3,973,313." Kettell states the hopes of the southern slave owner in this direction as follows:

"What we do find in these figures is, that the south having become possessed of capital, is prosecuting manufactures at a rate which will soon make a 'home market' for its raw materials and place it foremost in the ranks of exporters of goods. The figures show that it is fast supplanting northern imported goods within its own industry. It will not, like the north, however, have provincial markets to supply, but having all within its own border, will actually diminish its purchases from the north. It will have foreign markets for its surplus. The countries of South America and Asia will be open to it, and if it there encounters British and New England competitors it will have the advantage of having unprotected developed its manufactures in the face of the competition of New England goods in the home market, and therefore become able to meet these goods in any market. If in a few years it does not become a seller of cotton goods to the north on a large scale, as it already is on a small scale, since Georgia and Alabama

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cottons are favorites in New York, it will take none of them. The north will, however, still require food and materials and the scale of dependence may vibrate."

In many of these plants the negro slaves were being used. This whole movement is quite thoroughly described in Ingle's "Southern Sidelights," pp. 75-93. Here we find such papers as the *Dry Goods Economist* began to speak "fearfully of southern competition in cotton weaving." An English observer, whom we have previously quoted, Mr. James F. W. Johnson, says on this point, p. 364: "There is another aspect of this question which awakens gloomy apprehensions as to the future of the American slave. The introduction of the cotton manufacture into the slave states—Virginia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi—in which there are some hundreds of factories, consuming already from 300,000 to 400,000 bales of cotton a year, has brought a new use of his slaves within the reach of the southern planters. The same power which compels them to toil in gangs under a burning sun will constrain them to waste life in the factories, if it can be done profitably to the master. The great difficulty of the manufacturers in the New England states is the question of labor—the scarcity of work-people, the high wages they demand, and the delicacy required to manage them. In the south these difficulties vanish. Slave labor is easily obtained and the slave obeys as mechanically as the machine he superintends. A great and rapid extension of the factory system is therefore looked for in the south and many predict that the manufacturers of the eastern states will sink before them."

Just how far this movement would have progressed under slavery is now of course impossible to tell. It is noteworthy, however, that in the years just prior to the Civil War a large number of "conventions" were held throughout the south where the need of offering encouragement to manufactures was the principal subject of discussion.

A phase of the subject upon which emphasis was not laid at the time, but which undoubtedly had its weight, is set forth in a decidedly remarkable preface to a translation of De Cassagnac's "History of the Working and Burgher Classes." This preface is written by Benjamin E. Green and is dated 1871. He declares that the entire object of the Civil War was to "divorce southern capital from labor." He claims that the northern capitalists realized the coming of a struggle between them and their wage workers and were determined that the southern capitalists should not enjoy the privilege of an undisturbed industry. He claims that "The advocates of low wages learned that abolition would produce pauperism, that pauperism would increase competition in the struggle for bread; that increased competition would reduce

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wages, with cheaper food and coarser clothing and fewer of the necessaries of life to the laborers. * * * The great party that elected Mr. Lincoln made war upon and subjugated the south and abolished slavery that free labor might be made cheaper than slave labor; which simply means a reduction of the wages of free labor below the cost of feeding and clothing the negro and taking care of him in sickness and infirmities of age."

He gathers together a host of quotations from the speeches of Northern men before the war which seemed to bear out this interpretation. He sums the whole matter up in the following most striking statement:

"The real conflict was, not between free and slave labor, but it was between the capital that hired free labor and the capital that owned slave labor. The interests of the former required a system of legislation that would put down wages and put up the cost of living. The interests of the latter require a diametrically opposite system. Wages went into, and the cost of living came out of, the pockets of the capital that owned slave labor. Wages came out of, and the cost of living went into, the pockets of the capital that hired free labor. Mr. Seward and Mr. Chase were not long in discovering that herein consisted the philosophy of Mr. Jefferson's celebrated aphorism, 'The Democracy of the North are the natural allies of the Republicans of the South.' They were not slow to see that, while the interests and inclination of the capital that hired free labor called for a system of taxation imposing heavy burdens on the laboring classes, the interest and inclination of the capital that owned slave labor required a system of light taxes, high wages, fair prices for the products of labor, and cheap living."

This is, of course, the exact reverse of the idea which has been carefully inculcated in the schools and organs of "public opinion" in the North. Here we have always been taught to believe that "In essence it was from beginning to end a struggle by free labor at the North to free labor at the South."*

As the struggle went on the power of the North grew ever greater; railroads were flung through to the West to draw the allegiance of the Western farmer from Southern slave holder. The Abolitionists rung the changes on the word "free" to fire the enthusiasm of the laboring masses of the North. The efforts of the South to extend its territory involved the annexation of Texas, the Gadsden Purchase and the organization of filibustering expeditions against Cuba and Central America. The mighty flood of immigration which was pouring into the North

*A Political History of Slavery, by William Henry Smith. Introduction by Whitelaw Reid, p. XI.

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was furnishing it with a body of voters who would soon deliver the government into the hands of their master, the capitalists.

This movement of extension I must pass over with far less attention than it deserves, as I hope to treat the whole subject of territorial extension in a later article. For the same reason I am compelled to omit all consideration of the part which the great frontier element played in this struggle, notwithstanding that these two points are perhaps as important as any belonging to the subject.

Indeed, it was the Frontier that finally turned the scale and Lincoln, who became the foremost figure in the whole conflict, was, as I have frequently said, a child of the Frontier.

Once that Lincoln was in power and the government in the hands of Northern capitalists there was absolutely no hope for the Southern slaveholder save in secession, and this notwithstanding the fact that the Republican party at that time was distinctly opposed to any abolition movement. But a ruling class which belongs to a social system already outgrown must, if it is to live, have complete and practically undisputed control of the machinery of government within which it exists. This was the case with the Southern slaveholders until the election of Lincoln.

Indeed this fact of the slaveholding domination of the central government was one of the principal causes of complaint by Northern writers and speakers. The presidency, speakership of the house, cabinet and federal offices had all been controlled by the slave power for the greater portion of the time since the formation of the government.*

During all this time the ruling class of the North was the clerical, capitalistic, trading and commercial class of New England. Owing to its peculiar character this ruling class lacked the flexibility and forms of Democracy which are the especial characteristics of a purely bourgeois ruling class. We see a somewhat similar phenomenon in the South at the present time. The old slave-holding aristocracy could never have produced a "Pitchfork" Tillman. It was only when competitive capitalism invaded the South that such as he appeared. In the same way it was really the highly competitive capitalism of the West that produced the party that was really capable of wresting supremacy from the chattel slave-owners. The Republican party arose from the frontier but was quickly accepted by the manufacturing capitalists of the East as expressing their position.

With the struggle of these two forces for supremacy, the Civil

*Helper's "The Impending Crisis," pp. 307-318 gives a complete table of the offices held by the North and the South since the establishment of the government. The facts in the text are taken from there.

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War, Emancipation and reconstruction I must be content with short notice. It should now be evident to everyone that it is the rankest nonsense to talk about the Civil War being waged to abolish negro chattel slavery. Lincoln repeatedly declared such was not its object. Even after secession had begun and the War was almost upon the country, with Lincoln elected President, the leaders of the Republican party of the North offered to adopt a constitutional amendment forever securing the permanency of slavery in the South.*

When Fremont freed the slaves who came to his army during the early stages of the war, his action was promptly disavowed by the general government. Some of the generals even went so far as to return slaves to their masters and even to permit the latter to come within the Union lines and search for runaway slaves. Finally it was only as a war measure that emancipation was declared, and in no sense as an expression of any "moral sentiment" of the North.

The struggle from first to last was simply a contest between two classes of exploiters as to which should have the use of the general government for their purposes. That finally the North was only able to win by abolishing the particular method of exploitation in vogue in the South was largely an accident due to the fortunes of war.

I have had no time to treat save indirectly what is generally considered the most important phase of this whole subject—the contrasting forms of social organization which sprang from these two different forms of exploitation. This has already been done so many times that I think all my readers will know where to turn for anything they may wish to know in relation to it.

There is just one observation that I wish to make in reply to an alleged argument that is often offered in connection with the Civil War and its relation to the present effort of the wage-slaves to free themselves. It is said that it was not the negroes who freed themselves and therefore the Socialist position that "he who would be free, himself must strike the blow" is false. To this I would reply that the Civil War "freed" nobody, and least of all the negro. It was simply a squabble between exploiters for control of one of the instruments of exploitation—the general government. In the same way the illustrations and comparisons which are so often used by some Socialists in relation to the "freeing of the negroes" are essentially meaningless, since the grounds for comparison do not exist. A. M. SIMONS.

*See Smith's "Political History of Slavery," Vol. I., pp. 331 to 343 *passim*.

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EDITORIAL

The Ignorance of the Schools.

The surprising ignorance of Socialism which prevails in scholastic circles is an ever recurring evidence of the existence of class-divisions and the dominance of capitalist class interests. A visit to the class rooms of Sociology and Economics in almost any great university, would find much time given to the theories of society held by the Physiocrats and Mercantilists, and to theories of rent, interest, wages and profits long since forgotten outside purely scholastic circles. These long dead and gone and often admittedly false theories are studied from the dusty writings of their originators with greatest care against error and misunderstanding.

Now however crazy may be the philosophy of Socialism, it is older than many of these theories and has gained in importance ever since its first promulgation, and is now the working philosophy of a body of something over thirty million people, scattered throughout the civilized world, and with a tremendous influence on all fields of thought and action. Yet of this philosophy we find our universities most hopelessly and childishly ignorant. The majority of university curriculums fail to mention it at all. In a large and ever increasing minority some sort of teaching is ostensibly offered on the subject. In a great many cases (including some of our "best" universities) there is a course with some such title as "Social Reforms." The catalogue goes on to tell us that this course embraces a study of "Single Tax, Socialism, Eight-Hour Legislation, Organized Charity, and other schemes of social amelioration." If there be any among our readers who have received a college education at such an institution and have been thereby rendered incapable of realizing the ridiculousness of such a statement we would simply say that a corresponding ignorance applied to the biological department would include the theory of evolution in a course on "Hog Raising."

In perhaps a dozen of the really best institutions a course is offered treating exclusively of Socialism. Even then the text-book is all too frequently Professor Somebody-or-Other's "treatise," or "history" or

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"impossibility" of Socialism. As a result the students come away worse than completely ignorant of Socialism, for ignorance at the worst implies an intellectual cavity to be filled, while their craniums are crammed with worthless rubbish.

In still fewer institutions the students are actually brought in contact with at least some of the writings of socialists. Even here, however, the students are kept from any knowledge of the real vital portions of the socialist philosophy. Not that any conscious attempt is made to deceive. It is simply a case of the "blind leading the blind" and both wallowing in the ditch of ignorance.

Such classes are generally assigned portions of "Capital," and this work, especially when attacked in this piece-meal manner with ignorant instructors, is absolutely unintelligible to the average college undergraduate. This may seem strange to those of our readers who can call to mind workingmen, absolute strangers to college walls, who have nevertheless mastered Marx's great work.

The workingman, however, sees in "Capital" but an accurate and carefully expressed analysis of his own life, experiences and closest interests. The average university student, even though he should occasionally be the son of a workingman, has had his mind so thoroughly impressed by the capitalist class-consciousness of the preparatory schools that he can gain access to the by no means simple propositions of Marx only across the broad chasm of divergent class psychologies.

All this would still be true even if Marx were fairly presented. But Marxism is a broad, comprehensive social philosophy, and not a series of formulas. Yet in all the university courses of Socialism concerning which we have been able to get any information, but two aspects of the Marxian philosophy have been presented, and these in a distorted form. Marx is presented as the formulator of a crude "labor value theory" and as the foreteller of a "co-operative commonwealth," and in both cases these are set forth in a utopian manner, as foreign as possible to the whole spirit of Marxian thought. Very little, if anything, is said about the materialistic interpretation of history, while the whole heart and soul of Socialism, the doctrine of social progress through class struggles is seldom even noticed.

And the strange thing in this connection is that these are just the phases of Socialist thought which are easiest to understand and which have been set forth in language that constitutes a model of clearness and logical form. In the scope of a small pamphlet, "The Communist Manifesto," written by the two greatest of Socialist writers, indorsed by hundreds of Socialist organizations, circulated during a half century by millions of copies in almost every known language, these fundamental principles of Socialism are set forth in words no one can well misunderstand. Surely even if such a pamphlet were filled with the veriest nonsense it would still merit attention because of its vast circulation and influence.

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Yet a few years ago while we were lecturing before the Political Economy Club of the University of Chicago we held up a copy of this book before the over one hundred students present, nearly all of whom claimed to have studied Socialism more or less during their college course, and less than half a dozen had ever seen or heard of the work, and not one had read it. A less public but almost equally far-reaching inquiry at the University of Wisconsin exposed an equal ignorance, while conversation with Harvard students of a few years ago would indicate a similar condition there.

Another instance which shows how widespread ignorance of this work is in educated circles, was furnished by Mr. Ghent, the author of "A Benevolent Feudalism." He recently published a sort of roast of his reviewers in which he makes merry over what he evidently considers to be two contradictory statements appearing in the editorial notice of his book in this REVIEW, to the effect that while most of his ideas were taken from the Communist Manifesto, it was written largely from the small capitalist standpoint. A slight familiarity with the Manifesto would have shown him that his idea of capitalist class rule (which is all his "benevolent feudalism" really means) is there clearly set forth, without, to be sure, the fantastic terminology in which he has clothed it, and which, however clever it may be as a literary artifice, can scarcely be said to add to scientific accuracy of statement. At the same time he uses this idea in just the manner that would appeal to the little capitalist hoping to become an "industrial baron." Even more, if Mr. Ghent will read further he will find that the Communist Manifesto describes just that sort of literature and tells what part it really plays in social evolution. It is worthy of note as illustrating this same point that according to the aforesaid "roast" by Mr. Ghent none of the capitalist reviewers recognized the lack of originality in his book, while all the Socialist papers discovered this at once.

Still another example is furnished by the fact that not one of the hundreds of volumes written to refute, expose or explain away Socialism have ever clearly attacked the position set forth in the Manifesto. This notwithstanding the fact that these are the positions most clearly stated, easily understood, and most frequently repeated in all Socialist literature, while the labor value theory and the ideas of a future Socialist state are much less accessible to the casual reader.

We will venture to set forth in a series of postulates these fundamental principles, which are thus universally ignored, in the hope that if this comes across the vision of some scholastic observer he need no longer be compelled to plead ignorance on these points.

1. Social institutions are determined by the methods of producing and distributing economic goods.

2. Each economic system brings into the position of social rulership the possessors of the economic essentials of that system.

3. Improvements in the methods of production constantly make new

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things essential economically and thus create a new class of social rulers who secure their domination only after a struggle with the previous ruling class. This is the method of social progress.

4. The present system has placed the owners of capital in possession of social control and they are using that control to advance their own interests.

5. Improvements in the method of production have now reached a stage where the capitalist class is less essential to social progress than the laboring class and hence the latter is struggling to displace the former with the certainty of victory.

6. The social system corresponding to laboring class domination of the economic system of today and of the probable future will have as its distinctive feature common ownership of the instruments for the production and distribution of wealth.

These are a series of simple assertions, easily understood and with no equivocation, yet we believe that ninety per cent of the literature of Socialism consists of elaborations and proofs of these. While many Socialists would disagree with the form in which they are stated and they have probably been much better stated elsewhere, especially in the Manifesto itself, yet few Socialists but would agree that they contain the essentials of the Socialist philosophy. Still one might search the hundreds and thousands of volumes that have been written by the opponents and critics of Socialism in vain to find any reference to them.

They are much more easily understood than the labor value theory or any fantastic theories of a future society. Why do not the scholastic critics of Socialism "expose their fallacy" if they are fallacious? If they do not do so are not Socialists justified in their belief that it is because those propositions are irrefutable?

It would be easy to go on and show from the writings of such men as Simon N. Patten, Lester F. Ward, Franklin Giddings and other of the foremost professorial exponents of economics and sociology, how they repeat as original, ideas long ago elaborated by Socialists, or how they ascribe to Socialists positions absolutely foreign to the whole Socialist philosophy.

Yet in closing we would wish to warn against the very justifiable contempt which most Socialists have for the writings of such men. It is true they are hopelessly ignorant of Socialism and no Socialist would take seriously anything they might say on that subject, yet they have often gathered quantities of material of greatest value to a knowledge of Socialism, and of much assistance in Socialist propaganda. At times also they have arrived at positions held by Socialists, or that help to support the Socialist position without themselves being aware of the fact.

Marx's Capital probably contains more references to non-Socialist economic literature than any work ever published, and the book could never have been written without a knowledge of that literature. Yet

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poor and barren as most of the economic literature of the scholastic world of today is, it is much superior to that so carefully studied by Marx and it is a mistake on the part of Socialists to ignore it. Indeed it would be almost as easy to write on the ignorance of capitalist economics by Socialists as of the ignorance of Socialism by capitalist economists. Perhaps that may make the text of another editorial.

We publish elsewhere an article by Comrade Buck on "Ascending Stages of Socialism," to much of which we wish to express our dissent, notwithstanding its many excellent features. We do not believe that a particle of evidence has ever been produced to show that increase of population bears any direct ratio whatever to the economic well-being of the individual. It also seems to us that the utopian definition which is given of Socialism is so wholly out of agreement with the one which Socialists have come to accept that it is apt to merely mislead instead of explain. Neither do we think that it tends to clearness of thought to revive that other utopian idea which our opponents so often ascribe to us, that Socialism supposes the conscious "adoption" of any detailed "principle of distribution." It seems to us that such an idea is distinctly at war with the whole tendency of modern evolutionary thought, of whose application in social lines Comrade Buck has given us so many valuable examples.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Two important matters were acted upon by the convention of the International Typographical Union—one relating to the purely economic struggle and the other to the advanced political side. The Typographical Union, which is the oldest of the national organizations, was the first to give conciliation and arbitration a fair and general trial. But it looks as though the experiment has proven a failure—at least that impression is growing among the printers. The reasons are plain. The employers demand their own way in everything. For instance: In Seattle and Spokane, Wash., where the test cases took place that led to the rupture between the International Typographical Union and the Newspaper Publishers' Association upon the arbitration question the bosses started out as though it was a preconceived plan to make a farce of conciliation and arbitration. In Seattle the Union had made a request for an increase in wages and reduction in hours, claiming that living rates had advanced, which was just cause for higher wages, and that they had increased the output, which was a good reason why hours of labor could be reduced. Without attempting to controvert the facts presented the employers filed a counter proposition, demanding a reduction in wages and increase of hours of labor. Furthermore, they even had the audacity to ask that certain laws that had been adopted by 40,000 printers in a national referendum be made the subject of arbitration in their local contest. The Seattle Union requested that the questions go to the national commission, composed of President Lynch, of the Union, and President Driscoll, of the publishers. This the local bosses refused, whereupon the Union took the bull by the horns and enforced its new scale. Previous to this occurrence the printers of Spokane asked for an increase of wages. A monopolist controls the three newspapers, as well as "public opinion" largely in that city. The proposition went to an arbitration board composed of representatives of the printers, the newspapers and "the public." A preacher was the spokesman for "the public." Mr. Preacher was informed that he was expected to find for the newspapers, and he did as he was told. The printers' representative was even told that they did not need his signature to the agreement (!), and when the jug-handled contract was promulgated the workers refused to swallow it and went on strike, and then a loud howl went up that the International Typographical Union had "violated every principle of arbitration!" In New York city the newspaper printers also put in a request for higher wages or a reduction of hours; they also proved that living rates had increased and that their output was greater than ever. Here also a preacher (a bishop, by the way) was chosen as the third arbitrator. This gentleman, after considering the testimony, was forced to admit that prices of necessity had advanced and that the workers had increased their output, but, he argued, "the public" should have the benefits, as the printers were receiving "fair wages" and the employers "fair profits." In Minneapolis the employers also succeeded, by the aid of a politician, in securing advantages over the workers.

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Taking their cue from their fellow publishers in the aforementioned cities, the newspaper proprietors of Denver have met the demands of the printers for higher wages with a counter demand for a reduction of wages and lengthening of hours of labor. It is international law that newspaper printers work but eight hours a day, but that makes no difference to the Denver bosses. They insist that the law should be repealed and the men should work nine hours. No doubt the publishers in other cities will pursue the same tactics in the future.

This is the situation that confronted the International Typographical Union convention which met in Washington. President Driscoll, of the Newspaper Publishers' Association, was present and received a hearing. In a carefully prepared statement, which was sent over the Associated Press wires verbatim, he attempted to show that the International Typographical Union, through its officers and local Unions, had violated the principles of arbitration. But after hearing the testimony of the national officers and local Unions, which was cut and garbled to suit the "molders of public opinion," the delegates by unanimous vote endorsed the position of their representatives and refused to recede an inch. It was freely declared that the employers violated every principle of justice and decency, and that if they desired to destroy conciliation and arbitration agreement and were looking for fight they would be accommodated. The whole question is now up to the Newspaper Publishers' Association, which seems to have become "paralyzed," and it is for them to say whether it shall be peace or war.

Another matter of general interest was the International Typographical Union convention's action on the advanced political proposition. By a parliamentary trick sprung at a late hour during the night session preceding the day of adjournment an endorsement of the principle of collective ownership was defeated by a vote of two to one, but the following morning, when a resolution came up for the appointment of a committee to consider the question of taxation and its relation to wages, an amendment was attached thereto to instruct the committee to investigate and report upon the advisability of nationalizing trusts and monopolies. This amendment, after some sharp and fast debate, was carried by 76 to 18. While the majority of delegates were unquestionably non-Socialists, still there was a strong sentiment in the convention in favor of taking advanced ground. As one of the national officers put it: "The bulk of our members know little about Socialism, but I believe the printers ought to be tolerant enough to give this great and growing principle an unprejudiced hearing, and if they find that it contains the merit that its advocates claim we will be the first to acknowledge it." There were vague rumors during the early part of the convention that my action in the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, in advocating Socialism contrary to the "muzzle" resolution adopted at the Cincinnati session a year ago, would be condemned, that I would be impeached, etc., but there was no basis for such yarns other than the ineffectual attempts of a few political skates and office-seekers who hung about the convention to create trouble, especially for the Socialists. The action of the American Federation of Labor delegation as a whole was unanimously endorsed.

* * *

New York.—America's metropolis is in bad shape from the labor standpoint, especially in the building trades. The attempt of the contractors to abolish the sympathy strike and minimize the power of the business agents of the unions has largely succeeded. Over a hundred thousand men were locked out early in the season, and they were informed that just as soon as their unions signed agreements that had been prepared by and were satisfactory to the employers they might return to work. At first only a few of the smaller unions signed, then gradually some of the larger ones broke away,

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and at this writing only the bridge and structural iron workers are standing out. This is an important organization, and under ordinary circumstances could keep the building trades tied up to a large extent, but the capitalists are playing a trump card by forming an opposition union composed of a heterogeneous mob of professional scabs, ex-members, non-union men and some who had formerly worked at the trade, but went into other occupations, and finally a sprinkling of skilled men who became disgusted with the Parks method of conducting affairs. Parks, one of the union's business agents, is now on trial for blackmailing contractors, and some damaging testimony is being brought out. It is alleged that he has become rich and lives like a prince, owing to his ability as a grafter. Then, again, the expose in the Stonecutters' Union, an officer of which has been sent to the penitentiary for stealing a large sum of money, and rumors of crookedness in other organizations, have greatly discouraged the honest rank and file, while some of the deplorable jurisdiction fights and internal dissensions have also tended to weaken organized labor and arouse the suspicion of the great mass of workers who are not in unions. There will have to be a general shake-up and weeding out in the unions of New York, and that very soon, if the labor movement of this city is to go forward. Furthermore, since the employers have combined and are daily strengthening their associations, and, of course, are unanimously backed up by the daily press (except the *Volkszeitung*, the Socialist party daily), the workingmen of New York are beginning to discover that it is necessary to secure control of the city's political machinery and use it for their betterment instead of being mere voting cattle for Tammany Hall and the Platt machine. Many of the active workers in all trades are joining the Socialist party or reading Socialist literature, and a prominent member of the party, who is usually careful and conservative in making estimates, predicted that the Socialist party would poll fully 40,000 votes this fall, or double the number of a year ago.

The thoughtful workingmen of New York are awakening not only because their organizations are being attacked by employers' combines, or because of the brutality of the police and courts during strikes, or for the reason that some of the corruptionists in their own ranks have been feathering their own nests while howling to the honest rank and file to keep clean labor politics out of union affairs, but on account of a wider spread of intelligence and a desire to enjoy more of the comforts of life. The sober-minded workers observe this great city increasing in population at a tremendous rate, and their own quarters are becoming more cramped every month. Thousands of foreign laborers are pouring through Ellis Island each week and many more are coming in from surrounding cities and towns, many of whom are attracted by stories of high wages and boundless opportunities to make fortunes. Naturally rents are steadily going upward, as well as prices of food products, and those who are lucky enough to receive $2.50 to $4 per day find that there is nothing left in their pocketbooks at the end of the month, although they may have exercised the greatest care in expending their wages. The highest paid workers usually live in apartments of six to eight rooms, for which they pay $18 to $40 per month. Then they must add car fare, insurance, union dues and other necessary expenses. Clothing is high and food products can almost be seen advancing in price, especially where they must be purchased at retail and in driblets. Such a thing as a worker owning his home here and stocking his cellar with potatoes, vegetables, meats, etc., is not even to be dreamed of. About 6 per cent of the capitalists of the city own the whole of Manhattan Island, and they can tax the balance of the people almost what they choose. The laboring class leads a hand to mouth existence and the wolf of hunger and poverty is always at the door. As these facts dawn upon the intellects of the workers who are capable of thinking they begin to wonder what all their shouting for Tammany and Platt has amounted to, and when they contrast

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their own conditions with those of the political boodlers whom they have supported their disgust tends to lead them into new channels of thought and action. Hence, the near future belongs to Socialism in New York, and it is a reasonable prediction to make that the Socialists of the metropolis will elect city councilmen and members of the State Legislature inside of two years. The old party politicians are keeping an anxious eye upon the growing new party, and not the least important work of the Socialists from now on will be to successfully meet the schemes and methods of the wire-pullers and machine-builders who have been in control of governmental affairs so long and used that power to create an arrogant, plutocratic privileged class on one side and to hold an army of wage-slaves in subjection on the other.

NOTE.—Comrade Hayes has agreed to write regularly for the REVIEW while on his trip to Europe as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the English Trade Union Congress.—EDITOR.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Bulgaria.

The Ninth National Congress of the Bulgarian Socialists showed a steady growth of Socialism in that country. The membership has grown from 2,180 in 1902 to 2,507 due-paying members in seventy-three organizations in 1903. An interesting phase of the report is the one relating to the education of the party membership. This shows that 116 had received university instruction, 545 intermediate school training, 1,785 had passed the primary grade, while only seventeen were wholly without scholastic training.

The party received 13,815 votes at the legislative elections of 1900; 13,283 in 1901, and 20,307 in 1902, when seven Socialist deputies were elected.

The party has organized popular schools for adults in many cities and villages. During the past year these have been attended by 416 regular students, of which 29 were women and 196 were members of the party. The income of our party during the past year was over $1,500. Over 30,000 copies of an annual "almanach" were circulated during the same period.

The omnipresent question of "opportunism" occupied a large portion of the time of the convention. One faction of the party, led by Sakazoff, denied the existence of the class struggle and were calling for a union of all classes for the purpose of accomplishing some immediate reforms. This faction, like Bernstein at Lubeck and Millerand at Bordeaux, sought to avoid discussion by the Congress and declared that no "questions of principle" were involved, but only "personal quarrels between leaders." Nevertheless the Congress took up the subject. Towards the end of the debate three tendencies appeared. One, led by Markovsky, demanded that the party take the most radical steps to clear itself of all suspicion of opportunism. The second wished the Congress committed to the opportunist position. The third wished simply to place the party on record as opposed to opportunism, while leaving the individual members free to act as they wished. The last tendency prevailed and a resolution was adopted which denounced opportunism and reaffirmed the proletarian character of the party.

Hungary.

The National Congress of Hungarian Socialists, which has recently been held, contained 274 delegates, representing 165 communes. The Servian and Roumanian nationalities, which were wholly unrepresented at previous congresses, sent a number of delegates to this last gathering. Another interesting feature was the large representation from the agricultural districts.

During the past year the party has been carrying on an active campaign for universal suffrage, and a petition to this end received more than 170,-

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000 signatures. Great activity in propaganda work has been displayed. Public meetings with immense audiences, reaching at times to between 15,000 and 20,000 persons, have been held. The press has grown until there are nine Socialist periodicals. Several of the propaganda pamphlets in the Hungarian language reached a circulation of between 10,000 and 25,000 copies, while some of those in the Servian language reached over 6,000 circulation, which is much more than is usually attained by the bourgeois pamphlets in that language.

The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Vienna, tells of a celebration by the Hungarian Socialists of the enactment of a law of which they had secured the passage abolishing all Sunday labor in all mercantile pursuits in Budapest, and providing that mercantile establishments in the other portions of Hungary could only be open after 10 A. M. This is the result of a three years' agitation, in which 130,000 leaflets were circulated, a large number of public meetings held and many of the Socialists suffered imprisonment for taking part in the movement.

The *Neues Pester Journal* gives another view of the Socialist activity in Hungary in a news item describing a Socialist meeting, at which over ten thousand persons were present, which was held on the 21st of June. The account has the following suggestive conclusion: "The meeting, which had continued for over two hours, concluded. The Socialists dispersed with absolute order and the *police found no reason to interfere.*"

Germany.

The more the election statistics are studied the more reasons the Socialists find for gratification, and the other parties for dismay and anger. The *Reichs-Anzeiger* has just discovered that not only did the Socialists gain from nearly all the other parties, but it succeeded in doing what has been for several years considered impossible—rousing the great non-voting mass to take an interest in political affairs. This paper publishes the following table, showing the increasing percentage of the whole voting population which is supporting the Socialists:

Year.	Per cent qualified voters.	Per cent actual voters.
1874	4.0	6.7
1877	5.5	9.1
1878	4.8	7.5
1881	3.4	6.1
1884	5.9	9.7
1887	7.8	10.1
1890	13.9	19.6
1893	16.8	23.2
1898	18.4	27.1
1903	24.1	31.7

Vorwaerts has recently secured and published a secret circular issued by an organization formed to abolish universal suffrage, which gives an interesting picture of the panic which the approach of Socialist victory is producing among the capitalists of Germany. A letter which accompanies the circular (the first edition of which is said to have been 1,000,000 copies) calls upon the capitalists of Germany to raise a fund for the purpose of fighting equal suffrage. This letter has as its opening sentence a quotation from Joubert to the effect that "Politics is the art of leading the masses, not whither they *would*, but where they *should* go." The circular proposes a sort of graduated suffrage modeled on the Belgian plan, giving additional votes to employers of labor and graduates of universities.

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The emperor has given utterance to the very Delphic observation that "The Social Democracy is a phenomenon whose development must be awaited; it is not necessary at this time to deal with it." Just what this means every one is at liberty to imagine for himself.

The articles in the capitalist papers are about equally divided between those declaring that the Social Democracy has changed its character, and is now nothing but a Liberal party that will soon die, and those declaring that the Social Democracy is about to precipitate a violent revolution and proposes to overturn every social institution. Sometimes both kinds of articles appear in the same paper, and it is hard to tell which is the most amusing.

These same papers are amusing themselves in debating with great gravity the question which Edouard Bernstein raised as to whether the Socialists should accept the position of second vice-president of the Reichstag. *The Freisinnige Zeitung* declares that under no condition would the majority permit Singer to take this place. Indeed, this seems to be the general position. One cannot but feel that this is a high tribute to Comrade Singer. On the other hand, it should be something to cause Bernstein to blush that all agree that he would be especially acceptable to the capitalist class of Germany.

Italy.

The divergent tendencies within the Socialist Party have at last led to open division. Led by Turati, the Socialist Federation of Milan has left the party. The *Vorwaerts* correspondent declares that the dispute seems to be largely personal, although the seceders represent the opportunist wing. The branch of the party located in Rome has demanded the expulsion of Turati and his followers from the party, as there was some doubt as to whether the withdrawal of the organization from affiliation with the central authority really placed its members outside the party. In order to arouse as little antagonism as possible Enrico Ferri, the editor of *Avanti*, has declared his intention to keep the controversy out of that paper, except through the publication of such news items regarding it as may be rendered necessary.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Place of Industries in Elementary Education. Katherine Elizabeth Dopp. The University of Chicago Press. Cloth. 208 pp. $1.25.

Socialists have frequently pointed out that the most modern pedagogy is simply adapting the philosophy of Socialism (generally unconsciously so far as the writers in this field are concerned) to education. This book is an excellent illustration of this fact. With a few unimportant exceptions it is simply an exposition and application of well-known principles of Socialist philosophy. The principle of economic determinism constitutes the whole foundation of the work, and is thus stated in the introduction: "From the remotest to the most recent times, in the simplest as well as in the most highly organized societies, industry has been a dominant force in the upbuilding and maintaining of social structures." The outline and object is stated to be "an attempt to bring together from the domain of education on the one hand, and of anthropology, sociology and history on the other, ideas that will mutually reinforce each other. . . . In order to secure a basis for the work it has seemed best to consider, on the one hand, the several stages of industrial development in the race with reference to the educational significance of each, and, on the other, the successive periods in the development of the child. In the consideration of an industrial epoch an attempt is made to discover (1) some of the more important interactions that take place between man and his natural and social environments; (2) how these result in different forms of industry, and (3) how forms of industry influence the social organization of people and the development of the sciences and arts. The attempt is also made to show that there is more than an accidental relation between the technique represented in the tool and the intellectual, moral and social condition of the people." The second chapter consists of a survey of industrial epochs, largely founded on Carl Bücher's "Industrial Evolution." The third, on "The Origins of the Attitudes that Underlie Industry," is an examination of the psychical effects of these stages as seen in the mental makeup of the present child. Each stage through which the race has passed has left its impress upon mankind in the form of inherited mental traits and attitudes. In obedience to the well-known law that the individual in his growth reproduces the history of the race from which he sprang, or, to express it in technical terms, that ontogenetic and philogenetic development are parallel, it follows that the education of the child should be adapted to the various social stages through which, so to speak, the child is passing in his development. The fourth chapter deals with "Practical Applications" of these principles, and, although of greatest value to the teacher, need not concern us here.

While almost the entire attitude of the book is Socialistic, yet the author seems to be wholly ignorant of the fact that she is covering ground that has often been treated before, and it is almost unnecessary to say that there are no references to the work of Socialist writers on the subjects treated. As usual also, the most important phase of her subject, and one which would

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modify many of her positions, is untouched. This is the doctrine of the class struggle. She does not see that this constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to adoption of the methods of education which she advocates. It is safe to say that were the schools of any city to adopt the principles here laid down capitalism in that locality would soon be doomed. Just imagine a capitalist-controlled school system basing its whole method of instruction on the materialistic interpretation of history, where slavery was treated from the point of view given in the following quotations from this work:

"The advantages of agriculture as a means of furnishing an abundant supply of food from a small area soon became apparent. Man's labor acquired a value hitherto unknown. Captives in war were now too valuable to put to death. They were enslaved and compelled to carry on agriculture under the supervision of their conquerors.

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"In the early stages of slavery there was little difference between the position of master and slave. Both did the same kind of work. With the increase in the number of slaves and in the property of the master it became necessary to organize the slave labor in gangs with overseers. Labor thus became compulsory, and disgrace was attached to the unfortunate members of society who became the victims of a stronger power. Society was cleft in twain, and the chasm has not yet been completely bridged. From this time labor became distasteful to the leisure class, not so much on its own account, as because of its association with an inferior class and with domesticated animals. . . . It became irksome to the slave because the problem was external to his own interests and needs. He was no longer free to choose his problems or to control the conditions under which he carried on his work. . . . Succeeding stages of culture have tended to perpetuate the distinctions between the leisure and the industrial classes first drawn in the pastoral and agricultural stages. Labor, which at first was a free manifestation of the whole being and the part of each member of society, came to be a forced expression of muscular movement of certain members of society.

* * * * * * * *

"Industry, enriched by the contributions of science, becomes more and more complex. The end becomes farther and farther removed. The worker, no longer able to perceive the whole process of production, has need of a greater consciousness of collective life than ever before. His activity is no longer a personal occupation that brings him honor as in the period of house-industry, nor a civic function, the actions and interactions of which are within the range of his perception, as in the period of handicraft labor, but a social function in a national if not a cosmopolitan society.

* * * * * * * *

"The industrial development that has advanced from being a function of the household to that of the city, and finally to that of the nation and nations of the earth, needs to be paralleled by an enlargement of social consciousness from the personal, through the municipal, to such a consciousness as recognizes the brotherhood of all men."

Just how she expects this to be done it is necessary to say the author does not state. This defect in the line of thought the Socialist supplies. Remembering this fact, it is not too much to say that the book is really a contribution to Socialist as well as educational literature. It is one which every Socialist who is interested in education, and all Socialists should be so interested, should read. Those who are engaged in municipal work especially should make themselves familiar with its contents, for in few fields can Socialists accomplish more when elected to municipal offices than in the field of education.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

HOW WE PUBLISH SOCIALIST BOOKS

The last four pages of the August number of the International Socialist Review contain a condensed alphabetical list of a hundred and fifty books, most of which have been published within the last four years by the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company. Averaging the small books with the large ones, it is safe to say that this list represents an investment of about $100 for each title, or about $15,000.00.

All this has been done in spite of the fact that when in the spring of 1899 we began the publication of the literature of scientific socialism, we were without cash capital (as we are still) and were carrying a heavy load of debt. Meanwhile no one has made any large subscription of capital, and while we have sold great quantities of socialist literature, it has been at prices barely covering the cost of printing and handling, and yet we have doubled several times over the supply of socialist literature available for propaganda in America. How has it been done?

The answer is in the fact that our co-operative plan for supplying books to stockholders at cost has been enthusiastically accepted by the socialist party of America, not by any official vote, which would be unnecessary and unadvisable, but by the separate action of about one hundred socialist locals and six hundred individual socialists, who have each subscribed ten dollars to the capital stock of our company, for the double purpose of aiding us to circulate the literature of international socialism, and of securing their own supplies of this literature at cost.

We can not publish a list of these stockholders, for the reason that many of them are so situated that they might lose their jobs or otherwise suffer injury if their connection with the Socialist Party became public. We therefore publish merely the places where the stockholders are located. **Boldface** indicates that the local of the town thus distinguished is itself a stockholder.

LOCATION OF STOCKHOLDERS.

ALABAMA — Branchville, **Fairhope, Phenix.**
ALASKA—Valdez.
ARIZONA—Bisbee, Chloride, **Flagstaff,** Hillside, Jerome (two), Phoenix, Safford, Tucson.
ARKANSAS—Hot Springs, **Little Rock.**
CALIFORNIA—**Alameda,** Benicia, Berkeley, Cedarville, Clarksburg, Colusa, Crockett, Dixon, Dos Palos, Dunsmuir, Eureka, Glen Ellen, Goleta, **Grass** Valley, Hayden Hill, Haywards, Healdsburg, Hemet, Lemoore, **Los Angeles** (eight), Morgan Hill, **Oakland** (two), Oxnard, Petaluma, Red Bluff, Redlands, Redondo, Rio Vista, **Riverside** (two), **Sacramento,** San Bernardino, **San Diego,** (three), **San Francisco** (four), **San Jose,** San Marcos, Santa Ana, Santa Barbara, Sespe, **Sawtelle,** South Berkeley, **Tulare,** Vallejo, Westminster.
COLORADO—Buena Vista, Colorado City, Conrad, **Cripple Creek, Denver** (eight), Gunnison, Leadville (two), Newcastle, Ordway, Sterling, Telluride.
CONNECTICUT — Berlin, **Bridgeport** (two), Glidersleeve, **Hartford,** New Haven (two), Reynolds Bridge, **Waterbury.**
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Georgetown, Washington (six).
FLORIDA—Gilmore, Key West, Kissimmee, Miami, Milton, Pensacola, **St. Augustine** (two), Tampa (two), **West Palm Beach.**
GEORGIA—Fitzgerald, Macon, Ruskin.
IDAHO—Boise, Burke, Garnet, Mullan, Moscow, Noble, Pocatello, Wallace.
ILLINOIS—Canton, Caseyville, **Chicago,** (forty-five), **Chicago Heights,** Dwight, **Elgin,** Evanston, Galesburg, **Glen Carbon,** Glen Ellyn (two), Grossdale, Illiopolis, Jacksonville, Kankakee, **Keithsburg,** Lake Forest, Leclair, McNabb, Melrose Park (two), Middle Grove, **Oak** Park, Pana, Peotone, Quincy, **Rockford,** Secor, **Steger, Streator,** Winnetka, Woodburn.
INDIANA—Anderson, Andrews, Boonville, Brazil, Butler, Evansville, Greenfield,

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Greensburg, Greensfork, Huntington, Indianapolis (two), Marion (two), Peru, South Bend, Whiting.
INDIAN TERRITORY—Krebs.
IOWA—Ames, Avery, Cedar Rapids (two), Clarinda, Davenport (three), Decorah, Des Moines (two), Dubuque, Independence, Lenox, Little Rock, Logan, Lyons, Muscatine, Ryan, St. Ansgar, Shelby, Sigourney, Sioux City, Van Horne (two).
KANSAS—Abilene, Beloit, Clay Center, Darlow, Enon, Fuller, Galena, Geuda Springs, Girard, Herington, Hillsboro, Kansas City (three), La Cygne, Lyons, Mulberry, Oketo, Osage City, Rosedale, Topeka.
KENTUCKY—Augusta, Covington, Louisville (four), Newport, Science Hill, Spottsville.
LOUISIANA—New Orleans.
MAINE—Bath, Intervale, Lewiston, Portland.
MARYLAND—Baltimore (two).
MASSACHUSETTS—Boston (five), Brighton, Chelsea, Clinton, Dorchester (two), East Boston, Everett, Fall River, Haverhill, Lawrence, Lynn (two), Newton (two), Northboro, Plymouth, Springfield (two), State Farm, Taunton, Vineyard Haven, Ware, West Fitchburg, West Newbury, Worcester.
MICHIGAN—Adrian, Allegan, Battle Creek (three), Benton Harbor (two), Detroit (two), Eaton Rapids, Flint, Ithaca, Kalamazoo (two), Laurium, Grand Ledge, Grand Rapids, Holly, Ludington, Manistee, Saginaw, St. Charles, St. Clair, Ypsilanti.
MINNESOTA—Ada, Austin, Crookston, Fergus Falls, Holdingford, Hubbard, Lindstrom, Minneapolis (five), Montevideo, Noble (Local Angus), St. Anthony Park, St. Paul (two), Tracy, Two Harbors, Ullman, Willmar, Zumbrota.
MISSISSIPPI—Jackson.
MISSOURI—Bevier, Kansas City (three), New Madrid, Paris, Pleasant Hill, St. Joseph, St. Louis (nine), West Plains.
MONTANA—Aldridge, Anaconda, Billings, Bozeman, Butte (six), Chico, Fort Logan, Great Falls, Helena, Lewiston, Livingston, Monarch, Pony.
NEBRASKA—Blair, Columbus, Fairfield, Grand Island, Leavitt, Lincoln, Omaha (two), Simeon, South Omaha, Thurston.
NEW HAMPSHIRE—Chesham, Concord, Contoocook, Dover, Manchester (two).
NEW JERSEY—Arlington (three), East Orange, Camden, Moorestown, Newark, Paterson, Trenton, Woodbine.
NEW MEXICO—Albuquerque, Roswell.
NEW YORK—Albany, Arkport, Auburn, Bloomingburgh, Brooklyn (three), Buffalo, Catskill, Cold Spring, Kenwood, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle, New York (twenty-six), Northport, Peekskill, Port Jervis, Port Richmond, Rhinebeck, Richfield Springs, Rochester (three), Schenectady, Yonkers.
NORTH CAROLINA—Asheville, Cherryville.
NORTH DAKOTA—Chaffee, Devil's Lake, Fargo (two), Guelph, Mayville, Milton, Tagus, Valley City.
OHIO—Ashtabula, Burton City, Canton, Cincinnati (four), Cleveland (four), Conneaut, Corning, Crestline, Dayton, Fostoria, Hamilton, Latty, Martin's Ferry, Massillon, Maynard, Mechanicsburg, Sandusky, Springfield, Toledo (five), Youngstown, Zanesville.
OKLAHOMA—Bedford, Carmen, Cereal, Geary, Guthrie (two), Kingfisher, Lacey, Medford (two), Nardin, Oklahoma City, Shawnee.
OREGON—Albany, Baker City, Echo, Eugene, Medford, Oregon City, Portland (three), Shaw, Vale, Vernonia.
PENNSYLVANIA—Allegheny (two), Allentown, Braddock, Brownsville, East Pittsburg, Erie (two), Hughesville, Leechburg, Lehighton, Newcastle (two), Philadelphia (eight), Pittsburg (four), Reading (two), Renfrew, Rodi, Rowenna, Russell, Springchurch, Titusville, Wilkes Barre, York.
RHODE ISLAND—Providence (two).
SOUTH DAKOTA—Aberdeen, Sioux Falls.
TENNESSEE—Knoxville (three), Nashville (two), Et. Elmo (Local Chattanooga).
TEXAS—Bonham, Dallas, Fort Worth, Gonzales, Houston, Palestine, San Antonio, Toyah, Turnersville.
UTAH—Logan, Murray, Ogden, Park City, Plateau, Salt Lake City, Sunshine.
VERMONT—Burlington.
VIRGINIA—Newport News, Richmond.
WASHINGTON — Arlington, Ballard, Bremerton, Centralia, Charleston, Edison, Fairhaven, Hoquiam, Lynden, Olympia, Port Angeles, Puyallup, Redmond, Ritzville, Seattle (three), Silvana, Snoqualmie, Spokane (three), Sprague, Stanwood, Tacoma, Waterville, Yelm.
WEST VIRGINIA—Dallison, McMechen, Pennsboro.
WISCONSIN—Deer Park, Elroy, Madison (two), Marinette, Milwaukee (four), Two Rivers, Wausau, Whitewater (two).
WYOMING—Cheyenne, Laramie (two), Rock Springs, Sheridan, Lusk.
BRITISH COLUMBIA—Nanaimo, Phoenix Revelstoke, Slocan (two), Vancouver, Victoria.
MANITOBA—Winnipeg (two).
ONTARIO—Applehill, Collingwood, Dublin, Malton, Mindemoya, Simcoe, Kagawong.
CUBA—La Gloria (two).
ENGLAND—Salford.
NEWFOUNDLAND—St. Johns.
SCOTLAND—Paisley.
DECEASED OR ADDRESS UNKNOWN, sixteen.

Special Prices on Literature to Stockholders

International Socialist Review.—Single copies, 5c each, renewal of stockholder's own subscription, 50c, renewals forwarded for others, 90c. Subscription post cards, each good for the *Review* one year to a new name, will be sold to stockholders at 25c each until Dec. 31, 1903, after which they will be 50c each. These cards are not good for

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Chicago or foreign subscriptions without the payment of 20c additional for postage.

Madden Library.—One cent a copy, 50c a hundred by mail; $4.00 a thousand by express at purchaser's expense.

Pocket Library of Socialism, 2 cents a copy on all orders for less than a hundred; $1.00 a hundred by mail; $8.00 a thousand by express at purchaser's expense.

All other paper covered books published by us.—Fifty per cent discount if we prepay postage or expressage; sixty per cent discount if purchaser pays expressage. For example, a ten cent book is 5c if prepaid by us, otherwise 4c; a twenty-five cent book 12½c if prepaid by us, otherwise 10c; etc.

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These discounts apply only to books published or imported by ourselves, and included in our catalogue. We do not solicit orders for books of other publishers, though as a matter of accommodation we endeavor to obtain them for our stockholders when the full advertised price is sent with order. All book orders should be accompanied by cash, except that when stockholders prefer, they may make a deposit with us and order books against it from time to time, thus saving the trouble and expense of obtaining many small postal orders.

A Dollar a Month Pays for Stock

Where possible, it is of course less trouble on both sides to pay the full ten dollars for stock at the time of subscribing. But our offer of books at cost to stockholders is made for the benefit of just the ones who are not likely to have ten dollars to spare at one time, and we have therefore developed a system by which we can receive a stock subscription if accompanied by one dollar, the rest of the money to be paid in nine monthly installments of one dollar each. A subscriber who has paid his first dollar will be entitled to all privileges of a stockholder except voting, provided he keeps up his payments at the end of each month as agreed.

No dividends are guaranteed, and while the question of declaring dividends in future will be in the hands of the stockholders to decide, it is not likely that any will be declared, since the amount coming to each stockholder would in any case be trifling, and it will probably be thought preferable to use the earnings of the company to increase the variety and reduce the prices of socialist literature, after the debt is paid off.

Four years ago, the company was heavily indebted to printers, binders and paper dealers, and its notes, discounted by these creditors in Chicago banks, and maturing at frequent intervals, were a constant source of anxiety, while the rate of interest paid was high. Today, little debt remains except that to our own stockholders, and most of it is at five per cent interest, while the few loans at a higher rate can be taken up as soon as the capital is available.

The present capitalization of the company is limited to ten thousand dollars. We shall soon, however, ask our stockholders to vote on a proposition for increasing it to twenty-five thousand dollars. This will enable us to extend the privileges of stockholders to fifteen hundred more socialist locals and individuals, and we shall offer the stock only in single shares.

This co-operative publishing company with its seven hundred stockholders already comes far nearer to being under the control of the Socialist Party of America than any other publishing house, and the new issue of stock will be offered only to socialists, and only one share to each. Special efforts will be made to secure subscriptions from the locals of the Socialist Party, since thus the profit on books sold by the company at cost and by the stockholder at retail will go directly to the benefit of the party, and every party member will have an added motive for pushing the sale of literature.

The wide distribution of the stock over the whole country will ensure against the control of the publishing house falling into the hands of any local clique with factional ends to serve. The present directors, Charles H. Kerr, A. M. Simons and Marcus Hitch, will remain in charge of the affairs of the company only so long as they satisfy the stockholders that they are using the resources of the company to the best of their ability for circulating the literature of International socialism, and when any of them become for any reason unable

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to discharge the duties of directors, their places will be filled by socialists commanding the confidence of the rank and file of the party.

Is *your* Local already a stockholder? If not, bring the matter up at your next meeting and get action taken.

Are *you* a stockholder? If not, send on the ten dollars that will pay for a share, or the dollar for the first monthly payment, and have the satisfaction of knowing that you are a part of the co-operative company that is keeping the movement supplied with the literature of clear-cut, scientific socialism.

And if you are a stockholder, make sure that the privilege conferred by your stock certificate, of buying literature at cost, is utilized. If you have no time to sell books, perhaps there is another socialist near you who has the time but has not the money to pay for the stock or even for the books. You can buy the books for him and let him pay for them as fast as sold, and you will thus both be helping in the most effective propaganda. For it can not be repeated too often that to get a non-socialist to pay his own money for a socialist book is ten times as effective as to give him a book. What you give him he will look askance at, wondering what your motive is in offering it to him. What he buys he is going to read, so as to get his money's worth.

All this has been addressed to those who can help only with small sums. We can use large sums also, but not on a plan that will give a controlling interest to the large investor. If you have money from which under capitalistic conditions you need to draw an income while you live, and would like the money to be used ultimately for the spread of socialism, we can give good security for the carrying out of a contract that will ensure you a life income of six per cent on whatever money you invest with us.

Walt Whitman's Works

Whitman lived and died before economic conditions were ripe for an American socialist movement. Yet Whitman is distinctively the poet of American socialism. He foresaw the coming social change and rejoiced in it. He accepted the socialist foundation-thought of historical materialism, and upon it built up a nobler creed than theologians ever dreamed of. His writings to-day are a powerful inspiration for those who are in the thick of the fight for the coming revolution.

No edition of Whitman has thus far been easily accessible to socialists. Our co-operative company has therefore brought out a handsome library edition, about 350 large pages, printed in clear type on extra paper, and substantially bound in cloth, with gold lettering on the back. Our retail price is 75c, postage included, to stockholders, 45c by mail or 37½c by express at purchaser's expense. The best introduction to the poet's writings is the study by Mila Tupper Maynard entitled "Walt Whitman," price $1.00, with usual discounts to stockholders.

Socialism and the Organized Labor Movement

A booklet by May Wood Simons bearing this title will be issued about the middle of September as number 39 of the Pocket Library of Socialism. It traces the historical growth of the trade union movement, and shows the inevitable tendency of the trade unions toward political action through the Socialist Party. Advance orders, to be filled on publication, should be sent in at once, since this booklet will be one that will be of unusual interest to union men everywhere, and it will be one of the most effective socialist propaganda pamphlets ever issued. Address

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THE REAL FACTS ABOUT RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

So many conflicting rumors have been circulated regarding the past, present and future of Ruskin University, that I believe the Socialists of the United States would like an impartial statement of the facts in the case. By way of preface I desire to explain that I am in no way connected with the management of the university, while I have had the best of facilities for personal observation of its work and acquaintance with its officers and students, since my residence is at Glen Ellyn, where it is located, and I am financial secretary of Local Glen Ellyn of the Socialist Party, the membership of which consists largely of Ruskin students.

While the Ruskin College was operated at Trenton, Mo., Walter Vrooman was its chief financial support. His connection with the institution was definitely ended at least three months ago. Socialists can hardly be blamed for looking askance at Ruskin while Vrooman was a director. He is a generous, whole-souled fellow with the greatest enthusiasm for Socialism as he understands it; but he is hopelessly erratic, and he refuses to work inside the Socialist Party, because he wants to be dictator in whatever is doing. He is out now and it is needless to discuss him further.

Ruskin University is an amalgamation of various schools, among which are Ruskin College, which removed from Trenton under the direction of George McA. Miller, and the Chicago Law School, at the head of which was J. J. Tobias. This Tobias became the chancellor of the university, in charge of its Chicago office in the Schiller building, while Miller, with the title of Dean, was in actual charge of the class work at Glen Ellyn.

An essential part of the University work which had been agreed upon by all parties concerned before the consolidation was that economics and sociology should be taught by Socialists, from the Socialist point of view, not, however, excluding their presentation from the capitalist point of view also if found desirable. As a matter of fact the only course on these subjects in the spring term of 1903 was a course of lectures on Socialism by May Wood Simons. I had the privilege of listening to most of her lectures and found them instructive and stimulating in a high degree. They were attended by a large proportion of the students, and had a marked effect in clearing their ideas.

Toward the end of the spring term Chancellor Tobias evidently became alarmed at the growing prominence of the Socialist thought in the University, and resolved to check it if possible. He gave out interviews and newspaper letters falsely asserting that a small group of students was alone responsible for any Socialist tendency on the part of the University, and he undertook from that time to get rid of Socialist students and also of Dean Miller.

An animated though not noisy contest ensued for the control of the Glen Ellyn property and I am happy to announce that Miller has won out and that under his direction scientific Socialism will be taught at Ruskin by A. M. Simons, May Wood Simons, and probably soon by other members of the Socialist Party. Miller himself has not thus far been a party member, although he votes the Socialist ticket, but the logic of events is bringing him to us irresistibly. When he comes into the party organization it will be to stay. I have known him for years and know that he is a man to tie to.

Ruskin College may continue to affiliate with the various Chicago schools that with it made up Ruskin University, but it will have its own board of trustees, and its own local government, so that there will in future be no interference with its established policy of teaching the truth on social problems. It is the purpose of the college to furnish its students with employment, for a sufficient portion of their time to enable them to earn their board and room rent. Courses, both resident and correspondence, will be given by Mr. and Mrs. Simons as originally announced in history, economics and sociology. I can unhesitatingly commend the school as one to which Socialist parents can send their sons and daughters from fourteen years up, with the assurance that their minds will not be perverted by the capitalistic atmosphere such as surrounds most colleges. It is also the best possible place for a young workingman who desires to get a broad education while earning his own living.

It appears that inquiries from Socialists addressed to Ruskin University have been deliberately neglected by Tobias, who received the mail. To ensure getting a prompt answer address inquiries personally to Geo. McA. Miller, Glen Ellyn, Ill. The fall term opens September 15.

CHARLES H. KERR.

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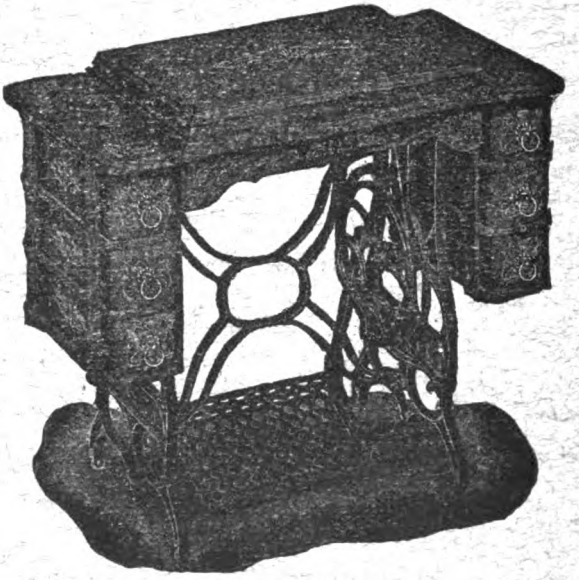
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A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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VOL. IV OCTOBER, 1903 NO. 4

New Tactics.

OUR opponents are once again pricking up their long ears. Quite in keeping with our usual custom, we have started an animated discussion just in time for our Dresden convention, and are carrying it on with our habitual spirited frankness. We are once again exchanging blows, and our enemies are anxiously watching to see whether that giant, the Socialist Party, will at last fall to pieces now, whether we will ourselves accomplish that which neither the hatred nor the cunning, neither the persecutions nor the temptations, of the enemies have been able to consummate. Of course, the hopes of our enemies are in vain. But the question suggests itself: "Is it necessary and appropriate to give rise to such hopes?" A man whom we all honor and esteem (comrade Bebel) has recently published in the *Vorwaerts* the angry words that "the time of hushing and mutual farce playing in the party is over." We, and with us probably the majority of the comrades, have asked ourselves with surprise, on reading these words: "How now? Those passionate discussions of the past years that shrank from strong expression and adjusted the internal differences in the party in the broadest daylight, were they nothing but hushing and farce playing?" In a certain sense we, too, admit that we play a little at farce comedy in the party and that we should make an end of it. We love to treat one another as adversaries, when we know full well that we are united for life and death by the same ideals, the same struggles, the same conviction and the feeling that our immortal soul is our immortal cause. We are a community bound together by a thousand indestructible ties—and yet we are so fond of creating the impression that the party consists of irreconcilable elements. At the same time, it is a proof of our

A reply of "Vorwaerts," August 30, 1903, which escaped the American Associated Press.

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strength that we alone dare to express openly what would disrupt every other party.

If our party education is still lacking in perfection here or there, it is in the matter of party discussions. We are wont to rail impatiently at the theoreticians, although we are very proud of the theoretical fundament of our party. And yet we show a surprisingly small power of resistance against theoretical discussions which are not due to any internal necessity. The thing then grows like an avalanche, and in a short while it seems as if we had nothing better to do than to talk of the most indifferent matters, simply because it has pleased some theorizer to call attention to them. As it is only human to show personal likes and dislikes on such an occasion, when impulsive misgivings and the natural desire to carry a point enter into the question, the discussion often assumes an asperity which would only be justified, if vital principles of the party were at stake. A whimsical notion thus becomes a great principle or a terrible symptom of dangerous undercurrents. The popular, but not very useful, game of playing tag with the terms "principle" and "tactics" is diligently practiced. The worst of it is that in so doing we are wasting the time that might better be employed in the solution of weightier problems. Every one has the right in our party to get rid of his foolish notions by putting them into the party press and airing them in party meetings, and he must not be deprived of this human right, even if it serves as the only means of earning a reputation in the *bourgeois* ranks, or even of gaining the halo of a statesman and a smart and independent thinker. It might be desirable in such cases that many party editors should show a greater sense of responsibility by estimating in advance the probable effect of some literary notions and making use of their editorial duty of being the cool counsellors of hotheaded correspondents.

There is no justification for speaking in this new discussion of the "good old tactics" or prophesying the coming of a "new" tactics. The Socialist Party has rather arrived at a perfectly clear conception of the only possible tactics, especially during recent years, after a generation of hard struggles. There is neither an old, nor a new tactics. We have only THE tactics.

The tactics which the German Socialist Party is following did not fall from the clouds, but have been gradually acquired. It is not a sign of deep thought to refer to tactical problems with the more confusing than enlightening terms of radicalism and opportunism, marxism and revisionism, or whatever may be the names of intellectual sluggers. The fundamental principle of the tactics of the German Socialist Party is unalterable: it is the independent political action of the revolutionary proletariat resulting from the class struggle. But there have always been differ-

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ences of opinion about the correct application of this principle, until the Socialist activity of recent years has clarified and unified our ideas on this point. The tactical problem lies solely in the connection of fundamental principles with the requirements of the practical politics of the day, of the situation to be dealt with for the time being.

This problem was also given for the bourgeois parties, but they have not succeeded in solving it. The pseudo-democratic liberalism started out by sacrificing all considerations of actual politics to the fundamental principles. Its tactics became a mere hollow demonstrative abstinence, which, e. g., led the liberalism of the fifties to yield to the new junker aristocracy that owed its existence to violations of the law. But this same liberalism ended by abandoning all fundamental principles and giving itself up to the shortsighted anarchism of ephemeral politics. Politics became a business with them.

Difficult as it is for the bourgeois parties to harmonize principle and practical politics, the difficulties increase still more for the Socialist Party in the same measure in which our fundamental demands assume the dimensions of a granite structure encompassing and transforming the world, a structure from which not a single stone can be broken and which towers above the bourgeois reform ideas, confined by their national and temporal limits, and representing only a loose collection of suggestions for reform.

It goes without saying that the Socialist Party could not solve in a single day this thorny problem of establishing internal unity between principle and practical politics, and that without contradiction and friction. There were vacilations and mistakes, we felt our way and experimented, until finally the problem was admirably solved, ripening in the course of historical development.

At the end of the sixties, the participation of the Socialist Party in the reichstag's elections was still a moot question. And when we finally took part, unwillingly enough, we thought that it was irreconcilable with our demonstrative agitation to make laws together with the bourgeois parties, to join, e. g., in the demand for industrial legislation. But this sterile attitude, while resolved upon, was never carried out. The Socialist mind was much too eager to work and did not permit itself to be crowded out of the daily work of society. We have only to recall the memory of the heated struggle over our tactics in the second balloting, the resolution of the national convention forbidding Socialists to vote for the radical candidates, and the opposition to the participation of our reichstag's representatives in the convention of seniors. In 1885, a resolution was adopted in Frankfort, reminding our representatives that their practical work in the legislatures had very little value, and that their agitatory

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work was most essential. The fight about the advisability of participating in the elections for the city councils was especially animated. In a great mass meeting at Berlin the most embittered struggle took place. One comrade said: "We don't want any half-way work. Anyway, it is a violation of the Socialist program to take part openly in a class election." An advocate of participation declared that those who opposed them were police spies. The following resolution was finally adopted:

> "Whereas, The expenditure of intellectual and material strength in the participation in the municipal elections stands in no proportion to the benefits to be derived therefrom; and
>
> "Whereas, Experience has sufficiently shown that the conquest of a few seats in the city council does not assist the rising development of the working class, while it opens the door to unscrupulous office hunters and authority grabbers,
>
> "Resolved, That we decline to take part in the municipal elections."

That was an example of the "good old tactics," even if the resolution was declared unfortunate after more deliberate consideration.

The last great tactical struggle arose over the question of participating in the landtag's elections. In 1893, it was decided not to take part in them, especially because "it is contrary to the established principles of the party to compromise with our enemies during elections, as this inevitably leads to demoralization, and to schisms and dissensions in our own ranks." But it was recommended to carry on an active propaganda for universal, equal, direct, and secret ballots in the landtag's elections. One of the speakers declared: "Compromises are treason; they sacrifice the principles of the party." Nobody declared in favor of participation at that time. The resolution may have been quite correct at that moment, but its justification was incorrect. For in a matter of compromise, everything depends on the question who is the leader. For a small party, compromises easily become dangerous, and make it subject to its enemies. But if that same party has grown strong and takes the leadership so that it can make its own conditions, then there is no longer any danger, and it would be suicide to abstain from political action, even under the most unfavorable election laws. In this way a resolution which may have been all right in 1893 becomes a grievous error in the course of time. Today, there is hardly any difference of opinion as far as participation in the elections is concerned, and they are now considered as the best means of starting a live agitation.

With the settlement of the question of the participation in the landtag's elections, the last tactical question has been solved.

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There is no other possible question of tactics on this field. For participation in a bourgeois government is out of the question in Germany. We have established complete harmony between principle and political tactics. We have learned the art of grasping every advantage for the proletariat, without sacrificing one particle of our fundamental principles. We are working in every field, penetrating into all institutions, but we do not think for a moment of trading or sacrificing the birthright of our democratic and Socialist demands for the sake of momentary advantages. This is THE clear and conscious tactics of the Socialist Party, which is not the "good old" one, neither does it require any revision.

It seems almost as if it was due to the overconfidence in our sense of unity that has prompted some subtle party writer to place the question of the vice-presidency on the order of business of our public discussions. Whoever has read the above historical reminiscences will not wonder at the fact that this paltry apology for a problem has again assumed the dimensions of a "symptom" or even of a "principle."

Now, it is perfectly plain that this question of the vice-presidency does not belong to that class of important discussions which we have formerly had in the party. It is simply a notion. It is not a question for the Socialist Party at all, but at best a question of parliamentarian self-respect for the bourgeois parties. For apart from the question of going to court, the matter is entirely indifferent to us as far as practical consequences are concerned.

Then, too, the bourgeois parties do not intend to satisfy our claim. True, in 1895, after the presidential strike of the conservative-national parties in consequence of the refusal of the reichstag to honor Bismarck, we were offered the second vice-presidency. But we declined the questionable honor right in the initial stages of the proceedings. Today, the center party has become the ruling party, and does not pay any attention to parliamentarian justice. They deny our claim for very specious reasons, even though they weaken the bourgeois parliament in so doing.

Nevertheless, we make our claim simply because we do not give up any right to which we are entitled. We do not expect to gain any advantages by this action. On the contrary: Careful observers of the tariff fight have long ago arrived at the conclusion that a Socialist vice-president would be rather harmful than otherwise to us in critical situations, and that it would be much better for us, if decent bourgeois representatives, who are mindful of their duties of president under all circumstances, were to hold that office. A few comrades who unfortunately are endowed with diplomatic gifts, think otherwise about those advantages. It may be admitted that this is a mistake, but it certainly is not

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a crime, much less a reason for a great party action with all its concomitant "symptoms, principles, opportunisms and radicalism."

There is so little to be said about this very simple and quite unimportant question of the vice-presidency, that it is almost like a fairy tale that so much could have been said about it. And if a few party leaders have had some very wholesome tilts over this question, there is no reason for complaint. For really, the fate of the party does not depend so much on the opinions of the leaders, whose principal functions are those of counselors, educators, trustees, and experts. The hopes and the dangers are vested in the masses. As long as this bold, idealistic, far-seeing, and yet calm spirit lives in the Socialist Party, conceiving of the whole field of economics and politics as an inseparable unit, just so long will the party remain strong and invincible, and we need not fear the only real danger, viz., that the party might fall a victim to the disease of a short-sighted policy of special interests. Whether this or that leader speaks or writes one thing or another makes very little difference, compared to the great possibilities of our development. These fateful developments are not decided by literary notions. Everyone has simply to do his utmost toward a strong forward movement of the spirit of the masses, by which the intimate union between principle and practical politics was accomplished.

We should not have felt the desire to once more touch on these tactical discussions, which no one can compel us to regard as of any importance. We should count them among the customary summer discussions, that do no harm and serve no useful purpose. But the present political situation suggests to us the apprehension that an essential part of the Dresden convention might be wasted in useless internal discussions. That convention should be devoted entirely to matters of prime importance. It should sharpen the steel against all the enemies that surround us.

Never, perhaps, has the Socialist Party stood at the eve of such tremendous developments as those that confront us now. Let us not deceive ourselves. Our victory has made a deeper impression on the ruling classes and on the leading circles, than they show outwardly. There is something stewing and brewing. It is apparent that the center party intends to become the savior of the state. If the Prussian schools are delivered into the control of that party, then it is willing to lend its hand to any rascality of the government.

Under these conditions, the Socialist Party has no time to fritter away on such discussions as have been going on recently. We have only one duty: To reflect in what manner, under what forms, we can use our three million votes in the interest of the proletariat, of the German people, and of the future.

Translated by *Ernest Untermann.*

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The Class Struggle in Great Britain.

THE world's great and ancient metropolis looks like the pictures one sees in books, from the first reader to the latest magazine, and so the weary pilgrim does not feel very strange after he lands. However, you at once miss that headlong rush and rattle-de-bang noise seen and heard in New York and Chicago. The Englishman don't seem to be in a very great hurry—even the stage-coach horses take their time as they plod along through the narrow streets.

In an American industrial center we find the working class hurrying to the shops and factories at seven in the morning. Here an hour later is considered early. The nine-hour day is pretty generally observed, and especially the Saturday half-holiday. The well-organized trades only work eight hours a day. Wages, of course, are not as high as in the United States. Neither are the living expenses. On the whole, the English workingman lives as well, but hardly any better, than the American toiler. Judging from appearances, the Britishers wear as good clothes, live in as good houses, eat as well and are as strong and healthy, and have as many sports and amusements as the so-called Yanks. All of which goes to prove that the socialist philosophy is correct —that the capitalists of any nation allow their workers only sufficient to keep body and soul together and to propagate another generation of toilers; that the workers are compelled to wage a class struggle to maintain what they have gained in the shape of higher wages and shorter hours, and that only in proportion as they become educated and fight for increased advantages do they secure better conditions.

Great Britain, as we in America have learned in a general way, is busily occupied in extending the functions of municipal governments—they call it municipal socialism. Even the most reactionary Tories do not seem to have the horror of the word socialism that is formed among some of the poorest workingmen in the States. In fact, many of the Tories seriously regard themselves as the guardians of the common people, and they take a sort of paternalistic interest in those who produce wealth for them. For the profits that are turned over to them they appear to feel that they have some obligations to meet.

Hence we find that in nearly all of the principal cities the street railway systems are owned and operated by the municipalities. They also furnish light and power and are pushing the experiment of razing the slums and erecting decent habitations, which are rented to the workers. Baths, wash houses, milk depots, markets, libraries, and many other useful institutions are being established, and while those popular or populistic reforms do not affect the capitalistic system materially, yet unconsciously

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the bourgeoise is treading upon dangerous ground. Labor's appetite for this sort of thing is being sharpened, and, irrespective as to whether or not the taxes of the capitalists are being somewhat lowered, and whether exploitation is being shifted from individual employers to the municipality controlled by their politicians, the fact remains that these experiments are being carried on, and successfully, too; and as, stated above, the workers are becoming familiar with the former bugaboo of socialism, and there are plenty of signs that indicate that in a very short time labor will take control of these municipal works and conduct them in its own interests, paying no attention to the taxation detail.

This view of the situation is being taken by the leading trade unionists of the country. Upward of $1,500,000,000 of property has been municipalized in Great Britain, and the work is going forward at an accelerated rate, and the unionists make no secret of their intentions of securing control of the powers of government for the purpose of conducting public affairs in the interest of the people who produce the wealth instead of a few property-owners, who are everlastingly growling about taxes.

Great progress has been made among the workers of this country toward entering the political field with a united front. The unions and socialist parties have formed an agreement to work together for the election of members to Parliament, there to compose a distinct labor group. At present there are fourteen labor men in Parliament, and it is expected that at the next general election, which is likely to be ordered soon, that number will be doubled at least. Over a million members of trade unions are now assessing themselves for the purpose of creating campaign funds, and every week adds to the number. They are really in earnest, judging from the statements of their officials and newspapers, and, as it is estimated that fully one-third of the workers in the trades are organized, it can be seen that labor is bound to play an important part in the next contest for seats in Parliament.

The causes that produced this unexpected activity are many. In the first place the workers of Great Britain, like those of every country, are becoming more highly educated. Then, again, there has been quite a long period of hard times over here, and the insecurity of work has made the laboring people quite discontented with the old political parties. The South African war has increased their burdens in certain directions, while the employers, besides introducing labor-saving machinery, are also inclined to force upon them new schemes to drive them to increased production. The fact that the government passed a bill that will extend a measure of home rule to Ireland, which will make it possible for the Irish peasant to own land in twenty-one years, while the British workers will remain at the mercy of their aristocratic landlords, is causing much discussion. But probably the

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most important question that the unionists are discussing, and the one that has opened their eyes to the necessity of using their political power, is the Taff-Vale decision and the hostile acts that have resulted therefrom. It will be recalled that the railway workers were mulcted out of a sum of $114,000 about a year ago, as damages for striking and picketing. This decision fell like a bomb in the camp of the trade unions. It opened the way for a general assault upon the treasuries of the organization, and the employers have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. At this writing there are two more cases being fought in the courts. The miners of South Wales had enforced a system of "stop days"; that is, they ceased work on certain days to prevent the accumulation of a great surplus of coal, reasoning that the operators would use such surplus to enforce a reduction of wages. The men argued that they were wholly within their rights, because the employers had the power to, and, indeed, did, close down when it suited them. But the masters objected to the men taking the initiative, and brought suit for damages. The bosses claim they have suffered losses amounting to no less than $350,000 owing to the enforcement of the "stop day" system. The Court of Appeals has already decided in favor of the bosses, and the union carried the case to the House of Lords, the supreme court of the land. In view of the interpretation of law in the Taff-Vale case, there seems to be little hope for the miners, as the "law lords" are not likely to reverse themselves. I am informed that the cost of this case will amount to $250,000, and if it goes against the Welsh miners it will bankrupt them. The Yorkshire mine owners have also filed suits against the men of Cadeby and Deneby, and they place their damages at no less than $620,000, which, with the costs, will bring the sum at stake close to a million dollars.

It can be taken for granted that this condition has aroused organized labor of Great Britain as nothing else ever did. The men see their years of saving and self-denial dissipated at one fell swoop. For years, in sunshine and in storm, they have placed their dependence in their unions, and now to have their only prop knocked out from under them is a severe blow, indeed.

The employers of Great Britain are also combining quite rapidly, and some of their syndicates are being merged with American trusts, thus assuring them of the abolition of cut-throat competition. No doubt within a couple of years this country will be in control of trusts as absolutely as are the people of the United States.

All of these questions will come up for discssion at the British Trade Union Congress at Leicester next week, and the indications are that the organized workers will take a long step forward to secure their emancipation from the wage-slavery of modern capitalism.

Max S. Hayes.

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Socialism in Japan.

IT IS NOW over two years since I wrote you about socialism in Japan. During those years Japanese socialists have had varied experiences, but on the whole we have gained a firmer ground for socialism than two years ago. Socialism in Japan is now a recognized social force, much hated and feared by capitalists and the capitalistic government. Nowadays socialists' speeches are always interfered with and stopped short. Their freedom is trampled down in gross violation of the laws and constitution. Our police authority and courts are all deadly against the socialists. The old time-worn press law is strictly enforced upon our publications. Within three months our organ, *The Socialist,* was condemned and two numbers confiscated and the editor fined. For what reasons? It only published a translation of a poem, "International Liberty," in the one and a short article on socialism in the other.

We started on a socialist agitation tour some seven weeks ago, during which we visited ten prefectures and fourteen cities and towns. We held nineteen meetings in these places, and over half of the speakers were either interfered with or stopped and could not complete their speeches. In some cities our meetings were stopped at the very beginning. In one instance before the meeting was begun the police stepped in and dispersed the peaceful citizens who were present at the place of meeting. They were driven out of the hall by force in a most barbarous manner, violating the personal liberty guaranteed by the constitution. We are utterly powerless under these injustices, for laws and courts are all against us. The administration court to which we can appeal in such a case of injustice will never give a verdict for us, but invariably sustains the official acts.

Just now I am with only two young men, Messrs. Nishikawa and Matsugaki, working for the cause of socialism by giving all our time and energy and money. It is a very feeble attempt for the cause of socialism, but so much is the all we can do. There are a few able writers and speakers among socialists, but it is a sad fact that they cannot give their best time and energy to this cause, for they are all engaged in some profession, generally journalism or education. We feel that we ought to be doing more, but we socialists are few and poor and cannot do much. This trip of ours gave a light on our future, for the authorities seem determined to crush socialism and stop its spread by police force and oppression. We will fight out our cause at any cost.

While the horizon of socialism seems so sad and gloomy, we are nevertheless increasing in number and power everywhere. We have gained many adherents in those cities in which we held our

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socialist meetings. These timely sown seeds of socialism will grow on the fertile ground of oppression, degradation and corruption caused by the capitalistic injustices and cruelties.

We found everywhere evils of capitalism. In the Navy Yard at Kose men are compelled to work thirty-six hours in one stretch and sometimes two full days and nights, or forty-eight hours in one stretch. Among the collieries in Kinshiu there are men, women and children of all ages working twelve hours in a deep coal pit. These coal pits have a depth of 2,000 feet, are dirty and unhealthy, without any protection for limbs of miners. Sometimes a mother with a child of two or three months goes down the pit to help the husband miners by carrying coals. During these twelve hours the child is left in the dark wet hole to breathe foul air. It is said that out of 7,000 miners some 800 persons were killed last year in one colliery having seven pits or an average of two and one-half persons killed every day through the year. But none of these atrocious crimes committed by the colliery owner Mitsuit are condemned by the press or law.

Tokyo, Japan, August 24th, 1903. *S. J. Katayama.*

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The Referendum Movement and the Socialist Movement in America.

THE socialists of this country were the first to call public attention to the referendum. As early as 1889, the Socialist Labor party embodied in its national platform a referendum plank. It soon gained popularity with all reformers, and was in 1900 forced into the national platform of the Democratic party. Persistent agitation by the advocates of Direct Legislation has in many places compelled the Republican party as well to declare for the principle of the Referendum and the Initiative, so that at present the demand for it may be said to have spread beyond party lines. Singularly enough, the Socialists have scarcely taken part, as an organized body, in the agitation which owes to them its origin. This remark is not made in a spirit of fault-finding, for the writer is himself but a recent convert to the cause of Direct Legislation, and bears his individual share of responsibility for the lukewarmness of the Socialists towards this movement; he believes, however, that the facts which have convinced him may convince others that the Referendum and Initiative open to the Socialist parties a new and fruitful field for independent political action, without imperiling the integrity of the party or its uncompromising political attitude and without in any way interfering with other forms of political action.

Let us first see what has been accomplished by the movement for Direct Legislation. In South Dakota, the Legislature, a majority of whom were Populists, Silver Republicans and Democrats (fusionists), submitted, in 1897, to the voters of the state the question of adopting the Referendum and the Initiative. Most of the Republicans in the legislature voted in favor of the reform. At the next election, 1898, the voters adopted the system. In 1899, the Republican party, which then had a majority in each House, enacted a statute to put it into operation. The new act confers on the voters the veto power on any bill which has not received a two-thirds majority in the legislature. No such bill may become a law until the voters have had 90 days to examine it and, if found objectionable, to file a petition signed by five per cent of the voters and demanding that the bill be submitted to a referendum at the next election. The voters may likewise initiate legislation by filing a petition embodying a bill to be voted upon at the next election.

In Oregon, a constitutional amendment giving expression to the same principles was proposed in 1898, and adopted by a Republican legislature; under the Oregon constitution, an amendment must be passed by two successive legislatures and ratified by a popular vote. In 1900 all parties pledged their support to the

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measure; the Republicans again had a majority in the legislature; the amendment passed the legislature and was submitted to the people, who in 1902 adopted it by a vote of 11 to 1. An act carrying this amendment into effect was passed by the legislature in February, 1903.

In Colorado a constitutional amendment was adopted at the November election of 1902, providing for the amendment of the municipal charter of Denver by the Initiative and Referendum. Five per cent of the voters of the city and county of Denver may initiate any municipal ordinance or charter amendment and the proposition must be submitted to a popular vote at the next general election.

In Los Angeles, at the municipal election held December 1, 1902, a Direct Legislation amendment to the city charter was adopted by a vote of 12,846 to 1,942 (6 to 1). The amendment was ratified by the legislature on January 25, 1903. The amendment enables five per cent of the voters to initiate city ordinances at every regular municipal election.

In many other states the enactment of similar laws cannot be delayed very long. In Utah the Referendum and the Initiative have become a part of the constitution, but the constitution has been nullified by the legislature, which has so far refused to enact a statute to carry the principle into operation. Still such an anomalous condition cannot continue forever.

In Illinois the legislature in 1901 enacted a law for the submission of questions of public policy to a popular vote upon the petition of 10 per cent of the voters in the state, or 25 per cent in a municipality. Under that law a referendum was taken in the next spring municipal election (1902) in Chicago, upon the question of public ownership of street railways and lighting plants and resulted in a large majority for that principle. At the fall election of 1902 Direct Legislation agitators secured more than the requisite number of signatures to a "proposal question of public policy" in favor of a constitutional amendment embodying the Referendum and Initiative. The proposal was submitted to the voters of the state and received 428,000 affirmative votes against 87,000 in the negative. As this expression of popular opinion is as yet not mandatory upon the legislature, a bill in favor of a Direct Legislation amendment to the constitution was voted down at the last session of the legislature. Yet, in this country public opinion is the court of last resort, and there is little room for doubt that ultimately the Solons at Springfield will have to yield to the popular will.

In Missouri an amendment to the constitution was adopted March 11, 1903, which provides for the Initiative and Referendum upon a petition signed by from 10 to 20 per cent of the voters of each congressional district. The amendment is to be voted upon in the November election of next year. The per-

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centage is unreasonably high and the law is so framed as to make it inoperative; yet in Chicago the requisite number of signers to the municipal ownership petition was as high as 25 per cent of all voters, and yet the requisite number of signatures was secured.

In Nevada, a Direct Legislation amendment passed the legislature March 12, 1903, and now awaits the vote of the people at the coming election. In Massachusetts a Direct Legislation bill was passed by the House of Representatives on May 5, 1903. In Idaho and Washington similar amendments received a majority in the legislature, but the vote in each case was short of the two-thirds required by the constitution; it is now only a question of winning over a few votes, and continued public agitation will ultimately accomplish that result.

On the whole, the results are encouraging, especially because they have been accomplished without lobbying, but by the pressure of public opinion. The persistent agitation of labor organizations and other non-political bodies forced the politicians to action, for fear lest the other party might gain votes by the advocacy of the popular demand.

With every Socialist party worker the question will arise, What particular benefit will accrue to the Socialist party from the Referendum and Initiative, that it should expend its energy in agitating for a reform which is likely to come through the efforts of others? In an article addressed to Socialist readers it would be a waste of time to dilate upon the justice of the principle itself, for it has been for a long time in practical operation in party affairs; the question need here only be treated upon the ground of expediency.

Up to this day political action by Socialist parties in this country has been confined to nominating candidates and electioneering; in but a few cases this agitation resulted in the election of Socialist candidates. Surely, if immediate success at the polls were the sole object of the Socialist parties, as it is with other parties, the results would not justify the energy expended. Socialist nominations are made because, it is thought, first, that they offer an opportunity for Socialist agitation, and second, that they enable us to gauge the Socialist sentiment abroad in the country. It is also believed that the gradual growth of the vote from one election to another advances the day of ultimate Socialist victory at the polls.

For any one of these purposes the Referendum and Initiative offer invaluable opportunities to the Socialist party.

The platform of the Socialist (formerly Social-Democratic) party consists of a declaration of general principles and a number of "immediate demands," whose enactment into law is urged pending the final triumph of the Socialist party. A great deal of opposition has been developed within the party to these "imme-

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diate demands." It is argued that the Socialist party upon gaining control of the political machinery, will be in a position to carry out the full programme of Socialism, so these "immediate demands" would be superfluous; prior to that day, however, these demands could not be enacted in any other way except by a non-Socialistic party, which is considered undesirable.

These objections are removed by the Initiative and Referendum. In South Dakota the Socialist party is today in a position to formulate all its "immediate demands" into bills, circulate petitions in support of them, and if 5 per cent of the voters are thus enlisted the bills must be submitted to the vote of the people of the state of South Dakota. In this manner any of these demands could be enacted into law over the heads of old-party politicians, full credit accruing to the Socialist party initiating the desired legislation.

In Los Angeles the Socialist party need no longer wait for the election of its candidates on the city ticket, in order to make its voice heard in municipal affairs. There were about 30,000 votes cast in Los Angeles at the last election; 1,500 signatures are sufficient to initiate municipal legislation. The vote for Debs in 1900 was 995; thus it is easily seen that the Socialist party would have no difficulty in securing a sufficient number of signatures to a bill embodying into law any of the propositions of the Socialist municipal platform.

The same is true of Denver, where there are about 40,000 voters; the requisite 2,000 signatures to an Initiative proposition for a municipal ordinance or charter amendment could be secured among the Socialist voters themselves.

In Illinois where the law authorizes the submission of broad questions of public policy to a popular vote, the Socialists might, if they thought it expedient, submit today the question, Shall all means of production and distribution be owned and operated by the people? Or they might embody the same principle in a number of concrete propositions relating, e. g., to the stockyards, the packing houses, the coal mines, etc., and thus gradually educate the public mind in the principles of Socialism.

That this must prove a powerful means of Socialist agitation is undeniable. The ante-election agitation continues at best for one or two months, whereas the circulation of petitions will require active work all year around. More than that, it will make every Socialist from a mere sympathizer an active agitator. The Socialist vote at the last election stood about 280,000, whereas the aggregate membership of both Socialist parties hardly reached 20,000. That leaves 260,000 men who express their belief in Socialism by casting a Socialist vote once in 365 days. If it became necessary, however, to collect a vast number of signatures to a Socialistic petition, each one of them would be constituted a committee of one to circulate it among his friends

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and neighbors; questions would be asked, and every Socialist, who may not have the abilities of a public speaker, would have the opportunity of presenting the principles of Socialism in an informal talk to his acquaintances. A vast number of people could be approached in that way, who are not reached by Socialist meetings or by the Socialist press. The benefits of such an educational campaign cannot be overestimated. If the Socialist party should meet with sufficient support to have any of its propositions submitted to a Referendum, it would bring the principles of Socialism directly before the whole people, something which cannot be accomplished by any other available method of political agitation.

Let us next consider the second argument in favor of campaigning, viz., that it serves as an index of the strength of Socialism. While it is so as far as it goes, it does not go far enough. It has not been possible to muster the full strength of Socialism in any election. It is a well known fact that the head of the Socialist ticket, as a rule, falls behind his running mates. Should the number of straight votes alone cast for the full Socialist ticket be considered as the truly Socialist vote, which means the lowest vote cast for any candidate on the ticket, even then it is a fact that the number of such votes is liable to decline at a presidential or gubernatorial, or mayoralty election; numerous examples could be cited to prove it. Should these fluctuations of the Socialist vote be interpreted as reflecting temporary changes in the Socialist sentiment? Not at all. It merely shows that even among those voters who identify themselves with Socialism as far as voting the Socialist ticket, there are some who still take an interest in the political issues or candidates brought forward by other parties. There are many more who profess to be Socialists, yet for one reason or another do not vote the Socialist ticket at all. In 1896 some people considering themselves Socialists were so impressed with the impending danger to the interests of the working class from the free coinage of silver, that they cast their votes for McKinley. In 1900 the issue of Imperialism gave many votes to Bryan which might otherwise have gone to Debs.

In European countries the system of reballoting enables the Socialist voter to cast his first vote for the Socialist candidates and the second for one of the two candidates who have a chance of election; thus his first vote is a vote for his principles and his second vote a vote upon the issues of the day. In this country there is but one chance to vote, and it is the vote for Socialist principles that suffers by it. And what is more serious, under our system of elections, the further progress of Socialist agitation and spread of Socialist sentiment are apt to accrue to the benefit of scheming politicians. The declarations of the New York State convention of the Democratic party in favor of nationalization of the anthracite coal mines was avowedly a bid for the Socialist

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or radical vote. The election returns seem to indicate that the Hill plank accomplished its purpose with many voters, who might otherwise have swelled the Socialist column.

The marked feature of the election of 1902 was the growth of the Socialist vote, which more than doubled in the United States since the last presidential election. In New York, however, which is the veteran state of Socialist agitation and could in all previous elections boast of a larger Socialist vote than any other state, the vote for the Social Democratic party increased only by 82 per cent as against 132 per cent throughout the United States, the vote for the S. L. P. increased only by 25 per cent as against 59 per cent throughout the United States, and the aggregate vote for both Socialist parties increased only by 54 per cent as against 113 per cent throughout the United States.

The election returns for the state of New York show that the total gubernatorial vote in 1902 fell 10 per cent short of the popular vote for president in 1900; the Socialist parties were the only ones that showed actual gains. If, however, Greater New York is segregated from the rest of the state, we observe that the Democratic candidate for governor in 1902 gained 11,000 votes as compared with the gubernatorial candidate in 1900, whereas Governor Odell lost 68,000 votes. As the percentage of stay-at-homes in Greater New York is shown by the election returns to have been the same as up-state, and there is no reason why in New York City there should have been a greater percentage of stay-at-homes among the Republicans than among the Democrats, it is reasonable to assume that there must have been large defections from the Republican to the Democratic camp beside the actual increase of 11,000 votes. Now the Democrats whom the silver agitation had driven into the Republican ranks in 1896, returned into the fold in 1900, when McKinley gained only 2,000 votes as against 127,000 gained by Bryan. The Democratic gains in 1902 must therefore have come from other sources; this may account for the comparatively low increase of the Socialist vote in New York. Many a voter who is in sympathy with the Socialist movement, must have reasoned that the Socialist party could not win, while the Democratic could; thus a vote for the Democratic party appeared to him under the circumstances as a vote for the nationalization of the anthracite coal mines.

The Initiative and Referendum will serve in this country the same end as the system of reballoting in Europe. It will enable every voter to vote for his principles, even though he may be anxious to vote for the "winning man." Moreover, it will effectively protect the Socialist party from any attempt of the old parties to "steal its thunder," for it will always be the Socialist party who will first initiate all Socialistic bills. Thus it is only the Initiative and Referendum that can bring out the full strength

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of the Socialist sentiment and record it to the credit of the Socialist party.

This leads us to the third proposition, viz., that the growth of the Socialist party vote speeds on the ultimate victory of the Socialist party. It is obvious that the rate of progress in this respect is dependent upon the strength of the Socialist sentiment in the nation; anything that gives additional force to the Socialist movement is bound to result in an increased vote for the Socialist party. Therefore, the agitation for Socialism through the Initiative and Referendum must hasten the victory of the Socialist party. Moreover, when it becomes possible for the voters to enact laws and frame policies independently of Congress and legislatures, the argument in favor of voting for the "winning candidate," "the best man," or "the lesser of two evils," must be considerably weakened. Suppose, every opponent of Imperialism had the opportunity to vote directly for the Initiative bill, "Be it enacted by the people of the United States, that the President of the United States be and he is hereby insructed forthwith to withdraw all military forces from the Philippines and to relinquish the Philippine Islands to an independent government to be freely elected by the sovereign people of the Philippine Islands"—what justification would there have been for any believer in Socialist principles to vote for Bryan, as a rebuke to Imperialism? A vote for Anti-Imperialism could then have been combined with a vote for Debs. This would have added to the Socialist column many a vote from among those who were not convinced by the Socialist argument that the issue of Imperialism or anti-Imperialism did not concern the working class.

There is still more to be said. Today the Socialist has very little to say in the current affairs of the day. If there is a piece of vicious legislation pending, he can merely denounce it in mass-meetings or in his own press. With the Optional Referendum as in South Dakota, or Los Angeles, the Socialist party would constitute itself a permanent vigilance committee that would promptly call a popular veto on every bill which is hostile to the interests of the working class. This would infuse new vigor into the Socialist party and bring it into closer touch with the people in their work-a-day interests.

Nor would it in any way conflict with the uncompromising attitude of the Socialist party towards other political parties. The agitation for the Referendum and the Initiative need not involve the Socialist party into alliances of any sort with any other political party; the Socialist party has its own natural sphere of influence in the trade unions, which have in the past been the most active element in the campaign for Direct Legislation.

It was natural for Massachusetts to take the lead. A petition in favor of the Referendum endorsed by 570 trade unions of the

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state and bearing the signatures of more than 50,000 voters was presented to the General Court by the Socialist Representative James Carey; the effect of this agitation can be gauged by the vote in the House on the Direct Legislation bill, which was 155 for and only 22 against the bill. In Massachusetts, as elsewhere, the politicians have their ears close to the ground.

In closing the writer wishes to be understood that it is not his intention to recommend the Referendum and the Initiative as a substitute for the present form of political agitation, but as an additional weapon in the fight for Socialism.

Marxist.

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Italian Socialist Convention.

THE first annual Convention of the "Federazione Socialista Italiana" took place on September 6-7, in West Hoboken, N. J. There were 33 delegates present, representing some 30 Locals and eight different states.

The convention was opened amid great enthusiasm by G. M. Serrati, editor of "Il Proletario"—the Italian Socialist daily—who called the delegates to order and made some appropriate introductory remarks. It was voted by acclamation to send a congratulatory cablegram to Comrade Enrico Ferri in Rome, for his noble fight against the "grafters" in the Navy department. This also meant that the convention was with him, and stood for an uncompromising political attitude.

Aside from the minor work of the Federation's affairs, the most important questions for the Convention to discuss were the following:

First—The Party Press.

Second—The Co-operative Stores Movement.

Third—Establishment of an Immigration Bureau.

Fourth—Attitude of the Federation towards the trades unions.

Fifth—Attitude of the Federation towards the two Socialist Parties, the S. L. P. and the S. P.

Only one out of the thirty-three delegates is in favor of discontinuing the publication of the daily paper. Thirty-two delegates want the paper to be continued at all costs, even to the extent of having each Local pledge a monthly contribution to defray the expenses of publication. A true spirit of Socialism and of noble self-denial was shown by the delegates during this discussion, in which the comrades stated their willingness to share their scanty wages for the enlightenment of their fellow-men.

An able report was submitted by G. Lavagnini of Northfield, Vt., on the establishment of Co-operative stores, demonstrating their efficiency as an auxiliary to the Socialist movement, and showing their successful operation amongst the Italian Socialists of Vermont.

It was the sense of the convention that the comrades should encourage and work for such movements in all places where local conditions were favorable, especially in small cities, where large department stores did not exist.

The advisability of establishing an Immigration Bureau was then discussed, and the advantages that might accrue to the immigrant were plainly stated. The padrone, the banker and many other colonial sharks, made an easy prey of the poor and simple Italians migrating to these shores, defrauding them and selling them like chattels to the contractors. The Bureau would protect

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them, assist them and put them on their guard. It was voted that it should be left to the Executive Committee to take the preliminary steps for the establishment of such a bureau.

It being impossible to discuss the trades unions without involving party tactics, a discussion on the same was then started.

As might be supposed, this brought about a warm debate, and is seemed for a time that the S. L. P. comrades were going to sway the Convention. A report was submitted by Dellavia, full of the false and time worn out vilifications against the Socialist party, and, in order to prejudice the delegates against our party, the same report had been printed and distributed some time before the Convention. Comrade G. M. Serrati, however, replied to the false accusation, and showed that while it might be true that in some instances the Socialist Party had been slack and of a too broad spirit, the majority of its members were good uncompromising Socialists, doing excellent work in all states of the Union, in many of which the S. L. P. did not exist at all. "In the S. L. P. press," he said, "I see nothing but insults against other Socialists; in the S. P. press I see nothing but Socialism. I am in favor of a union between the two parties, but cannot countenance the conduct of the S. L. P." He then read a communication of the International Socialist Bureau, informing him that the only Socialist Party recognized there at present was the Socialist Party.

Comrades Ecaterinara of Newark, N. J., and G. Lavagnini of Vermont also spoke in favor of the S. P., stating that it was the only party working for Socialism in their respective localities.

A number of resolutions were introduced, and one of Com. Serrati, to the effect that, *While the Federation was on general principles, with the S. L. P., it was optional for comrades in places where there was no S. L. P., to vote for the uncompromising candidates of the other Socialist Party.*

An official delegate from the S. L. P. was then given the floor to make his *pronunciamento* on the resolution. He said he was not in favor of it. If the Italian Socialists favored the S. L. P., they must either be entirely with the S. L. P. or against it. His Party would not stand for any half-way policy. He hoped the Italian comrades would open their eyes.

The answer of the Convention to this complimentary remark, was another resolution:

To sever all connections and alliances with the S. L. P., and constitute themselves into an independent organization, which was then put to vote and carried, 19 for, and 15 against.

The Trades-Unions question then naturally resolved itself, and the Convention voted to follow the tactics as laid down at the International Congress, which are those of the Socialist Party.

Several minor matters were then transacted: the election of a new Executive Committee, and the appointment of Local New-

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ark to receive all complaints. The issuing of two dollar shares, to cover a mortgage on the Socialist Block of Barre, Vt., was authorized. The resignation of G. M. Serrati as editor of Il Proletario was unwillingly received. The Convention adjourned at 8:45 p. m. with three cheers for International Socialism.

While the constitution of the Federation did not allow the delegates of the Socialist Party to be officially recognized, comrades Solomon, De Luca and the writer were present and made many friends amongst the delegates, eventually furnishing them with useful information which had a decided bearing on their most important vote.

On the whole, the Convention was a credit to the Italian comrades. Party and personal feelings were all made subordinate to the Socialist movement. A sincere and intense desire to promote the cause of Socialism dominated all their actions, and when the vote to break away from DeLeon was announced, a voice was heard to say: "There are neither victors nor vanquished here, we are all comrades!"

Springfield, Mass. *Silvio Origo.*

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Wanted—A Constitution.

ABOUT 25 years ago Governor Plaisted, of Maine, said in an address: "Thirty years ago in our country, a pauper was as scarce as a prince, and so was a millionaire. Now we have thousands of millionaires and they own, as their private property, much more than is owned by all the rest of the people. The time is rapidly approaching when—unless there is an economic revolution—the only people in these states will be millionaires, their hirelings, and paupers."

It is certain, however, that the economic revolution will take place. Hitherto, the "middle classes" have been our most active opponents, but the syndicates will drive most of them into our ranks. One after another each business will be syndicated—grocery, dry-goods, clothing, furniture, hardware, baking, building, bookselling, printing; all manufacturing, fishing and mining; the farmer will have to sell his produce to the syndicates, and even the doctors and lawyers will be unable to compete successfully with the syndicate agents.

State and national collectivism will certainly be forced upon us by the syndicate collectivism. Ten thousand millionaires cannot subjugate all the rest of the people—who will not long endure a government by millionaires for the benefit of millionaires.

In preparation for "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," we ought to be learning how to govern, so that, when the time comes, we may begin without confusion and serious blundering.

When a captain asks people to accompany him on a voyage, he not only tells them what port he is bound for, but tells them which way he is going, and at what ports he will call by the way, and he has a well-defined chart of his course. It is time for us to have our chart—our Constitution of the Commonwealth. (Nearly thirty years ago, I drafted the form of such a Constitution—a form that might now be of some use as an aid in the framing of a less imperfect one.)

We have some very good general maxims for our guidance: "No rights without duties; no duties without rights," From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." To those I would add, No authority without responsibility, no responsibility without authority. No money to waste time over. And I would add Kipling's great lines: "None shall work for money and none shall work for fame, but all for the joy of the working."

The systems known as the Referendum, the Initiative, and the Imperative Mandate are essential for true republicanism. The people's organizations are, to some extent, already using them.

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But we have yet to decide how, in the Socialist future, we shall govern each separate trade and locality; whether the State or Nation shall have control of the railroads, etc., the authority of the State over children, and many other problems.

For the satisfaction of the many thousands of people who are inclined towards Socialism, we should, as soon as possible, formulate our proposed Constitution. If honestly and wisely formulated, it will cause a few people to leave our ranks, but for each one that leaves a score will rally under our banner.

Lunenberg, Mass. *Wm. Harrison Riley.*

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To Socialism.

REVILED defender and upholder of the rights of Man;
Unfaltering asserter of the Brotherhood of Man;
Unflinching facer of those future years so filled with frowns of free-born men, no longer free who love thee not—
Endue me with thy poise.

Provider of perpetual peace that stills pale, haggard Competition's call to war,
Sole selfless Savior of the race from all-enslaving Greed;
Unconscious Christian crying Christ's commands aloud, still nailed upon the cross as He—
Endue me with thy peace.

Impartial pupil of imperial *Right* that places plenty in the hands of each and all;
Stern slayer of the sullen soul will not surrender stolen, selfish joys;
All-patient lover of the poor, still paid with penal name by portionless participants of pauper's lot and fare—
Grant me to love as thou.

Forecaster of a future filled with faithful work performed with joy by all;
Denouncer of these dotage-days that doom and damn both rich and poor;
Courageous, calm Compatriot calling "Come" to rich and poor alike—
Grant me to echo "Come."

Aspiring, some would strike all chains from willing and unwilling slaves.
Aspiring to thy poise, thy peace, thy love unbounded free and all despite of hate, thy call—to even echo it—one heard thee say,
"Let be!
I am the solvent sets all free,
Bring them to me."

Aspiring sends this song from one whose bondage was dissolved by thy embrace, in gratitude this day.

O Thou incessant and unstinting Sower of the life-bought seed with wide-flung hand in ev'ry clime,
God speed, God speed, and SPEED.

—*Edwin Arnold Brenholtz.*

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The Legal Fiction of Equality.

"There are no classes in America. I hate the name!" Judge George Gray, quoted in the "Outlook" of July 4, 1903.

IN order to a true understanding of that much misunderstood assertion of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, the economic significance of the American Revolution must be borne in mind. The chain of revolutions, of which that in America formed a highly characteristic link, whereby the bourgeoisie broke the power of the noblesse, was everywhere marked by an insistence on the worth and sacred liberty of the individual, untrammeled by any advantage arising to others from birth into a heritage of descendable class privilege. As hereditary privilege was the essence of the aristocratic status, its denial by the militant bourgeoisie was a matter of course. This, then, is all that was meant by the assertion of freedom and equality, namely, the repudiation of the legally recognized prestige of birth; and it would have saved much misconception if the principle had been expressed in negative form.

There is something very attractive, even to us moderns, in the aspect of the young, idealistic, revolutionary bourgeoisie, flushed with its victory over ancient and hallowed wrong, declaring that all men are *born* (note the word) equal, and proceeding to embody this rejection of inheritable ascendency in its constitutions, customs and laws. But from this to the doctrine that all men shall remain forever after birth equal before the law, is evidently a step in advance; yet one which, in the then condition of American society, seemed but the necessary corollary of the first, or, perhaps, but another phase of the principle itself. For at that time, if we exclude the professional class which has never been inspired by a distinct economic interest, and the slaves who were not recognized as human, but one class existed in America —the middle class. Modern manufacture, with its splitting of the middle class into capitalists and wage-workers, was as yet unknown. The business of the country was agriculture; and the effect of unoccupied land in preventing the formation of a distinct class of wage laborers has already been pointed out in this magazine.* No injustice, therefore, resulted from the extension of the principle so as to exclude from legal cognizance not only the accident of birth, but all the accidents and vicissitudes of life as well.

How the principle, as thus broadened, has been preserved and consecrated in our jurisprudence, with the hearty approval of

*"The Economic Organization of Society," INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for July 1, 1903, p. 12.

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bourgeois sentiment, through the application of the maxim *stare decisis*, or how necessary to an orderly system of laws conformity to precedent is, it is not the present purpose to discuss. It is enough that at the present day, while at least four major classes (speaking from an economic standpoint) appear in American society, with the germs and buddings of still further divisions, the courts still uniformly refuse, in deference to this legal fiction of equality, to see the facts before their eyes.

A distinction of class differs from that of caste in that the latter is hereditary and can never be escaped by the individual, while the former depends upon any incident or feature common to a group, which may be very transitory, so that the membership of a class may shift continuously. The basis of economic class distinction is the manner of securing a livelihood. Of the four classes referred to, naming them in the order of their prestige and political importance, the capitalists derive their living, without labor, from the three sources of rent, interest and profit, the latter usually assuming the concrete form of dividends. In practice, however, many capitalists still perform certain labor of oversight and direction in their businesses, thus occupying a position midway between the capitalistic and middle classes. The professional class differs from the capitalistic in that its income is derived from actual labor, while it differs from the wage-workers both in the quality of its services, its scale of living, which approximates the capitalistic, and in having for its employer the public at large. The middle class covers those whose living is derived from labor for the public performed with their own capital, and includes farmers owning and working their own farms, small storekeepers, the cross-roads blacksmith who owns his own shop, etc., etc., This class is oldest of all except the professional, and furnishes, in our modern life, constant accessions to all the others, becoming, through this depletion, a disappearing class. Remembering the days of its past glory, it is politically reactionary, and the political interests of the smaller capitalists sometimes lead to their affiliation with it. Lastly come the wage-workers, laborers working with the capital of others, the subjects of capitalistic exploitation, it being their unremunerated toil which enables the capitalists to live without toil. It is a peculiar characteristic of this class, and one which the reader is asked to treasure in mind during the remainder of this article, that it lives from hand to mouth, the wage of one day barely sufficing for the necessities of the next as determined by its scale of living, so that any cessation of employment spells deprivation of the means of life. Nor are the members of this class enabled to practice to any considerable extent the bourgeois virtue of saving, and even where they have done so, their scanty hordes are quickly exhausted when drawn on for subsistence. Continuous employment, therefore, becomes for them the *sine*

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qua non of continued existence, and this sinister dependence constitutes the fetters of that status frequently referred to as wage slavery.

Evidently it must be pleasing to capitalists, in their legal conflicts with members of other classes, to have any class advantage accruing to them ignored by the courts, and that there is such advantage will be readily conceded by those of their opponents who have felt the embarrassment of the unequal contest. It is in suits between capitalists and wage earners, however, that the discrepancy in position is most manifest. The employee comes into legal conflict with the employer chiefly, if not almost wholly, in two varieties of actions—those for personal injuries, and strike litigation. As to the latter, the law involved is still in too nebulous a state to permit of instructive generalization. It is in actions brought by the employee for personal injuries occasioned by the employers' negligence, the law of which has been developed contemporaneously with the capitalistic system itself, that we may particularly note the malign influence of the legal fiction of equality. When the wage-worker is maimed or killed through his master's negligence, and his labor power thus impaired or cut off altogether, with a corresponding reduction in or termination of ability to earn a livelihod, his claim, or that of his family, against his master for reimbursement, might seem to the uninitiated layman peculiarly meritorious. It shall be our business to notice some of the judge-made rules of law indicative of the attitude of the courts thereto. And first, as to the measure of care required of the master.

In his work on *Master's Liability,* Mr. Bailey, after summarizing the duties of the master as those of furnishing reasonably safe appliances, a reasonably safe place to work, and the employment of a sufficient number of competent associates, adds (p. 3), "In the performance of these duties, the master is bound to the exercise of reasonable and ordinary care, and such only." Later he quotes (p. 24) with approval from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania: *"Absolute safety is unattainable, and employers are not insurers. They are liable for the consequences, not of danger, but of negligence; and the unbending test of negligence in methods, machinery and appliances is the ordinary usage of the business."

Passing by the principle, which is itself a luminous comment on the spirit of capitalism, that human life and limb are the subjects of only ordinary care, let us scrutinize the "unbending test" of that care, "the ordinary usage of the business." There is no question of the rule. It has been iterated and reiterated until a criticism of it seems almost pathetic in its futility. And yet whose province is it to fix "the ordinary usage of the business"? That of the employers. Any attempt of the workers to do so is

*Titus v. Railroad Co., 136 Pa. 618; 20 Atl. 517.

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quickly resented as an unwarranted impertinence. The master erects his factory with a minimum allotment of space, air and light. He places cogs and belts and rollers where he will, and the workers are then invited to enter. Now, the only possible justification for this "unbending test" of negligence, is that they may refuse to do so. In other words, that the wage-earners may reject undesirable or hazardous employment, thus forcing a voice in the establishment of "the ordinary usage of the business." But as we have seen this is precisely what they cannot do. Enter they must, constrained by the imperious necessity which binds them in their status. Only when some single employer has exceeded the average disregard of human safety, may some of the more temerous refuse to work for him.

Thus the employers as a class establish the customary conditions of employment, sanctify by usage its dangers and discomforts and so fix the standards of their own liability. They are made judges of their own cause; and what any particular employer is held for, is not negligence, but *more than average* negligence. Then too, as the employer has no property interest in the bodies of his employees, unless he is actuated by motives of humanity or unless better conditions or safer appliances will also increase the output, there is no incentive for improvement. A need do no more than B, nor B than A. Old abuses of employment may continue eternally, carefully safeguarded by this rule of law. By this rule the courts have resigned their function of arbitrators between the parties, and contentedly accept the measure of responsibility prearranged by the defendant himself. That this is the practical effect of the rule is evidenced by the legislative effort to supply, as by factory and mine inspection laws, an impartial tribunal; or, as in the case of the act of Congress requiring safety brakes on cars used in interstate traffic, a measure of reliability in the law itself. It is, however, due to the United States Supreme Court to say that, latterly, some doubt as to the justice of the rule seems to have occured to that eminent tribunal. It says:* "Ordinary care on the part of a railroad company implies, as between it and its employees, not simply that degree of diligence which is customary among those intrusted with the management of railroad property, but such as, having respect to the exigencies of the particular service, ought reasonably to be observed. It is such care as, in view of the consequences that may result from negligence on the part of the employer, is fairly commensurated with the perils and dangers likely to be encountered." But Mr. Bailey believes (p. 11) that the court afterwards receded from this, one would think fairly tenable, position.

But when even by these low standards, the master's negligence in a given instance has been proven, the injured servant's case

*Wabash Ry. Co. v. McDaniels, 107, U. S. 454; 2 Sup. Ct. 932.

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is by no means won. Defenses peculiar to this class of actions still remain open to the former, among the most favorite being the doctrine of "assumed risk." Mr. Bailey's explanation of this doctrine (Master's Liability, p. 145) is so naive an expression of capitalistic sentiment, as to merit quotation at length:

"It is to be observed that persons and companies, and especially corporations, whose interests are large and business complex in character, and who necessarily have to intrust the management and performance of their business to officers, agents, and servants, do not always adopt such a method of conducting their business as to meet the requirements of duty as measured by the standard herein before stated and discussed. There are many classes of business, such as the operation of large factories and the management and operation of railroads, which are attended with great risks and perils, and the utmost, or even ordinary prudence, is not exercised, either in the manner of constructing their structures, providing machinery and appliances, or in their operation. If the strict rule of duty in these respects was always required, then it would be that many, if not most, of the enterprises of such character, which add so much to the convenience and material prosperity of the people, would have to be abandoned. Therefore it has come to be well settled that the master may conduct his business in his own way, although another method might be less hazardous; and the servant takes the risk of the more hazardous method, as well, if he knows the danger attending the business in the manner in which it is carried on. Hence, if the servant knowing the hazards of his employment as the business is conducted, is injured while employed in such business, he cannot maintain an action against the employer because he may be able to show there was a safer mode in which the business might have been carried on, and that, had it been conducted in that manner, he would not have been injured. Therefore the liability of a master to respond to his servant in damages for an injury received in the scope of his employment does not necessarily follow upon proof made that such injury was the result of the failure of the master to fully observe his duty as such, when measured by the standard of duty required, and governed by the principles stated in the preceding chapters, for the very plain reason that he may not owe his servant such duty or to such a degree. Such standard is that which is required and must be observed where the servant has no knowledge, actual or presumed, of the master's peculiar method of business, the situation of his premises, the character of his machinery," etc., etc.

Later Mr. Bailey (p. 170) thus formulates the rule: "The servant assumes the hazard of dangerous methods, as well as the use of defective tools or machinery, when, after employment, he learns of the defects, but voluntarily continues in the employment

*American Rolling Mill Co. v. Hullinger, 67 N. E. 986.

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without objection." The Supreme Court of Indiana, in a very late case* in which it frustrated, by reasoning unique in judicial annals, a bungling legislative attempt to get rid of the doctrine, thus carefully defines it: "Notwithstanding the duties the master owes the servant * * * , yet, if it appears that the latter had assumed the risk, there is no liability for negligence. This is but an application of the maxim *'Volenti non fit injuria'* (One who consents cannot be injured) which states a principle of very broad application in the law. The master may not have performed the duty required of him, but if the servant knows that such duty has not been performed, and appreciates the extent of the risk he thereby runs, or should have known and appreciated the same, he ordinarily assumes the risk, and this absolves the master from liability for his resulting injury."

That the servant is himself duly careful, that he has justifiably forgotten the defect or danger, that he is threatened with discharge if he does not accept the hazard prepared for him, have alike been held not to relieve him from assuming the risk of his master's admitted negligence. If he calls the master's attention to the defect or danger, and *secures a promise to repair or obviate it at a definite time,* this promise may, if he continues at work in reliance thereon, relieve him from assuming the risk, provided the danger is not too great, until it becomes apparent that the master does not intend to fulfill the promise, when the risk is again assumed.

In all the cases where the doctrine of assumed risk is applied, it is frankly and explicitly placed on the ground that the wage worker is the equal in all respects of the capitalist, that he occupies an equally advantageous position and enjoys the same independence of action, that he is at liberty to contract for such employment as he pleases, and to abandon it at will. Hence is exacted the price of this flattering liberty, that by accepting any given employment he assumes all dangers his master has culpably placed in his pathway, of which he knows or should know; and if the danger arises after employment, his continuance therein is visited by the same consequence. That all this is in full accord with the legal fiction of equality, and is likewise at profoundest variance with the facts, needs no argument to show. The judges who thus lightly remit the wage earner to a forfeiture of his employment, with the alternative of inability to recover for injuries incurred therein, have, as members of a different economic class, never known the worry of a "lost job," the bitter anxiety of being "out of work," or the humiliation of looking for employment. Judicial obliviousness to the shackles of economic necessity binding the laborer to his task, here works, probably, the cruelest injustice ever perpetrated by the courts upon the helpless in the name of liberty.

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Another defense, of peculiar inequality, made in this class of actions is known as the "fellow servant doctrine."

It is a principle so old that its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, that the master is responsible for an injury caused by the negligence of the servant while acting within the scope of his employment. This principle, known as the doctrine of *respondeat superior,* had an unquestioned place and uniform application both in English and American law till 1837, when the case of *Priestly v. Fowler* (3 Mees. & W. 1) was decided in England. In that case a servant sued his master for a broken thigh caused by the overloading and breaking of the master's van. The court in refusing him relief, said: "If the master be held liable to the servant in this action, the principle of that liability will be found to carry us to an alarming extent. * * * If the owner of the carriage is responsible for the sufficiency of his carriage to his servant, he is responsible for the negligence of his coachmaker, or his harness-maker, or his coachman. * * * The master, for example, would be liable to the servant for the negligence of the chamber-maid, for putting him into a damp bed; for that of the upholsterer for sending in a crazy bedstead, whereby he was made to fall down while asleep and injure himself; for the negligence of the cook in not properly cleaning the copper vessels used in the kitchen; of the butcher in supplying the family with meat of a quality injurious to health; of the builder for a defect in the foundation of the house, whereby it fell and injured both the master and the servant by the ruins. The inconvenience, not to say the absurdity, of these consequences, afford a sufficient argument against the application of this principle (the doctrine of *respondeat superior*) to the present case." Thus an immemorial principle, so far as it would have protected the wage-earner, was disposed of by ridicule rather than argument, and that ridicule not only of a poor quality, but showing a very stupid failure to distinguish between a fellow servant and one from whom the master purchased goods.

Four years later, the Court of Errors of South Carolina* reached the same conclusion, basing it upon a wholly fanciful and fictitious "joint undertaking" by all the servants to work for their master.

A year later the Supreme Court of Massachusetts† announced the fellow servant rule, placing it squarely on the basis of assumed risk, and in 1850, the English courts‡ did the same, saying, "The principle is, that a servant when he engages to serve a master undertakes, as between himself and his master, to run all the ordinary risks of the service, and this includes the risk of negligence upon the part of a fellow servant when he is acting in the discharge of his duty as a servant of him who is the common master of both." The Massachusetts case has become the leading one on the subject in the United States, and the fellow servant doctrine may fairly be taken to be, in the view of the courts, but

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a phase or special application of the doctrine of assumed risk, already discussed.

The rule itself is thus formulated by Mr. McKinney in his work on *Fellow Servants, p.* 18: Where a master uses due diligence in the selection of competent and trusty servants, and furnishes them with suitable means to perform the service in which he employs them, he is not answerable to one of them for an injury received by him in consequence of the carelessness of another, while both are engaged in the same service."

The extreme harshness and hardship of this rule when practically applied, has led some courts, notably that of Ohio, to distinguish between fellow servants and "vice-principals," and other courts to require that, if the rule is to operate, the servants shall be personally associated. It is now very generally modified by statute far enough to exclude railroad employees from its scope.

In conclusion, therefore, we may say that there are classes in America, and that the judicial pharisaism which refuses to recognize the fact has wrought cruel deception and bitter injustice. Flattered by meretricious assurances of equality, the workingman has exerted himself to preserve the existing order of things, while his sole asset, his ability to labor, has been made the plaything of judicial subserviency to capitalism. But does the working-man feel aggrieved by this attitude of the courts toward him? (he may not, for his patience is one of the most curious social phenomena of our time)—the remedy lies with himself. This same doctrine of equality which has been thus adroitly used to his undoing, has placed in his hands the ballot, the law making power, before even which courts must bow. Not one of the judicial doctrines here criticised but may be abrogated by half a dozen lines of properly drafted legislation. No constitutional sanction hedges them about, no vested right can be worked in their defense. All that is needed is that the wage earner shall cease to vote for candidates of old parties which are but the political expression of various capitalistic and middle-class interests, and cast an intelligent ballot in his own behalf. No workingman can doubt that a socialist legislature or socialist court would sweep away this entire fabric of subtle injustice with the rapidity of an avenging besom. Does he want to be rid of it? That is the only question.

Clarence Meily.

*Murray v. South Carolina R. Coo., 1 McMullan 385; 36 Am. Dec. 268.
†Farwell v. Boston & Worcester R. Corp., 4 Metc. 49.
‡Hutchinson v. Nork, New Castle & Berwick R. Co., 5 Exch. 343; 19 L. J. Exch. 296.

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The National Organizing Work.

THE contribution of one thousand dollars by Comrade J. A. Wayland of the *Appeal to Reason* to the National Organizing Fund comes in good season. It comes at a time when most needed and when it can be put to the best uses for the Socialist Party, which is the concrete expression of the Socialist movement in America.

While it is no exaggeration to say that the organizing work carried on by the National Socialist Party during the past eight months has exceeded that performed in any similar length of time before, yet even this was not all that was needed or desired to be done. It is simple enough to inaugurate a work of this kind; the great difficulty comes in contiuing it after it has begun. It was quite impossible to satisfy all sections requiring or asking for organizers at once and the same time. The number of organizers employed was not sufficient to go around, the territory to be covered too large, and the resources of the national office too limited. For these reasons many comrades have been disappointed, and in some cases impatience has been manifested at being "neglected" when the national office was doing the best it could. The Quorum and National Committee are more than anxious to promote the organizing work, but they could not do it under the circumstances, however much they desired to.

But the *Appeal to Reason* donation, while not altogether solving the problem, makes the way easier. Upon its receipt the National Secretary submitted to the Quorum propositions which he has long had in mind, for extending the organizing capacity into territory heretofore untouched. These propositions have been approved by the Quorum, and their successful fulfilment will depend upon the comrades in the sections receiving the benefit, as well as upon the party at large.

In brief, the propositions may be outlined as follows:

That Comrade F. E. Seeds of Kentucky, if available, be appointed national organizer for the states of Maryland, West Virginia and North Carolina. Comrade Seeds has had much experience as a party agitator and organizer and is highly recommended to the National Office.

That J. W. Bennett of Iowa, be appointed national organizer for the states of North and South Dakota. Comrade Bennett was recommended by National Committeeman Work some time ago, but no opportunity was presented to use his services.

That P. J. Hyland of Nebraska, if available, be appointed national organizer for Wyoming, and should circumstances permit, for Utah. Comrade Hyland is a fine out-door speaker, and all around hard worker.

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That changes be made in routes arranged for organizers already in the field as follows: Bigelow to go from Kansas to Arkansas, and then take Goebel's place in the Indian and Oklahoma Territories, instead of going on through Alabama and Georgia to Florida. Goebel will be confined to Texas and Louisiana until December. Ray will take Bigelow's place in Georgia and Florida, touching also South Carolina on the way. Alabama has already received some valuable attention from the national office, but will be cared for later on. McKee will remain in Arizona until November, and then probably enter Nevada. Wilkins will work in Washington, Montana, Idaho and Oregon. In the East John W. Brown and John Spargo will work in Rhode Island between now and November, assisting in the state campaign. New Hampshire and Vermont will receive attention about December. Delaware will be cared for as opportunity presents. In states not named either financial assistance has been already rendered by the National Committee, or arrangements have been made by the states themselves to support organizers. The Quorum has also voted to place an Italian Organizer in the field in the person of Silvio Origo, and he will make an interstate tour.

In the meantime Comrade Ben Hanford will be continuing his successful lecture tour, which will carry him to the Pacific Coast and back through the Northwestern States. Other lecture tours will also be arranged.

A study of these plans will show that within the next six months every state and territory will have received visits from national organizers or will be supporting organizers of their own. Comrades must bear in mind that every place cannot be visited AT ONCE. The national office cannot assume financial responsibility for any more organizers than it can afford to support. It is most important that the party be kept out of debt. But every place will finally be visited, if the comrades will but realize the immensity of the task we have undertaken and be patient with us.

In this connection it is in order to point out that while the national organizing fund has reached $1,000 in round figures (apart from the *Appeal* donation) yet this sum has not nearly covered the amount expended by the national office for organizing during the seven months past. IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR DUES RECEIVED, the work could not have gone on as it has. The organizing fund has only assisted in starting the work, and without the revenue for dues it could not have been continued.

Besides, the running expenses of the office are steadily on the increase. Supplies are being furnished to affiliated organizations merely at cost, organizers have to be kept supplied, the leaflets "Why Socialists Pay Dues" and "How to Organize" are sent out free, and this means that printing bills must be constantly

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met. An additional number of organizers will naturally involve additional expense of all kinds.

The office force is working night and day in order to keep up, but improvements in the method of conducting business are constantly needed. The National Secretary is arranging to fit out the office in thorough manner, so that the business can finally be run systematically and economically. This would have been done before, but some of the old debts are still unpaid, although the next three months will certainly see them wiped out for good.

All this should impress party members with the necessity of, first, paying dues promptly, and, second, subscribing what they can to the National organizing fund. Don't think that Comrade Wayland's donation has equipped us completely for the work of organization. IT HAS ONLY GIVEN US A SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY to become equipped, through organization, for the great battle of next year and the greater ones to follow. Coin cards for donations to the organizing fund will be furnished upon application by the National Secretary.

The objective point to be aimed at at present is to get every state into such a condition that it can support either one organizer, or more, for itself. To accomplish this the National Committee should be left free to carry out its plans through its representatives, and locals and states should render all the assistance possible and practice self dependence and self reliance at the same time. Do not expect too much from the National Office. Especially does this advice apply to the tendency to look to the National Committee for financial assistance for one purpose or another. All the money within reach is needed for conducting the organizing and lecture work.

Finally, let every party member keep in good standing by paying dues promptly and regularly and determine to gain at least one new member every month. By doing this the most effective and surest method will be used to solidify and knit together the revolutionary forces rapidly developing in America into compact organization prepared to enter the national campaign of 1904 to wage a conflict against capitalism which will result in making the Socialist Party the second political party in importance in this country and the leader of the international Socialist movement for working-class emancipation throughout the world.

William Mailly.
National Secretary,
Socialist Party.

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The Present Aspect of Political Socialism in England.

MORALLY and intellectually Socialism is on the march; politically it hobbles along, lamely if gamely. I for one cannot conceal from myself a sense of anxiety and foreboding. This sense of disquietude has reference only to the comparatively restricted area of politics. It seems to me that it is time for Socialism to examine the situation. In a sentence, my fear is that unless in the near future we can bring about Socialist consolidation, we may find political socialism effectively sidetracked for a decade or more. The purpose of this article is to attract attention to certain political tendencies dangerous to our movement and to make one or two practical proposals for *Clarion* readers to consider and amend.

These tendencies affect Socialist organizations externally and internally. The first category expresses itself in the present fiscal agitation which is bringing in its train Liberal concentration. The second covers the present organization of the various Socialist bodies, their relation to each other and their joint relation to the Labor Representation Committee. It is obvious that what affects us externally must have vital relation to the inward arrangements of the Socialist groups.

It is now evident that Liberalism has nothing to say to Mr. Chamberlain's new protectionism beyond the blank negative. We all agree that the Chamberlain scheme is heretical and futile. Liberalism sees its chance and already a silent message speeds its course through the constituencies that, at all hazards and at whatever cost, the principles of Free Trade must be asserted. In plain English this means vote for Liberalism. But a blank negative is poor fare for empty bellies. The Liberalists are vehemently asserting that never has Great Britain been so prosperous and that if we revert to the discussion of food (or of imported manufactured goods) we make life unendurable for 30 per cent of the population now living on the verge of poverty. A country is strangely prosperous with 30 per cent of its population poverty stricken. It is precisely this large proportion of under-paid, under-fed, ill-educated fellowmen and women which most deeply concern Socialist propaganda. When, therefore, the Socialist asks the Liberal what are his constructive proposals in regard to this the "least of our brethren" the Liberal replies "Wait, we must first defeat Chamberlain." For two generations this has been the Liberal answer to this question. A question which now, thank heaven, is stern and insistent. "Wait, we must beat Salisbury." "Wait, we must turn out the ineffable Balfour." "Wait, we must unseat arrogant Toryism." It is a wearisome monochord, wait, wait, wait. We search in vain through the speeches

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of Rosebery, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Spencer, Grey and John Morley for the slightest indication of any sense of the real meaning of the poverty question. From the Socialist point of view, Liberalism is as barren as the Sahara. When, therefore, because Chamberlain made a foolish proposal, I am asked to vote Liberal and wait for a more convenient season for social reform, I respectfully decline. I shall vote Socialist or not at all.

It is at this point my troubles begin. Has Socialism anything to say to these immediate political problems, and does it possess the requisite political machinery to impress itself upon the electorate? On the first point I affirm that it is Socialism and only Socialism that has any constructive alternative to the shadowy Chamberlain project; on the second point I affirm that it is now practicable to construct the necessary political machinery *if Socialists will but attend to their own affairs.*

Alas, there is the rub. Can we really contend that Socialism asserts its distinctive message in the tumult and clamor of present politics? Is there not an immediate, urgent danger that the movement towards concentration on a Free Trade basis may submerge and nullify the Socialist propaganda of the past ten years? Does it look well for Socialist unity to see prominent Socialist platform men voicing indiscriminate Free Trade economics? It is necessary to remember that negative criticism spells Liberal revival; constructive alternatives spell Socialist consolidation. The Liberals must ultimately fail and deservedly so unless they are prepared with legislation that controls and humanizes our so-called industrial system; if the Socialists follow in the wake of the Liberal flock of downy negations they will inevitably share in the discredit.

In contrast with Liberalism's barren creed now let us see what Socialism has to say to the dominant political question of the hour. We are told that effectively to link up the colonies to the mother country we must tax food, food in general, bread in particular. Observe that the end in view is closer colonial connection; a means to that end is taxation of foodstuffs. This strikes at the very roots of political Socialism. We have something very definite to say on both points. I will take the second point first. The Socialist reply to Chamberlain is surely as constructive and explicit as the Liberal reply is negative and irrelevant. "Tax bread? No, thank you," says Socialism; "but we will make it." Here follows the obvious argument in regard to municipal bakeries, butcheries, and what not. Does the Liberal agree to it? Not in the least. He is as much committed to capitalistic production as the Tory, perhaps more so. Let the Socialist never weary in presenting his own constructive alternative to the Chamberlain proposal to tax bread and I do not fear the result. To the large issues involved in fiscal imperialism not much need be said. Again,

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because of fundamental differences in principle, Socialism and Liberalism cannot camp together. To begin with, the Liberals are hopelessly divided. Rosebery and Asquith are Imperialists; they are committed to an arrogant military imperialism; they are in part responsible for the present fiscal proposals. They represent one school of imperialism. Campbell-Bannerman, Harcourt and John Morley are strenuously opposed to this type of Liberalism; they are the Old Guard Manchester, *laisser aller*. The Socialist has neither part nor lot with either faction. Again it is the Socialist who offers a constructive alternative to Chamberlain's fiscal levitation. We are glad enough to bring the colonies nearer to us provided no sound economic laws are contravened. We are glad to bring all countries nearer to us. If events so shape themselves that the centripetal movement first affects the colonies, why then we will take the occasion by the hand. But how? Obviously by seeking to control sea-transit. It is the shipping ring and the adverse freight rate that keep our colonies such a hopeless distance from us. To imperialize (I dislike the word, but there is no other) those shipping lines that connect us with our colonies; to reorganize freight rates on a reasonable basis; to preclude all preferential rates; to control the railway system, as we would control the mercantile marine; to resuscitate our canals—all this is in the direct line of Socialist economics and can only consistently be advocated by Socialists.

Nor must we forget that any constructive system, partial or complete, appreciates rent far beyond the extent of impost. You cannot dodge rent. Have the Liberalists anything to say on the land question? You can cut the silence with a knife.

These then are the very political elements in which Socialists should positively revel. To make bread rather than to tax it; to control transit, both land and sea; to drive home the thousand morals of the land question; all this is fruitful Socialist politics. Are we doing it? A prominent American Socialist asked me the other day if the British Socialists had met to consider these urgent questions. What answer had I not to make ashamed? The truth is we are meekly following the lead of the *Daily News*.

To understand the secret of Socialist political impotence we must look inward as well as outward. Inward into what?

Certainly not into the Socialist Party, because there isn't one.

There are a number of Socialist groups, the I. L. P., S. D. F., Fabian and some isolated local organizations. They are all desperately busy upon their own concerns; the result is that the larger and more prominent interests of Socialism are regarded with Olympian indifference. I have never believed that Socialist concentration, to say nothing of unity, would come from the inside of the Socialist movement. There are too many temperamental clashings to nurse any such hope. Outside pressure, the menace of political extinction, must soon compel definite steps

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towards consolidation. If the present Socialist leaders do not realize this, then they must be sent about their business. Our circumstances are becoming too exigent to consider the present susceptibilities.

The first thing to do is to define our attitude towards the Labor Representation Committee. Owing to the chairman's fatuous ruling at the York Conference the I. L. P. has solemnly declared that the only possible basis of Socialist unity is in affiliation with the L. R. C., an avowedly non-Socialist organization. Now this simply would not do; it is too ridiculous. Four of the five L. R. C. members of parliament are hard-shell Liberals. But to be distinctively Socialist in no sense precludes a cordial working arrangement with the trade unions. One of the greatest advantages of the Consolidated Socialist party is that it can be opportunist without sacrifice of principle or misconception. As things are now the I. L. P. is affiliated with the L. R. C., whilst the S. D. F. is not. This creates misconception and tends to irritation. I do not think that as yet there has been any sacrifice of principle on the part of the I. L. P., but it has gone perilously near the margin. Mr. Keir Hardie has now admitted (*Labor Leader,* August 8) that in the affiliation, the members of the I. L. P. deliberately ran the risk of merging their Socialism in vague and indefinable laborism. Personally I feel strongly that no such risk should have been run. Nor do I think it was in the least necessary.

The Taff Vale judgment meant the entrance of trade unionism into active politics. It tore aside all conventional coverings and laid bare that remorseless class struggle, the existence of which Mr. Bruce Glasier complacently denies. The trade unions saw that in this struggle they must fight politically as well as industrially. And in the fight it was the duty and the pleasure of all Socialists to co-operate. But whilst the Socialist seeks to end this class struggle by abolishing private capitalism, the trade unionist as yet accepts the present economic system, seeking ever to better his condition. At the moment he wants to reconstruct trade unionism at the breaches made by judges. I believe that the Liberals will amend the trade union law if they be returned to power. Supposing this to be the case, it is clear to my mind that the trade unions must finally split. Some will support Liberalism out of gratitude; others will realize the economic situation and gradually approach the Socialists. If the trade union movement towards Socialism is to make itself felt, there must be a strong Socialist party to welcome such an army of recruits. By all means let us help the trade unions—we must do so or we belie our principles; but we must establish a truer equipoise in the labor army by consolidating and unifying our Socialist forces.

How is this to be done? Not easily, I grant. Yet there is nothing, absolutely nothing, to divide us. The I. L. P. occupies

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a fairly strong strategic position because it has one leg in the trade union camp and the other in the Socialist camp. But there are dangers. Let it beware lest it be torn asunder. Whatever tends to strengthen Socialism must in the nature of things materially strengthen our influences amongst the trade unions. The I. L. P. Leaders would be immeasurably stronger equipped if they voiced the sentiments of a united Socialist party. I frankly confess that why they stubbornly refuse passes my comprehension. The S. D. F. by its rigid adherence to Socialist doctrine pure and undefiled has bred great qualities in its members—qualities that have their inevitable defects. When I hear a body of S. D. F.-ers spontaneously break into the song, "We'll keep the old flag flying yet," I feel a crick in my throat, but my emotions are mixed. There is now ample evidence that the S. D. F. is ready to fall into the line of one Socialist party. Their knowledge of European Socialism urges them towards organic unity. None the less Socialist unity will not come in a day.

I venture to make two proposals, both of which would involve a step in advance. Let the conferences of Socialists be only to consider our attitude towards the Chamberlain scheme. The series of resolutions embracing communal production of food commodities, transit, and the land question would, I believe, give a unified purpose to political Socialism. The executives of the I. L. P., the Fabian Society, might take the business in hand.

My second proposal is of a more delicate character. It relates to the I. L. P. and S. D. F. only. Next year both parties hold their annual conference in different parts of the country; but no arrangements have yet been made for 1905. I suggest that in 1904 both conferences decide to meet in the same town and at the same time in 1905. Let each organization discuss its own affairs at its morning session; let there be joint sessions each afternoon to discuss national politics and, if possible, accept definite resolutions. If this be done—it is quite feasible and commits us to nothing—the next step toward party unity will not be long delayed.

For national reasons; for sectional purposes; to defeat the menace of political extinction; to secure discipline; to co-ordinate our all-too-scanty intellectual resources; to face the actual facts and mould politial situations; to do these things needs Socialist consolidation. The time is ripe for Socialists of all complexions frankly to discuss the actual bearing of recent events upon our political efficiency. To conclude, consolidated Socialism spells enhanced political strength; desiccated Socialism means the impotent preaching of those principles crudely expressed.

—*S. G. Hobson in London Clarion.*

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The Ferri Criminal.

A MAN in a public library, nowadays, must awaken to the fact that criminals are being studied as they never were before. And if this observing person happens to be a Socialist, he will be pleased to see that Ferri's book, "Criminal Sociology," is considered a standard work, to be given the same honors and shelf as Lombroso, Joly and others.

With scientists who are not conscious of a class struggle, a discussion on criminology can have but little attraction for the Socialist—for it would lack that fundamental unity of opinion which is necessary to right conclusions. But with Comrade Ferri—a class conscious Socialist—there should be no such stumbling block, and we can at least be sure of a starting point of agreement—however much we may disagree with some of his deductions.

In the English translation of his work, edited by Douglas Morrison, Ferri states: "Our task is to show that the basis of every theory concerning the self-defense of the community against evildoers must be the observation of the individual and of society in their criminal activity. In one word, our task is to construct a criminal sociology." (Preface xvi.) And again: "The science of criminal statistics is to criminal sociology what histology is to biology, for it exhibits, in the conditions of the individual elements of the collectve organism, the factors of a crime as a social phenomenon. And that not only for scientific inductions, but also for practical and legislative purposes; for, as Lord Brougham said at the London Statistical Congress in 1860, 'Criminal statistics are for the legislator what the chart and compass are for the navigator.'"

From all this it must be plain that Ferri considers the study of criminology, for all practical purposes, to be the study of an exact science. But is it? Is the fountainhead of all the interesting conclusions arrived at by criminologists a well of truth? I refer to their tables of statistics in particular, and their subjects of study in general.

If criminology is a branch of natural history, then nature must have so marked, assorted and labeled certain men that wise professors can place them in their proper jars after a careful analyzation. To bear this theory out, Ferri would have us study the skull, the brain, the vital organs, the mental constitution, and the personal characteristics of the criminal. Even the climate, the nature of the soil, the relative length of day and night, the seasons, the average temperature, meteoric conditions and agricultural

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pursuits, all, we are told, are physical factors which assist in the determination of the criminal.

If it was from these natural sources alone that Ferri had constructed his criminal, our criticism would never have been born; but from what collection of "criminals" does he observe and deduce the *natural* history of crime? From a collection carefully gotten together by the capitalist class.

In prisons, controlled by the capitalists, Ferri makes scientific observations upon a class of men, women and children who have been put there for breaking capitalist law. And upon what human action has not capitalist law placed its ban?—always excepting the sacred right of accumulating private property. Has it not been said, but a few years ago, that men should burn if they were Protestants, die if they were Catholics, be whipped naked if they were Quakers? And today, does it not convict the Jew and the Seventh Day Adventist who fail to bow down to a Christian Sabbath? Under what law are more men made criminals than under any other? Under that of vagrancy. This law practically allows the arrest and conviction of any one who is without money and without work. Under this law a man, "without visible means of support," can be convicted of a crime for sleeping in a vacant lot (without having obtained permission of the owner), or for refusing to work when work is offered (the possible smallness of the wage offered not being taken into consideration by the law). These "crimes," and other offenses of like import, bring men to jail—there to be measured, analyzed, classified and labeled by the professor of criminology. We appeal to common sense!—is this the way to study natural history? If a goat, a pig, a chicken and a cow were all locked in a barn together, would the natural history student compare their eyes, weigh their brains, study their skins and come to a conclusion that their natures had brought them thus to a common center, constituting a class by themselves? What sort of a composite photograph would be evolved from the blending of this group of animal life? Anything natural?

What is a criminal? According to Ferri he must be a man convicted of a crime. What is a crime? Something that capitalist legislators say is wrong. Think of that!—think of the mob of pot-house politicians that yearly pile up laws in the various state capitals, being nature's classifiers of human life! See them!—the big thieves making laws to protect society against the little thieves! And upon the findings of these lawmakers Ferri bases his scientific conclusions. Here in California we have a law making it criminal to print an article in the newspaper without having the writer's name signed to it—this applies to editors and and all—or to print a caricature. To be sure, this law is a dead letter, otherwise Ferri's table of measurements of criminals' heads would have expanded to a degree.

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But let no one think that we would prove all good men in jail and the bad ones out. Undoubtedly there are brutes who find their way to jail, but does the common jail-herd signify a natural selection of human life?—a natural partition of those beings who are a menace to society? No. It is a capitalist selection of subjects that Ferri is studying. Let him look to his figures, his measurements, and his tables, and he will find that a threat against the private ownership of the necessities of life to be the greatest crime on the calendar, and the basic reason for the existence of a "criminal class."

Not only are the laws made by the property holders prejudiced against the propertyless, but even the juries are drawn from this same class. In this state no one may sit upon a jury who is not upon the assessment roll. And through this sieve of justice Ferri expects to see the wheat separated from the chaff—the evildoers from the righteous.

The law of averages is not a thing to play with. Rightly used, its deductions are unquestionable, as, for instance, the mortuary tables of a life insurance company, which shows the average length of life to a fair certainty. But what must we think of a scientific conclusion drawn from such tables of statistics as these prison records? And harder yet of comprehension, how can a Socialist of international reputation accept evidence from the capitalist class upon a matter of such vital importance? Why, the very existence of the capitalists depend upon their providing that these records are a scientific compilation of examinations of the evildoers of society. Are they? Are vagrants, who constitute one of the largest fractions of the imprisoned, a class that threatens the existence of society? These vagrants are on strike—without the organization of a trade union, to be sure, but yet on strike against too much work for too little pay. Will Ferri assert that these men are a menace to society, under present conditions, because they do not work for capitalists? Would he have us believe that if more men went to work for capitalism the world would be better off? Well do the capitalists know that they must prove every man a "criminal" who does not work, night and day, to increase the private ownership of wealth—and hence their laws, their prisons, and their records—all strictly "scientific."

The men who should study these records need not stop to measure heads—it will be enough if they but count noses. For if a poor man becomes a criminal through his poverty—as the vagrancy laws assert—crime is certainly on the increase, and Professor Ferri has come to at least one correct conclusion.

That a study of the imprisoned may result in the unearthing of much valuable data as to lunacy, mental irresponsibility, and a great variety of mono-manias, there can be no question, but, aside from this, that criminologists can arrive at scientific conclusions as to who constitute the natural criminal (those who

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are a menace to society) we deny. "But," say our criminologists, "we've measured the skulls of all the thieves and murderers and found them to be abnormal." Are you sure you have? Why the capitalists only catch the little thieves and murderers—who are not in the trust—and the lack of wit of this small fry proves absolutely nothing except that they were weak-minded enough to be caught. Have you the measurements of Nero's skull, Napoleon's skull, or that of General Kitchener? None of these men, to be sure, ever bathed their own hands in their victims' blood, but neither does a poisoner. Of course this line of argument will only hold good with a socialist-criminologist (Heaven save the mark), for the orthodox professors probably believe in the divine right of these normal murderers. And then, again, why should we heap all the responsibility onto the generals in the field? There is the Sultan of Turkey and Joseph Chamberlain, both of whom were quite ready to wipe out men, women and children with any weapon that came to their hands. For a strictly scientific conclusion it would seem as if Ferri must yet examine a number of heads.

Now we can see our opponents in this argument ready to take a parting and deadly shot at us: "How do you account," they ask, "for the number of recidivists, the habitual criminals? Is it not proof that this is naturally a criminal class?" To be sure, this question looks like a poser, but after all these "criminals" are affected by the laws of competition. They, too, are living as they can, not as they would. A man is not necessarily insane who returns, again and again, to a place where he is treated like a dog. Day laborers are continually doing this without criminologists labeling them as crazy. These unfortunate pick-and-shovel men know only the tricks of their trade and, every time they hunt a job, find only one avenue open to them. Why even the professors of criminology themselves, if the world should wake up and see the joke of their calculations, would probably continue to recidivate and insist that their mode of getting a living was legitimate. You can't teach an old dog new tricks, he will, quite naturally and normally, recidivate.

Who has not heard of the many heart-rending attempts of "criminals" to make an "honest" living after they have once served time? Hounded by the police, who know that these men can always be arrested, innocent or guilty, when they need a victim to fit the crime, boycotted by the "respectable" citizen and merchants of the community, is it surprising that they return, again and again, to the one trade that they know, to fill their stomachs? This relapse does not necessarily show a diseased individual, but it does show a diseased community of capitalist-ridden fools, who are willing to starve amidst plenty and hunt for "criminals" among chicken thieves and vagrants.

JOHN MURRAY, JR.

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EDITORIAL

Crisis in Trade Unions.

The last few months has seen an attack upon union labor along the whole International fighting line. How the Taff Vale decision of England establishing the principle that all unions are liable for any damages incurred to their masters through a strike has been accepted and extended throughout that country is well told by Comrade Max S. Hayes elsewhere in this number. The Employers' Alliance in America, notwithstanding the insane ravings of their spokesman, D. M. Parry, is evidently preparing for a desperate fight. The general strike in Holland precipitated by the capitalists with International assistance, has given the labor movement something of a set back there, while a general reaction seems to have extended through the Australian colonies following the crushing of the railroad unions. All this shows how widespread the battle has become.

Very appropriately, however, the center of the firing line seems to be in the United States, where, as usual, the class struggle is waging fiercer than anywhere else. The last two months have seen a series of concerted moves which would seem to indicate that American capitalists were making a last desperate stand against the attempt of labor to improve its condition, and were determined to crush all attempts at co-operative resistance. Roosevelt, who but a short time ago was posing as the good angel of the coal miners, now announces in the Miller case the principle of the "open shop," a principle absolutely incompatible with successful trades unionism. If trade unionist and scab must work side by side sharing all the benefits, while the unionist alone bears the burdens of the struggle for better conditions, the constant incentive to slip from the burden-bearing into the purely benefit-receiving class will disrupt any union. This will be specially true when we add to the other burdens which the unionist must bear the inevitable discrimination of the employer. All union leaders have recognized these facts, and the hardest battles ever waged by trade unions in this country have been in defense of the principle of the closed shop. The employers have recognized this as a strategic point, and are bending their energies to carry their point. The marble workers have just been locked out by their employers who have announced their determination to open

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up only when the union men shall consent to associate and work with their most deadly enemies.

More serious than any of these is the movement in this country to take advantage of the Taff Vale decision. The most important application of this which also involves the extension of the principle as explained by the English courts is seen in the suit by D. Loewe & Co., of Danbury, Connecticut, against the American Federation of Labor and the United Hatters of North America. This suit is for $350,000 damage and involves the entire question of the right of boycott or even of the use of the union label as a method of discriminating against scab goods.

Another suit involving something of the same principle is that started by John M. Stiles, of Chicago, against practically all the building trade unions, and demanding damages for over $50,000, because of injuries claimed to have been inflicted upon the complainant through strikes, and the Chicago Candy-makers' Union has also been sued by its employers for $20,000 on similar ground.

There are numerous other suits, but these are sufficient to show how widespread the movement has become. A publication which comes to us from Vienna as the "central organ of the Austrian employers," appeals to the employers of Austria to stand together with the employers of the whole world in a struggle against the trade union and Socialist movement. It is interesting to note that this holds up as a model the English trade unions, of which it says: "They do not fight against the social order, nor against capital. On the contrary they have always completely surrendered their whole skill, intellectual ability and well-fed bodily strength to the capitalists. They said to themselves, if we wish to eat more beef steak and drink more porter and whiskey, or if we wish to have more days for music or sport, then we must devote our whole intellectual and physical energy to the factories and workshops in which we labor in order to turn out the very best possible products." But it is complained that the English trade unions are no longer maintaining this disposition, but are following the terrible example of their continental brothers and are going into politics. The situation in every country in the world is reviewed, and they cite with admiration the work of the Employers' Association in crushing the strike of the Chicago hotel and restaurant employes, the building trades in New York, and the spinners in Lowell, and praise the work of the employers in Denver in fighting trade unions, from which it would seem that there was a conscious organized co-operation between the employers of the world to fight the trade union movement, and especially when it becomes Socialistic. As the quotation shows, they have little fear of the "pure and simple."

The question of the immediate outcome is one which it is impossible to answer at the present time. Of the ultimate outcome there can be no doubt. The working class is not going to be crushed. Whether unionism in its present form, however, can withstand the struggle is another question. It is certain that if the leaders persist in their ignorant and reactionary opposition to all intelligent use of political power, the union will suffer at

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least a temporary defeat. There seems to be a tendency on the part of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to temporize with the matter even to the extent of neglecting the direct instructions of the rank and file. The political plums that have been gathered by Sargent, Sovereign, Powderly, Madden, Clark and others have evidently caused a hunger and thirst for more political pap. Hence it is that we see the executive committee hesitating whether it shall dare to take a stand against Roosevelt on the "open shop," notwithstanding the fact that with one or two exceptions every trade union in the country is, and always must be, opposed to the idea of union and scab working together. In case these leaders refuse to respond to the new demands that are being made upon them it is pretty safe to say that the movement towards industrialism and independent political action will so gain in strength that the present political leaders will find themselves out of a job.

Never, perhaps, in the face of a great crisis have representatives of the workers shown themselves so contemptible as has the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the present time. According to the press reports it was John Mitchell who led the opposition to any criticism of Roosevelt. It would seem that the association with the "great men" of capitalism had had rather a bad effect on Mitchell's head, and that he was now showing himself, if not directly treacherous, at least hopelessly incapable of grasping the situation. If the rank and file of the trade unions of America do not administer a rebuke to such tactics it will indicate that their appetite for oppression has not yet been exhausted.

Just as we go to press comes the news of the formation of the Central Employers' Association in Chicago, including capitalists throughout the entire country. The following from the Chicago Journal tells the inspiration which led to the formation of this institution:

"The spectre of socialism has at last begun to frighten American employers.

"Promoters of the new Central Employers' Association, which is being formed by organizations from the Atlantic to the Pacific, admitted this today, at a conference in Frederick W. Job's office.

" 'If it were not for the growth of socialism,' said A. C. Davis, assistant secretary of the National Manufacturers' Association, 'this association might not have been thought of. The policy of not opposing the movement has failed. We intend to fight socialism as well as the illegal methods and objects of union labor.'

" 'Socialism is the coming question,' declared A. C. Marshall, of the Dayton (Ohio) Employers' Association. 'There is an undercurrent of socialism in all labor unions and this is the great danger of the present time. Far greater than mere unionism. The Catholic Church has been the first to recognize this. Something must be done to check the tide.'..

"Secretary Job, of the Chicago Employers' Association, agreed with the speakers, and J. C. Craig, president of the Citizens' Alliance, of Denver, Colo., told of the conditions in his home state:

" 'Labor organizations in Colorado,' he said, 'are openly socialistic. The Western Federation of Miners, or, as I should call it, "The Western

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Feredation of Murderers,'' is full of socialist agitators. So is the Western Labor Union, and the citizens are banding together to resist their aggressions. Our association has 14,000 members in Denver and many other similar organizations have been formed. We intend to promote law and order and uphold the constitution of the United States.'

''Another speaker pointed out the fact that the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor had recently adopted socialistic resolutions and declared for 'industrial democracy.'

''The fight of the new employers' organization against the unreasonable exactions of unions and the influx of the doctrines of Karl Marx and other extremists will be fiercely waged.

''A publication is to be established for discussion of the problems involved, in which the present state of society and the laws will be vigogously upheld.

''A bureau of education and organization will also be formed.''

This marks but one more step in the process of organization by the capitalists and offers one more proof that socialism is the one thing they most fear. In the Chicago Chronicle report of the same meeting another phase of the subject is brought out which should be called to the attention of the trade unionists throughout the country. The Mr. Craig referred to above is quoted as saying:

''The American Labor Union and the Western Miners must go. Both organizations have reached the point where they are dangerous to the community at large. They are lawless aggregations, teeming with socialists and anarchists. They do no good to labor and have an astounding record of crime and murder. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, I regard as a comparatively conservative man, and the employers of the west would be glad to see him succeed in extending the control of the American Federation throughout the west.''

That Gompers will permit himself to be used in the manner suggested is perhaps too severe an indictment to bring against even one who has shown as great subserviency to capitalism as he has. The fact, however, of his recommendation by such a man should serve to awaken the members of the Federation of Labor to the necessity of supplanting him with some one who really recognizes the interests of the working class.

The Situation in Nebraska.

A communication has just been sent out by the State quorum of Nebraska discussing the situation in that State. The communication, as a whole, is too long for our columns, and we have made it a general rule not to publish communications of so purely a factional character as this seems to be, yet there are many things in it which we believe are of importance to the members at large, and that justice to the Nebraska comrades

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requires should be published. It appears that the Socialist movement in Nebraska had a most unsavory origin, being started by a body of grafters in pay of the Republican party. As soon, however, as it began to have anything of a working class membership these men were driven out. Many of them, however, are still concerned in the organization of the "Omaha Socialist Propaganda Club," concerning which there has been so much discussion in the Socialist press. It was this organization, under whose auspices Comrades Mills and Hagerty spoke. The regular Socialist local protests that it invited speakers representing all phases of the recognized Socialist movement and that, therefore, there was no reason for the existence of such a propaganda club, and that its influence in the movement is purely disruptive. It appears that several comrades have come from other States into Nebraska and engaged in propaganda work without consulting the party organization. It is complained that such work tends to disorganize the movement, and accordingly the State quorum calls for action by the national committee to prevent further action along this line.

The communication is signed by the following: Parker S. Condit, chairman; G. W. Wray, B. McCaffrey, P. J. Hyland, J. Alfred LaBille, J. P. Roe, State Secretary.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

The International Socialist Bureau at Brussels has published a call to the party organizations of all countries inviting participation in the coming International Congress which takes place at Amsterdam August 14-20, 1904. The different parties are requested to bring the matter up before their coming congresses or conventions. The subject for discussion as far as determined on are as follows:

1. The Report of Secretary.
2. The Report of Nationalities.
3. General Fundamentals of Socialist Politics.
4. General Strike.
5. Labor Unions and Politics.
6. Trusts and the Unemployed.
7. International Arbitration.
8. Emigration and Immigration.

This order of business is still provisional, the divisions of the party have the right to suggest further points, but these should all be sent in before the 1st of next December.

The various Socialist parties and the central organizations of Trades Unions are requested to send to the Secretary previous to December 31, reports of their activity since the last congress of 1900. The address of the Secretary is No. 63 Rue Heyvaert, Brussels, Belgium.

Germany

Once more the revisionists have pushed themselves into public attention, and in a most unfortunate manner, on the question of whether the Social Democratic Party should seek to have one of its members elected to the Vice-Presidency of the Reichstag. As this is treated quite fully elsewhere in this number little need be said about it here. The whole question is also discussed in an article by August Bebel, of about 10,000 words length, in the *Neue Zeit* for September 5. In this article the whole Bernsteinian position is gone over and its weakness and dangers exposed in a most thorough manner. In his original article which started the trouble Bernstein declared that the Prussian constitution was a democratically adopted document. Bebel declares that this statement would have made old Bismarck hold his sides with laughter and refers Bernstein to an article by his uncle, Aaron Bernstein, written at the time of the adoption of the constitution in which he says of that document that it "is such an unfortunate, crazy, foolish, garbled document that its equal cannot be found in the whole history of law making." In his desperate attempt to defend his position Bernstein had stated that the attendance at court of a Social Democrat would be an indication that the emperor was forced to bow before the revolutionary Socialist movement. This at once angered his bourgeois

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adversaries, and they sat upon him with only a little less vehemence than the Socialists. Bebel, with masterly logic and sarcasm, exposes the ridiculousness of the whole question in that the moment a Socialist Vice-President should attempt to do anything of importance for Socialism, or should even neglect to call for a "Hurrah" for the emperor when he entered the chamber, he would be deposed and the whole farce would be played out. He shows how in this discussion the opportunists have completely reversed many of their former positions, so that Vollmar, for example, now declares that the form of the state is of no importance, offering this as an excuse for his advocacy of the court visit and consequent crawling before the emperor. Bebel contrasts the autocratic tyrannical attitude of the German government with other governments of Europe, points out the repression of the rights of free speech, assembly and press, and then asks if it is because of these especial features that a Social Democratic should "Kotow to the emperor." Some of the Opportunists have even dared to suggest that if Singer was not acceptable to the capitalist majority that some other comrade be chosen, thus showing a willingness to let the enemy even select the representatives of the Socialists.

On the whole, the result of this latest expression of Bernsteinism has been to give the Opportunists such a rebuke as they have never before received.

The result at the Dresden congress is familiar to most of our readers. In a masterly speech of over four hours Bebel completely demolished the Opportunist position. Vollmar contented himself with a personal attack on Bebel, alleging that he wished to become the dictator of his party. A resolution was adopted by an almost unanimous vote re-affirming the revolutionary position of the party and denouncing the idea of electing a Vice-President to the Reichstag, or in any other way compromising Socialist principles. A full report of the proceedings will appear in our next issue.

The report of the party officials to the Dresden Congress has just been issued as a supplement to *Vorwaerts*, and is a most interesting and instructive document. The long list of dead to whom honor is paid in the opening pages brings to the mind at once the fact that the party has now reached an age where the first generation of veterans are being mustered out by death. The police outrages of the past year are enumerated, and in the stories of meetings violently dispersed, offices searched and comrades imprisoned we gain a glimpse of the difficulties under which the propagandist of Socialism in Germany must struggle. The total fines registered during the year for Socialist activity amount to 16,707 marks, while the total of sentences to imprisonment amount to fourteen years in the penitentiary and thirty-six years, five months and six weeks jail confinement.

Every year the participation in the minor elections increases until now candidates are nominated for most of the municipal and minor legislative bodies. Consequently the number of socialists elected to these bodies is rapidly increasing. The Social Democratic fraction in the Berlin council has appointed a committee to organize the municipal officers in the province of Brandenburg into a body for the purpose of evolving a municipal program. They have also taken some steps to secure the co-operation of all the municipal officers in Prussia, but the general council of the Prussian wing of the party deferred action owing to the fact that the whole matter of a general municipal program was to be considered at the Dresden Congress.

The report on the work done during the campaign is of especial interest, as giving some view of the causes of the tremendous progress made at the last election. The balance sheet of the party shows that 635,053.58 marks (nearly $160,000) were handled during the year, and that at the close of the campaign 28,102.84 marks remained on hand. The principal campaign document was the manifesto issued by the Reichstag fraction (a translation of which has already appeared in this department) of which 632,800 copies were circulated. A campaign handbook for the benefit of speakers and

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workers was published and 4,500 copies circulated. Large as these figures are, they are probably smaller than would be circulated in a national campaign in the United States with a much smaller membership and vote. In the circulation of periodicals also the comparison is decidedly favorable to us. *Vorwaerts*, to be sure, heads the list with a daily circulation of 78,500, but the *Neue Zeit* falls far behind the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, having only 3,850 circulation, while there are no weekly or monthly propaganda papers with anything near the circulation of some American Socialist papers. *Der Wahre Jacob*, a comic illustrated weekly, brought a profit to the party of 24,666 marks, which more than offset the loss on *Die Neue Zeit* and *Gleichheit*. The latter publication is designed especially for circulation among women and issued special editions of 7,000 each during the campaign, and has a regular circulation of 1,500 copies. *Vorwaerts* brought in a profit of 72,338.65 marks, of which 31,286.58 marks were used to meet deficits on other papers.

From the *National Zeitung*, of Berlin, we learn that the trade unions affiliated with the Social Democratic Party have increased in membership from 677,510 in 1901, to 733,206 at the present time. In 1893 they had only 223,540 members and there was little increase until 1897. Since that year, however, the growth has been steady and rapid. These Social Democratic unions include at least 14.42 per cent of all the workers engaged in the branches represented. In some of the better organized trades practically all the laborers are included.

Italy

Some time ago Enrico Ferri, as editor of the *Avanti*, published an exposure of the corruption existing in the Navy Department. In this article he showed, among other things, that the common soldiers and sailors had been left to suffer with insufficient food and no pay because the money intended for this purpose had been pocketed by the commanding officers. The article forced the resignation of the Minister of the Navy, and was followed by a suit for libel against Ferri as responsible editor for the *Avanti*. The suit has just come to trial, and the thirty-five complainants who appeared in court were informed that since the article referred only to a "system of corruption in the Navy Department" and mentioned no names, there was no official reason for believing that the thirty-five complainants represented the navy, or were a part of the system of corruption, consequently the case was dismissed.

This outcome of the case was wholly unexpected and undesired by Ferri, as he had come into court wholly prepared to prove his charges. Doubtless it was a knowledge of this fact that led to the dismissal of the case.

The split in the Socialist Party in Italy seems to be rather widening than otherwise. A weekly paper entitled *Il Socialisti* has been started by the reform wing in Rome with Bissoloti, Cassola and Monomi as editors. These men were the previous editors of *Avanti*, who were displaced when the party disavowed their reform tactics. They announce their intention, however, of not taking part in the internal fight, but confining themselves to propaganda work.

Norway

There will be five Social Democrats in the new Storthing. The total Social Democratic vote at the election of September 3 was 14,046 in those cities from which returns have already been received. In the previous Storthing election in 1900 there were only 7,013 Social Democratic

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votes. The *Vorwaerts* report states that it is probable that with the elections that are yet to be held that the present number of votes will be doubled.

Later information states that 25,000 Socialist votes were given at the last general election in Norway for the Storthing. As a comparison it may be observed that there are at present ten Socialists in the Folkthing in Denmark and four Socialist members of the Rikstog in Sweden.

Russia

In spite of the close censorship, rumbles of the tremendous class struggle which is taking place in the heart of this great empire reaches the outside world. The press reports state that over 25,000 men have been out on strike in the neighborhood of Odessa during the past few weeks, and the usual scenes of military abuse, the atrocities of the Cossacks and the wholesale imprisonment of workers have taken place. It is significant that in one case where the troops were ordered to fire upon the strikers the lieutenant stepped forward and told his men that they were laborers like those upon whom they were called upon to shoot, and advised them not to fire. It is needless to say that this officer was at once shot, and it is said that the Czar showed more than ordinary haste in signing the order for his execution. It is to be hoped that the Russian comrades may find some way of letting the outside world know the name of this martyr to the cause of Socialism, that it may be enrolled with the already long list of those who have given up their lives to the cause.

It is extremely significant that one of the directors of the police department in Odessa, in the course of his statements to the strikers, declaring that there should be no concessions made to them, advises them to read the works of Edward Bernstein, whom he asserts to be "an undoubted true friend of the laboring class."

Bernstein declares in a letter to *Vorwaerts* that only a portion of his *Voraussetzung* was allowed to pass the Russian censor, and that all reference to Socialism was cut out in this portion.

The special correspondent of *L'Action* (Paris) reports that the revolutionary activity in the neighborhood of Cracow has just reached a height never before known. The soldiers have received orders to be particularly severe in suppressing all extension of the revolutionary propaganda, and all correspondence coming from this region is subjected to a most severe censorship. Nevertheless the revolution proceeds rapidly, in spite of the bloody path which it leaves behind it. There has scarcely a day passed for some time in the industrial centers that the Cossacks have not killed from 250 to 300 workers. The movement in the vicinity of Cracow is directed by the students of the University, who go into the neighboring villages, at the peril of their lives, in order to preach revolt. The principal revolutionary centers are Cracow, Odessa, Kief, Batoun and Bakou. In the little villages the situation is particularly serious. On the 3d of last July 16,000 workers had gone on a strike, all business connected with the refining and shipping of petrolum, of which Bakou is the center, was suspended, the trains ceased to run and the electric lights, which were used for lighting the city, were unable to be operated. The entire country was at once filled with the military, but at the last report industry was still very much disturbed while the revolutionary movement is spreading to other localities.

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Finland

The Finnish Workers' Party, as the Socialist Party of Finland is called, held its convention August 17-20 in Forssa, a small industrial city. Forty branches sent delegates. The party has 59 branches and about 10,000 members.

The government district secretary and several gendarmes and policemen watched over the meeting.

The convention unanimously adopted a party platform, of which the following is a condensation: The Socialist Party of Finland, like the Socialist Parties in other countries, strives to liberate the whole people from the fetters of economic dependence and from political and mental subjection. Among the party's immediate demands are universal equal suffrage for all Finnish men and women who have reached the age of 21, in municipal and national elections; one house of parliament; complete liberty of association, assemblage, speech, and the press; compulsory education. free instruction in all educational institutions.

A municipal program, similar to that in other countries, was adopted.

A suffrage resolution was passed: "The party declares the struggle for suffrage begun and appeals to the workers and just persons of the higher classes to take part energetically in the conflict. If all other means fail a general strike will be declared to obtain universal suffrage."

The convention discussed the question of co-operation. There are from 40 to 50 co-operatives who members are nearly all workers. A resolution was passed that as the workers support the co-operatives the co-operatives should also support the Labor Party.

An agrarian program, including collective ownership of land, was adopted.

The following demands were made: An effective law protecting women, the election of women factory inspectors, old age government pensions going into effect at the age of 55, prevention of disoccupation by establishing the eight-hour day insurance against disoccupation, a minimum limit of wages, state and municipal public works for the unemployed, agricultural colonies, etc.

The next convention will be held in August, 1905.

Edward Walgas, of Helsingfors, and J. K. Kari, of Abo, were elected delegates to the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels. The party executive committee consists of nineteen members, seven of whom live in Abo. The party headquarters are in Abo. The president of the party is T. Tainio; Seth Heikkilae is vice president, and J. K. Kari is secretary and treasurer.—Berlin "Vorwaerts."

Servia

La Petite Republique announces the formation of a Socialist Party in Servia. The dispatch states that this has been impossible hitherto, but that the new king offers no opposition. Five hundred persons were present at the first meeting and arrangements were made for the drawing up of a platform and plan of organization of the party. Later Associated Press reports state that an election held for the Skupshtina (the legislative chamber) on September 22, resulted in the election of 65 "extreme radicals," 78 radicals, 15 liberals and 2 Socialists.

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Denmark

The progress of Socialism in Denmark is steady and continuous. The telegraphic dispatches announce that at the municipal election just held in Copenhagen the Socialists were victorious, in spite of a coalition of all other parties. The following, taken from an article by J. Arthur Fallows, in the *I. L. P. News* tells the story of the rejection of all compromise tactics by the Danish Socialists and their appearance as a wholly independent body:

"In Denmark there is one compact centralized Socialist party, which contains most of the members of the working classes in the large towns, who are also almost invariably members of Trades Unions. The workingmen buy and read the daily Socialist papers, especially the *Social Democrat*. They meet at the Socialist clubs on week nights, and on Sundays at suburban restaurants, where they hold open-air meetings in the summer and indoors in the winter. In the City Council of the capital, Copenhagen, there are now 19 Socialists, out of a total membership of 42. Elections cost very little, and the candidates do not have to pay a single penny thereon. The elected members meet weekly. As in England, the subjects discussed include housing, tramways, wages, early closing of shops, and so forth. In the Danish City Councils there are four official mayors, who are salaried heads of executive departments, and hold office for life. A year ago the Socialist party managed to elect members of their organization as mayor and deputy-mayor. This led to a great agitation among the bourgeoiseie, who coalesced in "The Anti-Socialist party," and won several seats from the Socialists.

"The last Socialist congress marked an epoch in the history of the Danish Socialist movement, because of its decision to put an end to the partial alliance with the Liberals which had previously been in effect. This alliance was formed at the time when both the Liberals and the Socialists, as minority and opposition parties, were arrayed against an extremely arbitrary Conservative government, which was determined to hold on to power after it had lost its majority in the Folkething. Two years ago the government was compelled to yield, and a Liberal ministry was formed, and the Socialists in the Folkething gave their support to this ministry in consideration of its promise of considerable reforms—reduction of the war budget, an extensive program of ameliorative labor legislation, extension of manhood suffrage to local elections (for in Denmark, as in most European countries, the suffrage is much more restricted in municipal and communal than in national elections), and other progressive measures.

"Instead, however, of carrying out this program, the Liberal government began at once to follow the example of the Conservative ministry that had preceded it, completely disregarding its pledges, effected a rapprochement with the Conservative majority in the upper house to carry out its reactionary plans in defiance of the opposition in the popular branch.

"In consequence of this experience the party congress unanimously voted to dissolve the alliance and to treat the Liberals on the same terms with the Conservatives, as political enemies. On this line the recent election was fought and a noteworthy advance made for Social Democracy. In the manifesto announcing this change of policy the party declared: 'We do not regret having aided the left to get into power. We foresaw that after the victory of the majority' (that is, the Liberal-Socialist coalition) 'a new conflict would arise within that majority, although we did not expect that it would rise so quickly or in such a severe form.' "

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England

The article by Comrade Hobson, published elsewhere in this issue, gives a very good view of the present Socialist situation in England. But a few words of explanation regarding some things not touched upon by him will assist in clearing up the matter. It is now evident that a Parliamentary election cannot be long postponed and the Socialists are making their nominations for this election. The S. D. F. has placed H. M. Hyndman in nomination for the district of Burnley and the most strenuous efforts are being made to elect him. There is every prospect of success and it will be a disgrace to the laboring men of England should he fail. There is perhaps no other man in the whole international Socialist movement who could do more in a legislative body than Comrade Hyndman could do in the House of Parliament. He has been recognized for years as one of the ablest students of English political affairs. He is a splendid speaker, a man of undoubted integrity and devotion to the working class.

The general situation iln England, however, cannot be said to be encouraging. The Labor Representation Conference, about which we hear so much, because it has nearly a million and a half of trade unionists supporting it with regular contributions for political purposes, is, after all, not a Socialist body. Whether it will evolve into a Socialist organization or not, remains to be seen. The Social Democratic Federation has withdrawn from the Labor Representation Conference, because of its refusal to stand upon a Socialist platform.

The members who have been elected by the L. R. C. to Parliament have, by no means, all been Socialists. Some of them have openly disavowed Socialism after election; others show much more willingness to affiliate with the Liberals than with the Socialists, notwithstanding the fact that the one thing upon which the L. R. C. rests is independent political action.

British Columbia

Associated Press dispatches announce that two, and perhaps three, members have been elected from Birtish Columbia. This gives the Socialists a balance of power in the legislative bodies, and under a Parliamentary government this means that it will be impossible to conduct business, and, consequently, a new election will have to be ordered shortly. The growth of Socialism in Canada has been remarkable. The American Labor Union is very strong in British Columbia and its members are, almost without exception, Socialists.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Political History of Slavery, by William Henry Smith; E. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth, 2 vols., 806pp.; $4.50.

The majority of the histories of slavery in America were written by participants in the struggle, lacked historical value and were tinged with extreme partisanship. The present work, to some degree, avoids the first of these defects, but with regard to the second point, the bias is almost as evident in this as in any of the contemporaneous works.

The fundamental proposition of the work is that the Republican party could do no wrong. Once, however, having recognized this position, it is easy for the reader to make allowance, and the author has certainly brought together much new material and co-ordinated it in better form than in any preceding history. The most distinctive feature about the work is the scanty recognition which is given to the early abolitionists of the Garrison-Phillips type, and the much greater importance assigned to western factors. There is no doubt but what this is the trend at the present time, and that it is justifiable. There is little recognition of the economic factors that lay back of the great movement he is describing, and almost no notice of the divergent interests of the economic classes which were struggling for mastery. He does bring out much plainer than ever before the fact that the war was not waged for the abolition of slavery. He repeatedly calls attention to the fact that the Republican party was not abolitionist. He shows how during the war the seaboard states, which were largely commercial, desired above everything, to secure a compromise with the South.

The chapter on "Proposed Concessions" is perhaps the one which is most valuable on this point. Here, it is shown that the Republican senators were all willing, even after the Southern States had seceded, to adopt a constitutional amendment "prohibiting congress from abolishing or interfering with slavery in the States." And an amendment was actually passed through congress to this effect. Finally, after the battle of Bull Run, a resolution was introduced into Congress declaring "that this war is not waged.....for any purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States." "In the House there were only two votes in the negative; in the Senate there were four votes against it cast by dis-unionists."

In the chapter treating of the re-arrangement of affairs after the war, it is pointed out quite clearly how capital gathered into great aggregations, owing to the abnormal conditions of government contracts and the high tariff made necessary by the war.

It would be very easy to go through the book and point out any number of places where the author had refused to see any truth that did not accord with the accepted codes of capitalist ethics. But until the class nature of our present social thought has been transformed, these defects will be common to all books of this character.

Loan Credit in Modern Business, by Thorstein B. Veblen. Reprinted

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from Vol. IV., of the Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago. Folio. paper, 22pp.

It is always difficult in Professor Veblen's work to determine in just how far he is poking fun at the orthodox political economist. He announces in regard to this study that "the subject of this inquiry is the resort to credit as an expedient in the quest of profits." He shows that competition forces every capitalist to increase the size of the business turnover by the use of as great credit as possible. This was originally done by loans and current bills. When these could not be met they were said to be "excessive." If these cases included a large number of firms, the resulting liquidation became a crisis.

Professor Veblen points out that the only canon of judgment to determine whether credit was "excessive" was whether the debtor became bankrupt or not.

With modern corporations this credit extension is pushed to its fullest limit at the time of the organization of the company, instead of being a process drawn out through many years. Or, as he puts it, to be "carried out thoroughly it places virtually the entire capital, comprising the whole of the material equipment, on a credit basis. Stock being issued by the use of funds, such funds as may be needed *to pay for printing*, a road will be built, or an industrial plant established, by the use of funds draws from the sale of bonds; preferred stock or similar debentures will then be issued, commonly of various denominations, to the full amount that the property will bear, and not infrequently somewhat in excess of what the property will bear." [Italics ours.]

One cannot but think that Professor Veblen must have smiled when he wrote such a paragraph as this: "In the ideal case, where a corporation is financed with *due perspicacity*, there will be but an inappreciable proportion of the market value of the company's good will left uncovered by debentures."

In a note he casts some rather suggestive remarks at "the student who harks back to archaic methods for a norm of what capitalism should be." He shows that once a corporation is financed by this method, it is easy to clear out the holders of "excessive credit" and in this way the trust maker is in some respects a substitute for a commercial crisis.

The whole essay, however, is certainly the most keen analysis of modern trust financiering that has ever been published, and will repay reading to any student of this phase of industry.

Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society. By Richard T. Ely. The Macmillan Co. Citizens' Library. pp. 497. $1.25.

In this work we have for the first time set forth something approaching a social system by an opponent, although almost a friendly one, of socialism. In the first part, which consists of a general survey, the author shows how the idea of evolution in society has arisen, and traces the stages through which society has passed in much the same manner that the socialist does. He gives much valuable statistical material concerning present conditions and the recent tendency of industrial evolution.

The second part, which deals with some special problems of industrial evolution, is a series of essays on various subjects. The author states his problem on page 270 to be "what can we accomplish in order to ameliorate the condition of the masses without departure from the fundamental principles of the existing social order." And it is plain to be seen throughout the whole book that the spectre of socialism is ever before him, and that he is constantly asking himself "what shall we do to be saved?"

He admits that the foresight of Marx and Engels concerning the industrial evolution was almost marvellously prophetical, and that we are approaching the fulfillment of the final stages of that prophecy. He thinks it still possible to maintain the competitive system and so patch up things

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as to make conditions endurable without disturbing "the fundamental principles of the existing social order," yet somehow the work fails to carry conviction.

No one can deny the scholarly character of most of its pages, and it is in our opinion one of the most valuable contributions to social thought that has been produced in many years. At the same time whenever the subject of socialism is approached the treatment is most unsatisfactory. This is not because he does not agree with the socialist, but because he seems to constantly avoid coming to an open issue.

There is a section entitled "economic classes," to which we turned with the expectation of finding a fair statement of the socialist theory of the class struggle with the refutation, or at least the attempted refutation, of that position. We do find the well known quotation from the Communist Manifesto beginning with "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," but having thus given the statement we look in vain for any comment. On the contrary, we find that the great social classification of the Manifesto is given as if it were simply one of several equally important classifications that might be made, and the author even places as apparently co-ordinate with it, the statement that "we may divide the workers according to their kind of occupation," and then follow a few commonplaces such as "The effects of classes are both good and evil."

There is no recognition of the tremendous social significance of the principles laid down in the Manifesto as quoted, if they are true, or any attempt to refute them if the author considers them false.

The same feeling of unfairness arises in the treatment of economic determinism. Here the statement is made that the socialist exaggerates the importance of the economic factor, and an example of such exaggeration is given by a quotation from an article by May Wood Simons which appeared in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Unfortunately, however, the example, which is instanced as an exaggeration, is almost identical in statement with the position of Prof. Seligman, who is quoted in the same note as having stated the theory in so mild a form that "it is difficult to see why the doctrine should have roused so much discussion." (See Seligman's "Economic Interpretation of History," p. 9.) But no attempt is made to support this opinion of socialist exaggeration, notwithstanding that this is the most crucial point in the whole discussion.

It would be easy to multiply instances of this, but we will give only one more, and that because it applies to the criticism of an article by the reviewer. In his discussion of the contrast between socialism and social reform he quotes an article written by the editor of this REVIEW on "Special Privileges," which, if correct, is a refutation of the whole position on which the book rests. When we saw this we expected at once that some attempt would be made to overthrow the arguments there made. On the contrary Dr. Ely contents himself simply by stating that he believes to the contrary, but offers no reasons for that belief.

It is such quotations as the following, however, that make the socialist smile: "If there is to be a new social order there is every indication that it will be socialism." "If we let things alone we shall have an evolution much like that which the great socialists Marx and Engels predicted."

The whole first part of the book is filled with proofs of the fact that society is evolving, and that new social orders are continually succeeding to the old, and therefore we may be sure that there will be a new social order. In the second place there is a vast body of workingmen who are not only not going to "let things alone," but are going to assist them in moving toward "an evolution like that which Marx and Engels predicted."

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

What to Read on Socialism.

A booklet bearing this title and containing brief descriptions of the standard books on Socialism was published from this office last year, and fifty thousand copies have been circulated. The growth of our publishing house and the number of new books in preparation have now made the booklet out of date, and no more copies will be printed. Its place will be taken by a larger book under the same title. It will be of 36 pages, the size of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and will contain portraits of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Vandervelde, Whitman, Carpenter, Blatchford, Simons, and other writers. There will be an introductory essay by Charles H. Kerr on "The Central Thing in Socialism," explaining in as simple language as possible the principle of Historical Materialism, as developed by Marx, Engels and Labriola, which lies at the foundation of scientific socialism. The body of the book is taken up with descriptions of all the best books on Socialism which are available for American readers, with quotations from many of the more important works. It will be printed on fine book paper, with cover of white enamel, equal in appearance to a ten-cent book, but it will be sold for one cent a copy or $1.00 a hundred, postpaid, or fifty cents a hundred by express at purchaser's expense. This is less than cost, and on this book there will be no reduction to stockholders.

CAPITAL, BY KARL MARX.

A new importation of the London edition of Marx's Capital has just been received, and it is selling so rapidly that it will be nearly exhausted by the time this issue of the Review is in the hands of its readers. A large order has been placed, and we shall soon be in a position to supply the book as rapidly as it is called for. The phenomenal sale of "Capital" is a good index to the growth of the Socialist movement in the United States.

A non-Socialist publishing house in New York has inserted in some Socialist papers a misleading advertisement of a cheap reprint of "Capital." The fact of the matter is that the London edition contains 847 octavo pages of clear, open type, and was printed from plates which were revised and corrected with the minutest care, under the supervision of Frederick Engels himself. The New York edition is a hasty reprint from the London edition, and it is crowded into less than 600 pages, the lines being close together, and thus much harder on the eyes. The inferior edition sells for $1.75, while ours sells for $2.00 at retail, $1.20 to our stockholders, if mailed, and $1.00 to stockholders if sent by express at expense of purchaser.

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"Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," by Professor Labriola, of the University of Rome, is recognized by European socialists as the most important work which has appeared since Capital. Charles H. Kerr has completed a translation of this book, which will be ready about Dec. 1. It will contain about 300 pages, will be handsomely printed and bound, and will sell for $1.00, with the usual discounts to stockholders. Advance orders are solicited.

THE POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.

"The Capitalists' Union or Labor Unions, Which?" is a new booklet of 32 pages, prepared under the authority of Union 7386, American Federation of Labor, for affiliated unions. It is No. 40 of the Pocket Library of Socialism, but the word Socialism is purposely left off the front page, for the reason that the booklet is addressed to the union man who is not a Socialist, and who is probably prejudiced against Socialism, and the idea is to interest in him certain well-understood facts that concern his immediate interests, before leading up to the subject of socialism. The principles of Socialism are set forth, ably, clearly and uncompromisingly, in the latter part of the booklet.

"The Socialist Party," No. 33 of the Pocket Library, has been reissued in an improved form. The descriptions of socialist literature are omitted, since they are given more completely in the new book "What to Read on Socialism." Their place is supplied by a complete directory of the socialist locals of the United States with their secretaries. The compilation of this list involved great labor and expense, and was only made possible by the co-operation of the national and state secretaries. The price has been left at the low uniform figure charged for any issue or for assorted issues of the Pocket Library of Socialism; five cents singly, six for twenty-five cents, fourteen for fifty cents, thirty for a dollar, $1.33 for the complete set of thirty numbers. To stockholders, two cents a copy for any number less than a hundred, one dollar a hundred, by mail or express, prepaid; eight dollars a thousand by express at the expense of the purchaser.

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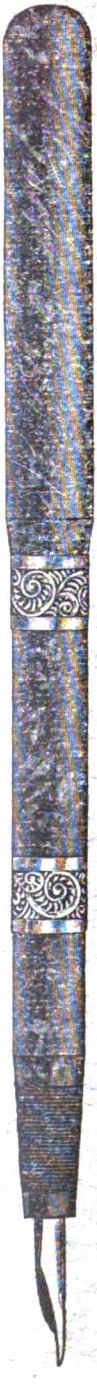
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EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV NOVEMBER, 1903 NO. 5

The Negro in the Class Struggle

It so happens that I write upon the negro question, in compliance with the request of the editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, in the state of Louisiana, where the race prejudice is as strong and the feeling against the "nigger" as bitter and relentless as when Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation lashed the waning confederacy into fury and incited the final and desperate attempts to burst the bonds that held the southern states in the federal union. Indeed, so thoroughly is the south permeated with the malign spirit of race hatred that even socialists are to be found, and by no means rarely, who either share directly in the race hostility against the negro, or avoid the issue, or apologize for the social obliteration of the color line in the class struggle.

The white man in the south declares that "the nigger is all right in his place"; that is, as menial, servant and slave. If he dare hold up his head, feel the thrill of manhood in his veins and nurse the hope that some day may bring deliverance; if in his brain the thought of freedom dawns and in his heart the aspiration to rise above the animal plane and propensities of his sires, he must be made to realize that notwithstanding the white man is civilized (?) the black man is a "nigger" still and must so remain as long as planets wheel in space.

But while the white man is considerate enough to tolerate the negro "in his place," the remotest suggestion at social recognition arouses all the pent up wrath of his Anglo-Saxon civilization; and my observation is that the less real ground there is for such indignant assertion of self-superiority, the more passionately it is proclaimed.

At Yoakum, Texas, a few days ago, leaving the depot with two grips in my hands, I passed four or five bearers of the white man's burden perched on a railing and decorating their environment

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with tobacco juice. One of them, addressing me, said: "There's a nigger that'll carry your grips." A second one added: "That's what he's here for," and the third chimed in with "That's right, by God." Here was a savory bouquet of white superiority. One glance was sufficient to satisfy me that they represented all there is of justification for the implacable hatred of the negro race. They were ignorant, lazy, unclean, totally void of ambition, themselves the foul product of the capitalist system and held in lowest contempt by the master class, yet esteeming themselves immeasurably above the cleanest, most intelligent and self-respecting negro, having by reflex absorbed the "nigger" hatred of their masters.

As a matter of fact the industrial supremacy of the south before the war would not have been possible without the negro, and the south of today would totally collapse without his labor. Cotton culture has been and is the great staple and it will not be denied that the fineness and superiority of the fibre that makes the export of the southern states the greatest in the world is due in large measure to the genius of the negroes charged with its cultivation.

The whole world is under obligation to the negro, and that the white heel is still upon the black neck is simply proof that the world is not yet civilized.

The history of the negro in the United States is a history of crime without a parallel.

Why should the white man hate him? Because he stole him from his native land and for two centuries and a half robbed him of the fruit of his labor, kept him in beastly ignorance and subjected him to the brutal domination of the lash? Because, he tore the black child from the breast of its mother and ravished the black man's daughter before her father's eyes?

There are thousands of negroes who bear testimony in their whitening skins that men who so furiously resent the suggestion of "social equality" are far less sensitive in respect to the sexual equality of the races.

But of all the senseless agitation in capitalist society, that in respect to "social equality" takes the palm. The very instant it is mentioned the old aristocratic plantation owner's shrill cry about the "buck nigger" marrying the "fair young daughter" of his master is heard from the tomb and echoed and re-echoed across the spaces and repeated by the "white trash" in proud vindication of their social superiority.

Social equality, forsooth! Is the black man pressing his claims for social recognition upon his white burden bearer? Is there any reason why he should? Is the white man's social recognition of his own white brother such as to excite the negro's ambition to covet the noble prize? Has the negro any greater desire, or is

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there any reason why he should have, for social intercourse with the white man than the white man has for social relations with the negro? This phase of the negro question is pure fraud and serves to mask the real issue, which is not *social equality,* BUT ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

There never was any social inferiority that was not the shrivelled fruit of economic inequality.

The negro, given economic freedom, will not ask the white man any social favors; and the burning question of "social equality" will disappear like mist before the sunrise.

I have said and say again that, properly speaking, there is no negro question outside of the labor question—the working class struggle. Our position as socialists and as a party is perfectly plain. We have simply to say: "The class struggle is colorless." The capitalists, white, black and other shades, are on one side and the workers, white, black and all other colors, on the other side.

When Marx said: "Workingmen of all countries unite," he gave concrete expression to the socialist philosophy of the class struggle; unlike the framers of the declaration of independence who announced that "all men are created equal" and then basely repudiated their own doctrine, Marx issued the call to all the workers of the globe, regardless of race, sex, creed or any other condition whatsoever.

As a socialist party we receive the negro and all other races upon absolutely equal terms. We are the party of the working class, the whole working class, and we will not suffer ourselves to be divided by any specious appeal to race prejudice; and if we should be coaxed or driven from the straight road we will be lost in the wilderness and ought to perish there, for we shall no longer be a socialist party.

Let the capitalist press and capitalist "public opinion" indulge themselves in alternate flattery and abuse of the negro; we as socialists will receive him in our party, treat him in our counsels and stand by him all around the same as if his skin were white instead of black; and this we do, not from any considerations of sentiment, but because it accords with the philosophy of socialism, the genius of the class struggle, and is eternally right and bound to triumph in the end.

With the "nigger" question, the "race war" from the capitalist viewpoint we have nothing to do. In capitalism the negro question is a grave one and will grow more threatening as the contradictions and complications of capitalist society multiply, but this need not worry us. Let them settle the negro question in their way, if they can. We have nothing to do with it, for that is their fight. We have simply to open the eyes of as many negroes as we can and bring them into the socialist movement

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to do battle for emancipation from wage slavery, and when the working class have triumphed in the class struggle and stand forth economic as well as political free men, the race problem will forever disappear.

Socialists should with pride proclaim their sympathy with and fealty to the black race, and if any there be who hesitate to avow themselves in the face of ignorant and unreasoning prejudice, they lack the true spirit of the slavery-destroying revolutionary movement.

The voice of socialism must be as inspiring music to the ears of those in bondage, especially the weak black brethren, doubly enslaved, who are bowed to the earth and groan in despair beneath the burden of the centuries.

For myself, my heart goes to the negro and I make no apology to any white man for it. In fact, when I see the poor, brutalized, outraged black victim, I feel a burning sense of guilt for his intellectual poverty and moral debasement that makes me blush for the unspeakable crimes committed by my own race.

In closing, permit me to express the hope that the next convention may repeal the resolutions on the negro question. The negro does not need them and they serve to increase rather than diminish the necessity for explanation.

We have nothing special to offer the negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races.

The Socialist party is the party of the working class, regardless of color—the whole working class of the whole world.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

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The Negro or the Race Problem

MEMPHIS, TENN., SEPT. 16.—From the standpoint of Southern interest the forthcoming session of Congress probably will be the most memorable.

"Senator Edward W. Carmack, in the next Congress will introduce a bill in the Senate for the repeal of the fifteenth amendment, which provides that there shall be no discrimination against a citizen of the United States because of color, religion or previous condition of servitude. Senator Carmack would eliminate the enfranchised negroes as a political factor. This bill of Senator Carmack's will be supported by every Southern Representative in Congress.

"Senator Carmack will not introduce his bill in the hope of getting it passed, but for the purpose of precipitating discussion. Senator Carmack favors the separation of the races and the ultimate deportation of the negro from this country."

The above appeared in the Jacksonville (Fla.) *Metropolis* September 16, 1903 (and that which follows below). John T. Graves formerly published a paper in Jacksonville. He contended lately for the right of the Socialists to free speech in Atlanta when Comrade Fitts was arrested.

"That mantle of Mr. Graves is full of rhythmic rhapsodies, but as a temple his head is a cymbal. The negro is now and has for years been as essentially a part of our Southland as is the sunshine. Every well-informed man knows that the negro is the prime motive power that has increased the cotton crop of the South from the 4,000,000 bales of "before the war"—slave-made product—to the present 12,000,000 bales per annum—Freedmen-made cotton output. We know, too, that in the phosphate mines and turpentine farms, as a worker, the negro stands unequaled, sublime and alone. We know, too, that when it comes to the clearing of hammocks with the grubbing and planting of them to orange trees on any big scale, the negro does it all. For the cutting out of the right of way, the grading, making of cross-ties and the laying on of the rails, we all use the negro. We all know that 90 per cent of his wages finally goes into the coffers of the white man. For, if he spends it on his first love, the "skin game," the gambler who wins it spends it on "his woman," and the dressmaker and hackman get it. For every article of his food he depends on the white man's commissary. For his booze he patronizes the white man's bar, and he will buy the "boss'" old cast-off clothes, and wear them with as much pride and grace as a bear wears his own hide."—Albertus Vogt, Rosebank, Fla.

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The writer of this paper has been cautioned by prominent Socialists of Florida to "go slowly with this problem, as the people of this State—and the Southland generally—consider any effort to elevate the negro to equal civil, political and economic rights with the white race *as wrong.*"

In their minds he is a "Dam Nigger," and must remain so.

Physicians, as a rule, make no distinction as to race or color. All are patients. The National Socialist Constitution recognizes no distinction of color in the wage-slave, and regard both as being equally the victims of the exploiting capitalists. Yet of the two races, the negro is the most class-conscious.

Now, in view of the fact of the passage of the militia bill of the last Congress, it will be as well for us Socialists that we do what we can to consolidate the entire working class of wage-slaves as a united whole against the persistent inroads of capitalism. The negroes are already looking with interest and sympathy on our movement for the emancipation of the workers of the world from the thralls of capitalists. They receive our advances with a welcome, recognizing—as they freely do—that we are the advanced race, and therefore should be the leaders in the "irrepressible conflict." They hold with Abraham Lincoln "that class laws"—under which they now labor—"placing capital above labor, are more dangerous" (to them) "at this hour than chattel slavery." *"Labor is prior to and above capital* and *deserves a much higher consideration."* (Abraham Lincoln.) The trades unions in the South recognize the necessity of taking the colored laborer into their unions: For were they not, the colored men would be found successful competitors against organized labor.

Now, shall we who are outside the unions repudiate the negro laborer as a working factor in our industrial fight with capital?

The negro, since the war, has degenerated both physically and morally.

Is this degeneracy to go on? Physically, in the past, he has been found a worthy model for an Apollo Belvidere.

Morally, what a difference between the pious negro slave of war times and the great filler of jails and chain-gangs! Again I say, "Can we afford to let this go on? Will the shotgun, the rope and the stake improve the race? Does it deter them from crime? The other day a negro rapist about to be hanged for his crime said, "It is worth dying for"! Can we say with Cain "Am I my brother's keeper"?

Carlyle in his "Past and Present" says: "A poor Irish widow, her husband having died in one of the lanes of Edinburgh, went forth with her three children, bare of all resources, to solicit help from the charitable establishments of that city. At this charitable establishment and then at that she was refused; referred from

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one to the other, helped by none; till she had exhausted them all; till her strength and her heart failed her: she sank down in typhus fever; died, and infected her lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence."

The humane physician asks thereupon, as with a heart too full for speaking, Would it not have been *economy* to help this poor widow? She took typhus fever, and killed seventeen of you!—Very curious. The forlorn Irish widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying, "Behold, I am sinking, bare of help: ye must help me! I am your sister, bone of your bone; one God made us; ye must help me!" They answer, "No: impossible: thou art no sister of ours." But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus fever kills *them;* they actually were her brothers though denying it! Again. Two members of a family residing in Fifth avenue, New York, died of typhus fever, directly traced to a handsome silk wrap. This wrap was made by a poor widow living in a garret, where her child was dying of this disease. The mother, on the child complaining of cold, threw the wrap over it.

The intimate relationship of all classes of society, and their constant intercommunication one with the other, makes it impossible for one class to hold down in degradation—or even ignore such degradation—an inferior class. "From 1870 to 1880 the negro population increased nearly 36 per cent; from 1880 to 1890 the increase was only a little over 13 per cent. This is about one-half the rate of increase among the whites." For the year 1895, when 82 white deaths from consumption occurred in the city of Nashville, there ought to have been only 49 colored, whereas there really were 218, or nearly four and one-half times as many as there ought to have been.

It is an occasion of serious alarm when 37 per cent of the whole people are responsible for 72 per cent of the deaths from consumption.

Deaths among colored people from pulmonary diseases seem to be on the increase throughout the South. During the period 1882-1885, the excess of colored deaths (over white) for the city of Memphis was 90.80 per cent. For the period of 1891-1895, the excess had risen to over 137 per cent. For the period 1886—1890 the excess of colored deaths from consumption and pneumonia for the city of Atlanta was 139 per cent. For the period 1891-1896 it has risen to nearly 166 per cent." Before the war this disease was virtually unknown among the slaves.

These constitutional diseases which are responsible for this unusual mortality are to be traced largely to immorality, malnutrition and unsanitary environment. According to Hoffman, over 25 per cent of the negro children born in Washington City are admittedly illegitimate. This will more than hold good far-

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ther South. The negro does not desire to mix with the white race. This was aptly expressed in the writer's presence at a barbecue, where we organized a colored local. An old negro patriarch remarked in the course of a general conversation: "The negro does not desire a bedroom in the white man's house, or to sit at his table." It is our experience *that it is the white man who is the father of the mulatto,* while the black man largely fills the roll of the *rapist.* Which is the most frequent I leave my readers to judge.

Expediency has been the death-blow to the Democratic party.

Born to the glorious heritage of Democracy left by Thomas Jefferson, it is now dead to everything democratic but the *name.* We Socialists cannot afford *to barter principle for expediency.* We must be true to the democratic idea: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." We will be forced, by the logic of events, to act in accord with the following motto: "Workingmen, Unite; You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains: You Have a World to Gain."

In the coming industrial fight, all workingmen will have to be a *unit.* Already the capitalists are becoming a unit in their fight with the unions, who will be worsted until their members, both white and black, take to the ballot-box unitedly and claim victory as theirs by the inauguration of the "Co-Operative Commonwealth."

The great problem of the ages, "What to do with the surplus," must be solved once, and for all time by making consumption keep pace with production and producing for use only. Overproduction in the past was partially met by the luxurious consumption of the few rich, together with wonderful works of art, ostentation and public utility. But since the great advances in the arts and sciences, together with the great development of machinery, and, further, the great production required for *profit,* it is impossible to meet the problems on other lines than the restriction of production for use *only.*

A. T. CUZNER.

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Socialism and the Negro Problem

AGAIN and again it seems necessary to reiterate that socialism is merely an economic reform, and affects only indirectly and incidentally questions of a political, social and ethical character. For the problem of race prejudice, as for those of intemperance and the "social evil," depending largely on individual culture for solution, socialism is no specific. By furnishing an improved environment it may facilitate individual culture and so become an important factor in the working out of the answers which the future holds concealed, but were socialism realized to-morrow these questions, sinister and ominous as ever, would still confront the American people.

The prejudice against the colored man in America has two causes; the first sectional and no longer operative, though its effects persist; the second universal, active, and of economic origin. The first of these is the quondam status of the negro as a slave, and of his white associate as master. Slavery has ceased to exist, and before the law all races are equal, yet the reluctance of the dominant class to receive on terms of equality that class which it so recently held in bonds, and which, in the main, has not yet emerged from its degradation, is as natural as it is unchristian. Here time, bringing with it the culture of the individual, alone can aid. And the culture needed is not merely that of the colored man, but of the white man also. The white man must learn that, real as his feeling of repulsion for his black brother may be, it is a base and ignoble thing, an occasion not of pride but of shame, a blemish in his character not to be fostered but to be eradicated. It is essential to the continued prestige of the white man that he should learn this. Bitter as oppression is to the individual, it is a most powerful stimulus to a race; and every act of injustice, every denial of recognition duly earned, but brings nearer that much dreaded day of negro domination,—brings it nearer because it justifies it. The negro's lessons, if not more difficult, are multifarious, among the first being that no legal *ipse dixit* can confer on him a standing or secure for him a consideration he has not as an individual fully earned and wholly merited. Even then he must accustom himself to denial, while still asserting with courage and persistence the justness of his claims.

Obviously with all this socialism has nothing whatever to do. It cannot compel one man to admit another to his house, seat him at his table, or marry him to his daughter. Nor can it on the other hand, curb that pragmatic spirit which leads one man, afflicted with a race prejudice, to impose it by law or social convention on

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his fellows. Matters of this sort are ethical, and may become political, but they are certainly not economic.

The second occasion of prejudice against the negro operates in the breast of the white wage-earner, and arises from the presence of the colored man as a competitor in the field of labor. A glance at the conduct of mobs, North and South, when bent on negro punishment, will serve to differentiate this from the cause first mentioned. In the South the mob, composite in character, captures and murders a single victim and disperses peaceably, the negro community, if nonresistant, suffering comparatively slight perturbation. In the North the mob, made up almost invariably from the proletariat, using the punishment of some particular criminal as an excuse, hastens on to a general persecution and race war, assaults the worker's natural enemy, the militia, and occasionally, as in the case of the recent Evansville riot, receives the *quasi* endorsement of labor papers and organizations. Under capitalism, with the surfeit of labor which it engenders, each additional competitor in the labor market, constrained by necessity to offer his labor power for the bare price of sustenance, tends to enforce the Ricardian law of wages, and becomes an embarrassment and menace to every other laborer. This is particularly true in the case of the negro, whose scale of living is generally lower than that of the white. As he can, and will, work for less wages, so proportionately is the animosity of his white fellow-worker kindled against him; and it is more unfortunate than strange if, schooled in a system which has for its key-note fratricidal strife, the white laborer resorts to violence to rid himself of a competition threatening his own livelihood. Here the ameliorating effect of socialism is immediately apparent. When co-operation amongst laborers is substituted for competition, and the consequence of added numbers is merely to shorten the hours of toil for all, without any decrease of compensation to any, the colored laborer will be welcomed as a brother, not reviled as a "scab;" will be hailed as a fortunate accession to the armies of industry, not dreaded as a club ready to the hand of the employer to coerce refractory employes. And it may be remarked that the ready sympathy of the "better classes" (capitalistic employer) for the negro when mob violence is afoot, is not wholly devoid of a suspicion of self interest. But here, as in other instances ,the manifest remedy for the white worker is not to terrorize and murder his more unfortunate fellow laborer, but to vote for his own class interest at the polls.

Lastly, what should be the attitude of the socialist to the negro problem? And here there must be no doubt, or cavil, or temporizing, or subterfuge or uncertainty. For very shame, the ethics of socialism dare not be inferior to those of the bourgeoisie which socialism supplants; and the bourgeoisie having in its victory over the noblesse overthrown all distinction of birth, socialism dare not

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revive it. Absolute economic equality for white and black, covering perfect uniformity not only in opportunities for labor, but also in all those public services, such as education, transportation (including, let it be added, hotel accommodations), entertainment, etc., which may be collectively rendered, together with complete recognition of political rights, must be insisted on more strenuously by the socialist than ever they could have been by any abolitionist agitator. No "segregation of races," or other claptrap "solution," can be entertained for a moment. The drawing of invidious caste distinctions must be left to the private individual alone, in his private affairs. There is another and stronger reason for this attitude than the incentive to preserve the good gained by the bourgeois revolution. The historic mission of the working class is to destroy in its supremacy all classes, and to blend humanity into one homogeneous, fraternal whole. If now, socialism, which is the economic victory of the working class, countenances and preserves a distinction of race, that is, a caste distinction, so far from accomplishing a final triumph and perfecting human solidarity, it will be but a partial success, nursing further injustice and further revolt. And how can socialism, the champion of the proletariat, which by classic inclusion embraces not merely the workers, but the criminals, and all the despised and rejected of earth, recognize any distinction of race, or color, or birth, or faith amongst its children? To ask the question should be to answer it.

CLARENCE MEILY.

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Dresden Conference

NO gathering of the socialists for many years has been of as great importance as the recent Dresden Congress of the German Social Democracy. For several years the capitalist press has been filled with stories of the decreasing revolutionary character of the German socialist movement. So continuously and emphatically has this report been spread, not only by the capitalist press, but by some persons who claim to be socialists, that the idea had become quite generally accepted that success had brought demoralization to the great German socialist movement.

It may be worth while before proceeding to a description of the Dresden Congress to give a brief review of the growth of the opportunist movement in the Socialist party. This movement centers around Edward Bernstein, who was editor of the official organ of the German socialist party during the time of the "Laws of Exception." When those laws were repealed, he remained in England and fell largely under the influence of the Fabian sentimentalists. Soon he began to drift away from the old standards. His works were filled with apologies for capitalism and criticisms of the socialist doctrine, while his practical activity tended to give aid and comfort to the English liberal party much more than to the socialist organizations. His theoretical development culminated in his "Voraussetzung des Socialismus," which was hailed by capitalist readers as the greatest work on socialism ever published, and was welcomed with glad acclaim throughout Europe and America. When examined, however, there is practically nothing in it that has not been set forth by bourgeois critics of socialism many times before. Commonplace facts are repeated in a most bombastic manner as if they had just been discovered. Capitalist statistics are used with little attempt at discrimination or investigation as to their reliability. Sweeping generalizations are made only to be modified or denied on subsequent pages.

Shortly after the publication of this work Bernstein returned to Germany. On the strength of his services to the party in former days he was elected to the Reichstag. Meanwhile he continued his attack on the policy of the party and soon gathered about him a little clique of worshippers of whom Vollmar was the most prominent. Vollmar comes from the south of Germany and reflects in his political ideas and actions the low stage of industrial development prevailing in that portion of Germany.

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Meanwhile practical opportunism had found expression in other countries, notably in France and Italy. In France this led to an open split in the party, and now promises to leave Millerand and Jaures high and dry in the bourgeois ranks with no connection whatever with the socialist movement, while the workers move on in a clear-cut revolutionary movement.

In Italy also "Bernsteinism" has been receiving some rather hard blows, and Turati, who represents this wing of the Socialist movement, has been practically forced out of the party and the great Socialist daily, *Avanti*, has been taken from the control of the opportunist faction and given into the editorial direction of Enrico Ferri, who has always stood for the most uncompromising revolutionary attitude.

The latest manifestation of opportunism in Germany was the "Vice-Presidential" question, which has been discussed in these columns, and it was round this question that the fiercest storm raged at the Dresden Congress.

The first day of the Convention, however, was taken up with another and somewhat analogous question, that of editorial work by socialists on capitalist papers. This question owed its prominence largely to the fact that several of the socialists had been working with a radical bourgeois paper, *Die Zukunft*. These comrades had used this paper and other similar ones for the purpose of publishing criticisms of the Socialist party policy and members. The Convention decided by an almost unanimous vote that any person affiliated with a capitalist paper should not be allowed to hold any position of trust within the party. In this debate there was much severe criticism of the so-called "intellectuals." Comrade Quark, a delegate from Frankfort-on-the-Main, saying: "When the entrance of a Social Democrat into the party is signaled with the publication of long articles on 'How I Became a Socialist' and other biographical matter, his case is plain to me from the beginning. The collegian who comes to us should first quietly place himself in the rank and file and fight for a time in the most humble positions."

Comrade Bebel also declared: "The developments of the last few years have compelled me to say, look close at every party member, but look twice or three times at the "Academics" and the intellectuals. I say this notwithstanding I am myself a graduated "Academic" and have always taken their part. We need the intelligence of the intellectuals. Fortunate circumstances have given them the scientific training which, when they are interested and truly in harmony with the party, enables them to perform such distinctive services for the party. But, on the other hand, there is danger in this very fact. I do not accuse these collegians of dishonesty or of any intention to injure the party. Not at all. But just because they are collegians and men and women of greater

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energy and in a certain sense of greater intelligence and deeper interest, they have to be doubly and trebly careful that in all their acts and deeds they are always upon the right road, to inform themselves concerning the proletariat, as to what the masses think, how they feel, and what they wish, and these masses know better than the collegians about those matters with which the struggle of the proletariat is concerned."

It was in the midst of this debate that the bitter attack was made upon Comrade Mehring by Comrade Braun, which finally resulted in the resignation of Mehring from all active editorial work in the party. This resignation is universally regretted. The attack was made by Braun in an effort to show that Mehring was guilty of all the things of which he (Braun) was charged, in that Mehring had been actively engaged as a contributor on some capitalist papers. In thus attempting to hide behind Mehring's shoulders Braun only succeeded in bringing a condemnation upon both, even though all felt it was largely undeserved in Mehring's case.

An effort had been made by certain party officials to suppress the discussion and the *Vorwaerts* had even refused articles by Bebel on the subject. Bebel was determined, however, to insist on the fullest discussion and declared that it was time to be done with the farce of pretending that there was really no disagreement within the party. Bebel's speech on the subject was probably the most thorough review of the entire opportunist position ever attempted in a public speech, taking him nearly six hours to deliver. After a review of the general situation following the election, in which he showed that the present was of all times the most inopportune in which to take any conciliatory attitude toward the enemy, he proceeded to discussion of the principles involved. The following quotations give some idea of the exhaustive character of his discussion and his masterly overthrow of the entire opportunist position. He says:

"The question now arises as to whether we shall change our previous tactics? When should a party change its tactics? That no tactics are eternal is self-evident. Liebkbecht said once in his drastic manner: 'If necessary, I will change my tactics 24 times in 24 hours.' While an extreme statement, it was very correctly expressed. The tactics of every party must correspond with the foundations upon which the party is built, and if I must actually change my tactics 24 times in 24 hours, nevertheless they must during none of these 24 times be in contradiction with the fundamentals of the party. (That's right.) That is the deciding point. Can any one claim today that our tactics are in conflict with the fundamental principles of our party. On this point only the party itself and the outcome of facts decide. Now it so happens that the development of the party up to the present

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time has been such that we have not the slightest occasion to change our hitherto victorious and time-tested tactics. (Vigorour applause.)

"Again, a change in tactics may be rendered necessary because they have proven false or unsatisfactory. But nothing of the kind has occurred. To be sure, there is something in the fact that we have grown, that we have more representatives, and therefore we must, in a certain sense, change our tactics, but by no means in the sense that we hesitate or draw back. No. Just because this great body of voters have given us their endorsement on the basis of our previous tactics and position, we must go forward in a more energetic, uncompromising and clear-cut manner than hitherto. (Tremendous applause.)

"Nevertheless there are people in our ranks—and some of these are among those whom we have been accustomed to call revisionists—who since the last election have demanded that we undertake a most comprehensive parliamentary activity in the nature of the introduction of bills, plans of legislation, etc. Therefore, I must give a few words to the destruction of these illusions. As a general thing it is not practical for the party to develop broad plans of legislation and work for them through the Reichstag, for this is a gigantic task. I remember once how we fixed up a job for our good old Liebknecht with such a legislative plan. It was in the Saxon Landtag work. We had rejected the mining law and demanded a change. The minister said that the government recognized the necessity of changes, but that this required time, investigations, suggestions and studies. Then it was that our old comrade, like the hussar that he always was, broke out and said, 'Why, I can do it in five minutes.' The word was spoken, and I said to myself, now we are in for it (merriment.). Naturally, the minister was sharp enough to say: 'If the Social Democrats can do it so quickly, then we will let them do it.' We had to do it, for we had no one but ourselves to blame. I assure you I toiled and sweat for fourteen days and nights to complete the plan.

"I remember also our great plan of the law for the protection of labor, and I wish to tell you something about it. In the eyes of many of our opponents, and even a large portion of our own members, I belong to those people who take no part in any practical activity. Even during the last few weeks I have been designated as a rider of principles who always comes forward with fine phrases and negatives everything. Now with a short interruption I have been a member of the Reichstag for the last 36 years, and there is no single person amongst us that has initiated more acts and worked out more plans of laws than I have, the man of negation. Our scheme of legislation for the protection of laborers is given great praise in Herkner's book on the labor

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question. When we first brought out this scheme the press of Nauman and Gerlach were so filled with praise that they declared that the Reichstag would adopt it "*en bloc.*" Yes, noble sirs (the speaker motions toward the press table where Nauman and von Gerlach are sitting). Did you know then who had worked out this first scheme? It was I, the man of negation. (More merriment.) To bring in legislative schemes is very beautiful, but it is not so easy to work them out. We must leave this to other people who are appointed and paid for it. You, Mr. Privy Councillors, yourselves have the material, the knowledge of facts and the possibility of preparing such propositions. We worked in parliament until we were overworked. Do you really think that even now, when we are 81 men strong, that we can compel the majority to adopt the proposals which we initiate? Singer and I have worked in vain in the Senior convent to make clear to the members that parliament is there for something else than the adoption of governmental proposals. We have preached to deaf ears. I can tell you that we cannot initiate any more propositions.

"No. The decisive thing is that the whole system of legislation in the German empire and in all of the other parliaments of the world is so incompetent and unsatisfactory and incomplete that when a law is established today, by tomorrow everybody says that it must be changed. (That's right.) We can no longer enact great fundamental laws because a majority can no longer be obtained for such laws. The assertion which Savigny made over a hundred years ago that our time had no need of legislation holds also for today. But why is this? Because the class antagonisms become ever greater, so that one can make only 'half laws' because whole ones are impossible. Let me give you an example of this. Over a hundred years ago the *Code Napoleon,* the legislative work of bourgeois France, arose. The *Code Napoleon* was the work of the Revolution, of a glorious time such as bourgeois society has not experienced since then. The greatest minds of that time labored on this work—that meant something at that time—and it was formulated to meet the necessities of bourgeois society. That work was made at a single cast and it stands even to the present day in France. Now I want to ask Frohme and Stadthagen, who have co-operated with the session on the bourgeois law book, if it is not true that we have had this bourgeois law book for only three years and already every nook and corner has developed obscurities and contradictions.

"Take again the factory acts. What has not happened to the factory act during 30 years? In 1869 the factory act was a complete satisfactory work. Then came the new developments and today it is a miserably patched up thing full of contradic-

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tions. There is no call for legislation at the present time. It is no longer possible to make complete laws. Is all the expenditure of labor, time and money which is spent in your parliament treadmill worth while? I have often asked myself that, but be sure I am altogether too aggressive to continue long of this opinion. I said to myself, such thoughts help nothing, we must cut and hew our way through. Man does what man can, but one does not necessarily deceive himself concerning the situation.

"I explain all this to you in order that you will not think that because we are now 81 men, therefore we can root out parliamentary growths. In one of the books that is distributed here is a description of the congress of 1871, more than 32 years ago, in which the ten-hour day was demanded, and then I was alone. At the same time the so-called Social conference met in Eisenach and also declared themselves for the ten-hour day. Indeed Rudolph Meyer has I believe proven that Bismarck at that time gave his word to work out a plan of a law for a ten-hour day of labor. (Hear, hear.) The plan was to include a ten-hour day of labor for the cities, and eight hours in the country during the winter, ten hours in the spring and fall, and twelve hours in summer. Thirty years have gone over the country and what of today? I am certainly a confirmed adherent of the eight-hour day. There is no one in this hall that is more convinced of its necessity than I. But, I have often said openly that if we could only achieve a ten-hour day at present we would die with joy. Let us have done with illusions in whatever field. (Unrest.) Oh, that will not hurt you seriously. On the contrary, it can only help you.

"This then is our situation. We will remain, as we have before, in a certain isolation and in the sharpest opposition. That does not necessarily exclude the accepting of concessions when we can secure them and when they appear worth the trouble to us. To be sure we have often differed over the value of these concessions. Indeed that was the whole difference. The right wing of the Socialist fraction in the Reichstag—to use this expression—sought to secure even the smallest concessions which, according to my ideas, were wholly insignificant. I have said to myself: why should I vote for these concessions which we will receive whether we vote for them or not? What is it to me that I should vote for these concessions which are certainly parliamentary compromises. Once we have come to the conclusion that a valuable concession was involved, then we have voted for it.

"So there were struggles in the fraction, and I can tell you openly that at the next session such struggles will not be diminished, but increased. It is easily possible that what I designate as the right wing of the fraction can win out in the new Reichstag, and therefore I consider it necessary that you thoroughly

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understand the situation, and so to speak, write out the tactics for the fraction (applause) at least as far as is possible. It is naturally inconceivable that the Convention should definitely determine the attitude of the fraction. The Convention can only offer directions and sketch out the road of march. If you do that, then the fraction must march in that whether they will or not.

"The party must become clear on this matter and the standpoint that we take must be as clear and transparent as crystal glass, so that no opportunity will be given to our opponents to say that the result of the wonderful victory is that the Social Democrats go as all bourgeois parties have gone hitherto; when they reach a certain height then they disintegrate, surrender their fundamentals, and all is over with them. (That's right.)

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"Since the great debate in Erfurt twelve years ago I have swallowed so much from Vollmar and been so often angry, and then again reconciled to reach out the hand for the purpose of bridging over the antagonisms, that I have at last said to myself, things shall go this way no longer, and now we must finally make things clear, and clean off the slate, and at this time strike at our antagonisms as fundamentally as possible. (Unrest.) The foundation of the whole new "revisionist" movement is, as is well known, Bernstein's book, which, to his good fortune, was written while he was in London. For, as soon as he was given the opportunity to return to Germany, which I was glad to grant him from my heart (I have myself as far as possible contributed thereto),—since he has been practically occupied in Germany he has, according to my conviction not gained followers but rather lost many (That's right) and this, not simply among the radicals, but among his friends the revisionists, and indeed among these the most. What has not been said during the last few days of him who was once greeted by his friends as a Messiah and of whom was expected the preaching of a new evangel, a new belief and new tactics. Now they are all shouting, 'Stone him! Stone him!'-not because he has taken back a single word of that which he has said, but because, according to their ideas he was so unskilful, or so frank in speaking out. It is for this that he has been so sharply blamed, so that many have said, if this goes much further he must be put out of the party. None of *us* have said this as yet, but it has been said to Bernstein by those who, until a short time ago, were reckoned among his followers. Bernstein has grown to become a sort of *enfant terrible*. Because his views, however, were already discredited in wide circles of the party, no very great significance was laid upon his first suggestion that we choose a Vice-president who would be compelled by the cus-

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tom of the Reichstag to make the ordinary visit to court. In fact I was much less embittered that the question was raised at all, than that it was set forth in such a public manner, because I said to myself: could Bernstein do anything more foolish from his own standpoint than at the very moment when the greatest rejoicing over the result of the election was prevailing throughout the party, and where the whole party with the exception of a disappearing minority had reached the conviction that now was the opportunity to take advantage of this victory and go forward to a sharper and more thorough attack by virtue of the strength of the great principles and the accomplishments of our previous tasks,—that he should come forward at this moment with the Vice-presidential question and declare that 'even if we have to go to court we dare not deny ourselves,' and that at a moment when the news from Breslau and Essen (long and vigorous applause) still burned before the eyes of the Social Democratic Party. At a moment that more than showed to every one who could think even a little what had been prepared for us from above, at that moment when we were saying to each other, now we will have to do with a representative of the ruling powers who has so often announced to us that in the last analysis 'the army is still there to shoot against father and mother.' (Long and renewed applause.) Did Bernstein really believe that all this had gone out of the heads of the German proletariat? (Loud applause.) Did he believe that there was a single one of us in doubt that the tremendous power which this man commanded on water and on land would one day be set in motion if he believed that the time had come to lead it against us? Whoever does not see all that, whoever does not know all that, should cease to play at politics. (Long and continued applause.) Bernstein had in my estimation shown a significant lack of foresight, and as far as I could observe no great portion of the party members considered it worth while to use any heavy weapons against him To be sure I was roused that such a great moment should be disturbed by this trivial proposal.

"I will tell you this, that even if a great portion of the party press and that portion which is not ordinarily opposed to me on tactical questions blames me, on the other hand, I can give you written proof of the fact, that as long as I have been active in the party, and you know there have been some fierce struggles in the party, I have never received so many endorsements from the ranks of the party comrades as at the present time. Our comrades rejoice when the right word comes at the right time. (Laughter and applause.) Never has it happened to me to receive so many letters of endorsement as at the present time from the masses of the party comrades, and also from Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and England. From the German comrades,

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however, not from the others. They are all rejoicing that we have at last belled the cat. (Loud applause.)

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"When it became apparent that nine-tenths of the party disapproved of Vollmar's tactics, and that it was by no means a question of an extension of power but a little insignificant discussion of formalities, then there came from all sides a demand that the Convention should not occupy itself therewith. Now, if we were living behind a Chinese wall then the question would be wholly different. But, we are not. The whole world, we may say with a certain pride, is looking at us, and every movement in our ranks is closely followed by all Germany. On the other side all of those who during the last twelve years have brought this disagreement to the front at least every two years, and annually during the last five years, were praised by the bourgeois press and painted as great statesmen with a wide outlook. They will, in this manner, as I have already said, praise them out of the party. This has already taken place to a degree that I must say has many times disgusted me. (Applause.) Certainly those praised have not been responsible for this, but if such a thing should happen to me—it can not happen to me and I am glad of it—and so long as I can breathe and write and speak out, it shall not be otherwise. I will always be the deadly enemy of this bourgeois society and this social order as long as I live and I wish to exist only in order to bury its conditions of existence and to abolish it if I can. (Loud applause.)

"I wish the comrades to be informed on everything and if this had been done things would not have reached the pass in the party that, unfortunately, they have now attained, for the party comrades would have come together and said 'Hold on, this can not go further. We see that what you are saying is exploited in the opposition press and how you are misunderstood, and this must not continue.'

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"They think the more modest we are the easier we shall conquer. I say, the more modest we are the less we will get. (Applause.) Marx says in Capital, 'It is not possible to leap over an essential stage of development, but its duration may be shortened.' There has been no greater practical politician than that Marx who is so much slandered in our own ranks. A stage of evolution cannot be leaped over, but it may be shortened. Our whole activity proceeds from the point of view of shortening the stages of evolution which lead to the socialist society. (Great applause.) With the revisionists, however, things are turned completely round. 'Do not be so rash nor eager;' those are not their words but the sense. 'The masses are not yet ready, how can you flatter

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yourselves.' They tell us the masses are not in a position to use the governmental power if it should come to us. Never mind breaking your heads about that. You know little of the intelligence there is upon our side if you are really in accord with the masses. (Very true.) What have not the laborers performed in the unions, in the mutual benefit associations, in industrial lines and in parliaments? Especially, what have not been the accomplishments of those men who have come from the proletariat in parliament? I do not speak of the collegians. How well these men filled their places during the last spring and summer upon the tariff commission. I think you honestly could have expected that our men would be placed there, but that they would fulfill their duties in such a satisfactory manner has filled me with amazement. . . . What do you know of the intelligence in labor circles? You have no conception of it. (Very good.) In every great popular movement intellects come from beneath of which no man has thought. For there has never been a great cultural movement of which it is more true that it has produced its own men than of the socialist movement. (Loud applause.) If the condition should arise tomorrow which should throw our opponents from their positions and place us therein, you need have no worry but what we would know what to do. (Applause.) But this petty point of view, this small heartedness, this cowardice, this everlasting diplomacy and compromise! (Great merriment and applause.) Naturally, all the diplomatic genius is on the side of our revisionists, all diplomatic history is on their side. Their genius for statesmanship is visible a thousand meters away and their statesmanlike features are noticeable from afar. In spite of all this, I say to you that the riders of principles, the people who more than ever represent the old ideal revolutionary standpoint of the party, these are no diplomats, no statesmen, nor do they wish to be; but I say to you, when one begins to write of *himself* as a statesman he is one no longer. (Cries of "Very good" and great merriment.)

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"This smoothing out, this bridging over of the antagonisms between proletariat and bourgeois society, that is the object of the men who call themselves revisionists. (Loud applause.) It is always and forever the old struggle, here Left, there Right, and between, the swamp. These are the elements that never know what they wish, that never say what they wish. These are the ones who first listen and look to find where the majority is and then go there. We have this same sort in our own party. (Renewed applause.) Many of them have been brought to light by this discussion. This, comrades, must be denounced. (Cry, 'Denounced?') Yes, I say 'denounced,' in order that the comrades

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may know what sort of people they are. The man who openly takes some standpoint from which I can tell where I am and with what I have to battle and whether he conquers or I is not so much to be feared, but the miserable element that always hides and avoids every clear expression and is always saying, 'We are all united, we are all brothers,' this is the worst. (Loud applause.) This I fight the most. (Tumultuous applause.) If there is any doubt as to whether this view is correct, I find my best reasons for it in the attitude of our enemies. They are for me the best barometers. I ask then if the revisionist movement has not been encouraged and praised in every possible manner, by the capitalists, and if they have not morally supported it as far as they can? The *Frankfurter Zeitung* is, so to say, the organ of the revisionists, and the same could well nigh be said of Naumann's *Hilfe*. As poor an opinion as I have of Herr Naumann and as little as I believe that he has a wide political outlook, in relation to the tactics that he has adopted toward us he was generally skilful. (Shout, 'Yet he has had no results; yet he accomplished nothing.') Certainly he accomplished nothing. Do you think, comrades, that I believe that revisionism will accomplish anything in our party? (Loud applause.) No, comrades, it has had no results, save that it has brought disgrace to the party. (Shout, 'That's right.') It divides our strength and it restricts our development, it compels disagreements and reciprocal attacks where the opposite should prevail. (Very true.) Numerous comrades are also led astray. That these people have fought honestly I have no doubt. I have said the same in regard to our collegians who generally have forgotten all too soon what they have learned as Social Democrats, until they all more or less believe that they are actually born leaders of the proletariat, until finally more than one of them believes the proletariat should be brought to think that he does it an honor to represent it. (Very true.) There is no evil intention, no absolute betrayal, but it is an injury to the party. Alongside of the collegians comes that other portion of the revisionists, the previous proletarians who have risen to higher positions in life, people who have had a certain break in their lives. We need only to apply the materialistic conception of history and you can solve the riddle. That which holds true of our opponents holds true for us also. And thus is born the belief that one has statesmanlike blood and is a diplomatic genius. This belief in connection with the intercourse with people of the other side, gradually leads to the position which I have today pointed out. So it is that so-called proletarians are found therein. Certainly they are the unscientific and unskilful who but follow a man to whom they believe themselves personally bound. But, if it were once possible to set forth what the actual proletariat of the party

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thinks of revisionism, the revisionists would have a beautifully fine general staff but the army behind them would have disappeared. (Loud applause.)

"But because revisionism since the last election (I practice no deception, I conceal nothing) has had a considerable strengthening in the Reichstag; because I know that people will seek to shake the proletarians in their convictions; and because I know that this, as it always has, will lead to continuous struggles and friction of the most unfortunate form, I have said, 'but now the Convention shall finally decide for the representatives of the party what shall be their standpoint and firmly fix the future tactics of the fraction.' (Applause.) I have already said in my first statement, 'I know that we have had sharp contests over tactics in the fraction and I know also that in the last instance that if the party was to speak these questions would be decided otherwise than they are in the fraction. (True, true.) Therefore we will more than ever call upon the party for decisions concerning the tactics of the fraction.' From this point of view I have presented the resolution with the amendment which I read at the beginning. From this point of view I ask you to observe this resolution and judge it, and if you believe that the resolution expresses what should be expressed, then vote for it with an overwhelming majority. (Shout, 'unanimously.') And I am convinced that if this rule of conduct is given us, and if the other measures are grasped as they should be in order to spread clearness, truth and knowledge, then am I convinced that the party will go forward in its broad, victorious course, and fulfill its historical mission in the most glorious manner." (Tumultuous and continuous applause.)

After various other speakers, including Kautsky, Vollmar and Auer had addressed the Convention, Edward Bernstein proceeded to set forth his position. As with Bebel's, it is impossible to publish the whole of Bernstein's speech, but the substance is given herewith:

"I shall not hesitate from the beginning to declare that I am a revisionist. (Bravo.) Indeed I will even go further and admit that I am a Bersteinian. (Great merriment.)

"What is revisionism? It was not I who created the word. It was Schönlank who in 1894 while speaking in France declared the necessity of a revision of socialist ideas. I have never spoken of the revision of socialism, but have dealt with a list of questions under the title of 'problems of socialism.' What does revisionism seek to do? If all of the people who at one time or another have had opinions differing from the great majority of the party comrades on practical or theoretical questions were to be designated revisionists we would have a large body in which wholly different

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views would be represented. The critical minds are always much harder to bring together than the dogmatic minds. In the time of the Reformation the Catholic Church held together while the Protestant movement was split up into numerous little movements which indeed constituted its temporary weakness. So it is no wonder that the so-called main revisionists disagree on different points. I have never had any illusions on this point. I have never imagined that the theoreticians would agree at all points with Vollmar, Auer or Heine. Even while I was in England I have declared that these men were independent politicians, men of practical experience, and were not responsible for me, nor I for them. So it is no disavowment, no kick that I have received from them. (Hear, hear.)

"I recognize so little the existence of revisionist party comrades that on various occasions I have shown that these men were no nearer to me than our party comrades. Auer is a dear comrade to me, but he stands no closer to me than August Bebel. When I went to Switzerland this summer I visited Bebel in Küssnacht, and also Vollmar in Munich. We are not here concerned with personal relations, but it is false to think that a uniform revisionist faction exists which conspires against the whole party. (That's right.) There are only a number of people who take an heterodox attitude towards the views expressed in the official scientific organ of the party, the *Neue Zeit*. If, however, a declaration of war is issued, as was just now done by Bebel, then it is self evident that we will find ourselves together in order to defend the right of freedom of thought. (That is right.) Then when this occasion has passed by, each one will go his own way and work in the ranks of the party. (Many shouts of "that's right.")

"To my mind the task of revision lies in the sphere of theory, and not of practice, and certainly theory owes much more to the practical movement than the movement to theory. Kautsky asserts that the revisionists question the party programme. No, that is not correct. The revisionists in the first place in no way question the second portion of the programme, including all of the political and economic demands. You cannot show me a sentence of these demands which I question. Therefore, I am of the opinion that the danger to the party which our work threatens is not very great. I also question in no way the last sentence of the theoretical portion of our programme. What does need revision are the first five paragraphs and part of the sixth. Therein lies the task of revisionism, as it appears to me as a theoretical worker. What revision is necessary in practice, can only be discovered through practical experience.

"I deny entirely that the vice-presidential question has anything whatever to do with my theoretical views. It is always made to

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appear as if I were continually sitting and watching to see if I could not find some place in our programme to revise. That is not the case. And it is especially true that my proposition in regard to the vice-presidential question sprang out of no hypercriticism, but was the result of practical consideration. If it was ever true of any proposition, it was of this one that it was the product of practical experience which I gathered last winter in the Reichstag. You may think what you will, but I came to this conclusion as the result of the battle over the tariff bill. Call to mind the various stages of the tariff question, and especially that which was called the uprising (*Umsturtz*) in the Reichstag, and we must not deceive ourselves that what we had then experienced in the Reichstag was really a defeat—a defeat which was brought upon us through the use of brutal force. (Bebel, "it was a moral victory.") To be sure it was a moral victory, but in fact a defeat. If Kautsky drew the conclusion from such events as that of the tariff that the form of the political struggle is not growing milder, but rather sharper, then that is surely a peculiar manner of treating the question of the development of class antagonisms. The question was not, how could we fight in Parliament, or in the election, but whether we would not have to go upon the street and fight out the battle in blood, or if we could fight with other means. That the antagonisms are growing sharper I have never denied. * * *

"As a consequence of the result of so many popular movements the ruling class by no means presents a solid front. Kautsky has spoken again today of the increasing sharpness of class antagonisms and of the increasing hatred of the possessing class by the proletariat and of the increasing persecution by the bourgeoisie. In my opinion it is one of the main mistakes of Comrade Kautsky that he always deals with such fallacious ideas (Bebel, "No, no.") Yes, certainly. And when one holds this formula his deductions are of iron logic and with no escape. Everything else is false and I am in every way an incurable confusionist. (Great laughter and shouts of "that's right.") Is the hypothesis of Kautsky correct? Are the governing classes a unit as opposed to the proletariat? Do all portions of the possessing classes stand in equal antagonism to the Social Democracy? (Shout, "sure.") Then you have struck yourself in the face at the last election where we made a distinction between our opponents. Look once honestly at evolution. Great industries in Germany are united under the domination of trusts in order to terrorize other industries and the laboring class. Against these trusts a great opposition exists today and at this point the antagonisms between the bourgeois classes are extraordinarily far reaching. The question continually arises, how does the labor party stand in regard to these questions? And at the decisive moment it is easily con-

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ceivable that the bourgeois parties will be split on these questions.

"Through what have we gained the greater part of our victories in our wage struggles in the unions? Because it is often impossible for the different employers to combine, since a universal lock-out of the workers in the whole country is not possible for any length of time. The employers see that it is impossible to continue to shut the laborers out, and that they have diverse interests among themselves. I can illustrate this with concrete examples. The number of those among the possessing class, who from material grounds have an interest in securing the favor of the laborers, is continually growing. In my first address, after my return from England to Berlin, I have spoken about the way in which the saloonkeepers with which Social Democrats generally associated were gradually accepting the idea of Social Democracy (Laughter.) Laugh if you wish, but in that assembly there was no laughter. (Applause.) And this holds true, not only of the saloonkeepers but also of the great brewers (Laughter, shout of "horrible.") But you will remember how, not long ago, after the *Vorwaerts* had published the history of the campaign against suffrage, how a large number of brewers on their own initiative came forward to declare that they knew nothing of this (Shout, "in order to improve their business.") Yes, to be sure; that they did not come because of ideal grounds is evident. But it is to their interest to be in good favor with the laboring class. It is indeed self-evident that the more the laboring class grows, the greater becomes the significance of laborers as consumers, and consequently the greater the interest of the employer to raise the consuming power of the workers. You cannot deny this, and the result is not alone that these people look favorably upon the efforts of the laborers to improve their condition, but that they will occasionally strongly support them. We have also among bourgeois parties the antagonisms between free traders and protectionists, between the great commercial cities and the agrarians. Just because the interests of the possessing class are so antagonistic, and because it happens that one class is opposed to the other class, and under certain circumstances can increase the strength of the Social Democracy, is the reason why reaction is so extraordinarily hard and the unity of reaction so very hard to maintain. It is not correct to always deal only with such simple ideas as bourgeoisie and reaction. We must clearly understand that the ruling classes have different interests, and that under certain circumstances we can use these differences for our purposes. * * * After 1878 Marx and Engels expressed the opinion that the Socialist Law of Exception had one advantage in that it would cure the German Social Democracy of parliamentarianism. Those who followed the actual development, however, saw that the

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opposite has resulted. The Social Democratic fraction of the Reichstag were far more parliamentarian at the time of the repeal of the Socialist law than on its enactment. * * *

"If we permit our parliamentary fraction to adopt a purely protesting attitude, the result would at once appear that many have feared, that the unions would continually grow nearer to the bourgeois parties. That this has not occurred is due to the parliamentary activity of our party. We have, therefore, become no less radical, but only more firm. If radicalism actually consists in big words and extreme demands and ideas, then, this conception was correct, and the child is more radical than the man because he cries for the moon. (Very true.) Man does not reach after the moon, but he constantly brings the elements more and more to his service, and in the same way the increasing labor movement compels us ever more and more to reject illusions, and to use the necessities of present society as much as possible for our purposes. Let us lay all declamations to one side and accept parliamentarism for what it is, namely, a really great power, a great factor in our universal political life. For these reasons I have made my suggestion and still maintain it.

"On the question of freedom of thought I agree much more with Kautsky than in other directions. A fighting political party is no economic congress, and doubt and questioning must have some bounds. This we can demand of comrades. But where are these bounds? Not in the views of probable development. Here the most complete freedom of opinion must rule. The boundaries consist in the fundamentals which are placed in the party programme, and these fundamentals have never been denied by me at any time. On the contrary I have always maintained them with energy. * * *

"For all these reasons I cannot support the resolution. It contradicts my convictions and I do not consider it especially clever. * * *

"We have an electoral battle behind us in which we all stood together. Where was there a revisionist who did not do his whole duty and fight shoulder to shoulder with the others. We have gained a victory. Shall we celebrate this victory by throwing out and abusing one portion of our ranks so that they must go away with angry hearts from this congress. Withdraw this resolution. (Laughter). I know you will not do it, but I am convinced that it would be for the best if you would. Reject this resolution in order that we may go from this convention as comrades in battle who fight in common for a great and common cause." (Loud applause, clapping of hands and hissing.)

The Convention adopted by a vote of 288 to 11 a resolution condemning the revisionist movement of which the following is the portion referring to general tactics:

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"The Convention rejects in the most decisive manner the revisionist efforts to change our hitherto tested and victory-crowned tactics, resting upon the class struggle, by substituting for the conquest of political power through the overthrow of our opponents, a policy of conciliation with the existing order of things. The result of such revisionist tactics would be that a party that works for the most rapid possible transformation of the existing bourgeois society into the Socialist society, and which in the best sense of the word is revolutionary, would be changed into a party which would occupy itself with the reformation of bourgeois society. Accordingly the conference is opposed to the revisionist movement now existing in the party, and is of the conviction that the class antagonisms do not decrease but rather grow sharper and clearer, and the party refuses the responsibility for the political and economic conditions resting upon the capitalist manner of production, and accordingly it refuses all endorsement of means that tend to maintain the ruling class in power."

The effect of this decision has been most far reaching in strengthening the revolutionary wing of the Socialist movement throughout the world. Jaures had expressed himself in *Le Petite Republique*, previous to the conference, to the effect that while it would be too much to expect a victory for the revisionist wing at Dresden, nevertheless that movement would undoubtedly show great strength, and victory might be looked for at an early day. We have not seen what he thought after the Conference, but feel quite sure that his opinion must have been changed.

One of the best evidences of the wisdom of the German Socialists is seen by the attitude taken by the capitalist press. They published columns of editorials expressing their disapproval of the decision of the Conference and declaring that it was fatal to the success of Socialism, and expressing warm sympathy with Bernstein and Vollmar.

Kautsky says in a review of the proceedings published in the *Neue Zeit* that "what is needed is clearness. And to a high degree clearness was brought about at Dresden." Again he points out what has been called attention to elsewhere, but is worthy of still further emphasis, that at the very beginning of the Conference it became clear that revisionism "had no roots in the masses of the party, and it had only officers and no troops, that its representation in the press and in representative bodies was relatively much greater than its hold upon the masses."

And he expresses what is undoubtedly a fact when he says: "This German revolution is, however, by no means insignificant. Its significance reaches far beyond German boundaries and creates a proper prelude to the Amsterdam Congress, where, unless the prevailing order of business is changed, the question of tactics

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will be once more taken up. Jaures had expected, with the help of his German friends, to gain a victory there.

"For Germany, however, the declarations and votes of Dresden have buried the theoretical revisionism as a political factor. To be sure the convictions of individual members are not changed by votes, and just as little can the resolution of the Conference prove the truth or falsehood of the teaching, but its political strength is taken away. When once practical revisionism is rejected we may perhaps now and then have an opportunity to occupy ourselves with criticising some form or another of the revisionist literature, but we can be quite sure that theoretical revisionism will play no important role in the future political battles of Germany."

—*Translations and Comments by A. M. Simons.*

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The Socialist Ideal

OUR COMRADES in Germany were discussing some time since the question of whether Socialism is a science. Socialism is not and cannot be a science for the simple reason that it is a part of the class struggle, and must disappear when its work is accomplished after the abolition of the classes which gave birth to it; but the end which it pursues is scientific.

Guizot, who had a vague idea of the theory of the class struggle —himself a product of the Revolution, which was a dramatic struggle between classes—said with good reason that a class cannot emancipate itself until it possesses the qualities requisite for taking the leadership of society; now one of these qualities is to have a more or less definite conception of the social order which it proposes to substitute for that which is oppressing it. This conception cannot but be a social ideal, or, to employ a scientific word, a social hypothesis; but an hypothesis, as well in the natural sciences as in social science, may be utopian or scientific.

Socialism, because it is a political party of the oppressed class, has therefore an ideal. It groups and organizes the efforts of the individuals who wish to build on the ruins of capitalist society, based upon individual property, an ideal or hypothetical society based upon common property in the means of production.

Only through the class struggle can modern socialism realize its social ideal, which possesses the qualities demanded of any hypothesis that claims a scientific character. The fact of choosing a scientific goal, and of trying to reach it only through the class struggle, distinguishes it from the Socialism of 1848, which was pursuing through the reconciliation of classes a social ideal which could not but be utopian considering the historic moment in which it was conceived. Socialism has thus evolved from Utopia into science. Engels has traced the main lines of this evolution in his memorable pamphlet, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." It is the same with all sciences, which begin with Utopia to arrive at positive knowledge; this course is imposed by the very nature of the human mind.

Man progresses in social life as in intellectual life, only by starting from the known and traveling toward the unknown, and that unknown must be represented by the imagination; that imaginary conception of the unknown, which cannot but be hypothetical, is one of the most powerful incentives to action, it is the very condition of every forward step. It is natural that men like Bernstein in Germany and Jaures in France should seek to domesticate Socialism and to put it in tow of liberalism, accusing it of

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hypnotising its soldiers with an ideal of the year 3000, which makes them live in the expectation of a Messianic "catastrophe" and reject the immediate advantages of an understanding and co-operation with bourgeois parties ,and which blinds them to their shocking errors regarding the concentration of wealth, the disappearance of small industry and the middle class, the increase of class antagonisms, the spreading and intensification of the misery of the working class, etc. These errors may have been plausible hypotheses before 1848, but since then events have shown their falsity. This unfortunate ideal prevents them from descending from the revolutionary heights to accept the responsibilities of power and of setting aside the cause of labor to devote themselves entirely tongue and pen, to the rehabilitation of a millionaire leader; it obliges them to oppose all exterior policies and acts, to vote not a cent nor a soldier for colonial expeditions, which carry labor, Christianity, syphilis and the alcoholism of civilization to the barbaric tribes. The neo-methodists of the ancient and outworn gospel of the brotherhood of classes advise the socialists to suppress their ideal, or, since it unfortunately captivates the masses of the people, to speak of it without caring for it, as Jaures does, that they may consecrate themselves to practical necessities, to the vast plans of agricultural and industrial co-operation, to popular universities, etc.

The dilletantes of politics, these practical groundlings of opportunism, nevertheless hold themselves up for transcendent idealists and march with their eyes fixed upon the stars, because they substitute for ideas a brilliant orchestra of sonorous words and eternal principles.

These bourgeois idealists edge their way in everywhere; after the Revolution of 1789 they rebuked the scientists for their hypotheses and their theories; according to them science should have stopped with the study of facts in themselves without dreaming of uniting them into a general system. "What is the use of cutting stones without putting up a building," replied Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, the genial disciple of Lamarck, who lived to see the extinction of his theory on the continuity of species, which, only thirty years after his death, was to take on a new birth with Darwin. They are still reproaching the physiologists for wasting their time in elaborating hypotheses which last on an average only three years and which cannot explain what takes place in a muscle which contracts and in a brain which thinks. They grumble against the hypotheses of the physicists, who do not know the real nature of elasticity, of electrical conductivity, or even what happens when a particle of sugar is dissolved. They would like to prohibit scientists from any speculation because it is disastrous and may lead into error. But the latter protest and declare that imagination is one of the first and most indispensable

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faculties of the scientist, and that the hypotheses to which they give birth, even though they be erroneous and able to survive only three years, are nevertheless the necessary condition of all scientific progress.

If the communist ideal were an hypothesis undemonstrable and false it would still be a propelling force of social progress, but such is not the case.

The hypothesis in science, as in the social field, is the more undemonstrable and susceptible of error in proportion as the data contributing to its elaboration are less numerous and more uncertain. Greek science, which had to furnish a conception of the world when the data regarding the phenomena of nature were of the most rudimentary, was obliged to resort to hypotheses which for boldness and intuitive accuracy are marvels of history and of thought; after having admitted, according to the vulgar opinion, that the earth was flat, and that the temple of Delphi was situated at its center, they put forth the hypothesis of its spherical form, then undemonstrable.

Socialism, which dates from the first years of the nineteenth century, started, like Greek science, from hypotheses the more erroneous, and from an ideal the more utopian, in that the social world which it proposed to transform was less known; and at that epoch could not be known for the excellent reason that it was in course of formation.

The machine operated by steam was beginning to edge into industry where the tool, managed by the artisan, was moved by human power, and in some rare circumstances by animals, wind or waterfalls. The Socialist thinkers, as Engels observes, were then obliged to draw from their own brain the social ideal which they could not extract from the tumultuous economic environment in full course of transformation. They grasped again, infusing new life into it, the communist ideal which has slumbered in the mind of man since he emerged from the communism of primitive society which the poetic Greek mythology calls the golden age and which has awakened to shine here and there with a glorious splendor at great epochs of social upheaval. They sought, then, to establish communism, not because the economic environment was ready for its introduction, but because men were miserable, because the laws of justice and equality were violated, because the precepts of the Christ could not be followed in their purity. The communistic ideal, not springing from economic reality, was then but an unconscious reminiscence of a prehistoric past, and came only from idealistic notions upon a justice, an equality and a gospel law no less idealistic; it is then idealistic in the second degree, and consequently utopian.

The Socialists of the first half of the nineteenth century, who rekindled the communist ideal, had the rare merit of giving it a

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consistency less idealistic. They spoke little of the Christian religion, of justice and of equality; Robert Owen laid the responsibilities of social evils upon the family, property and religion; Charles Fourier criticises the ideas of justice and morality introduced by the bourgeois Revolution of '89 with incomparable animation and irony. They did not weep over the misery of the poor, but left that for Victor Hugo and the charlatans of romanticism. They preached the social problem from its realistic side, the only side from which it can be solved. They used their talents to prove that a social organization of production would succeed in satisfying the desires of all without reducing the share of any, not even that of the privileged capitalist class. Meanwhile the recent application of steam and machinery demanded also a new organization of labor, and this was the constant concern of the industrial bourgeoisie. The socialists were thus pursuing the same end as the industrials; bourgeois and socialists might consequently come to an understandng. We therefore find in the socialist sects of that epoch industrials, engineers and financiers who in the second half of the century cast away their sympathy for the workers and occupied an important place in capitalist society.

The socialism of that epoch could not under these conditions be anything else than pacific; instead of entering on the struggle with the capitalists, the socialists thought only of converting them to their system of social reform from which they were to be the first to benefit. They proclaimed the association of capital, intelligence and labor, the interests of which, according to them, were identical; they preached a mutual understanding between the employer and the employed, between the exploiter and the exploited; they know no class struggle; they condemned strikes and all political agitation, especially if it were revolutionary; they desired order in the street and harmony in the work-shop. They demanded, finally, nothing more than was desired by the new industrial bourgeoisie.

They foresaw that industry, strengthened by the motive power of steam, machinery and the concentration of the instruments of labor, would have a colossal producing power, and they had the simplicity to believe that the capitalists would content themselves with taking only a reasonable part of the wealth thus created, and would leave to their co-operators, the manual and intellectual laborers, a portion sufficient to enable them to live in comfort. This socialism was marvellously agreeable to capital, since it promised an increase of wealth and advised an understanding between the laborer and the employer. It recruited the great majority of its adepts in the educational hotbeds of the bourgeoisie. It was utopian, therefore it was the socialism of the intellectuals.

But precisely because it was utopian, the laborers, in constant antagonism with their employers on questions of labor and hours,

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looked on it with suspicion. They could understand nothing of this socialism which condemned strikes and political action and which assumed to harmonize the interests of capital and labor, of the exploiter and exploited. They kept aloof from the socialists and gave all their sympathies to the bourgeois republicans, because they were revolutionary. They joined their secret societies and climbed with them upon the barricades to make riots and political revolutions.

Marx and Engels took socialism at the point to which the great utopians had brought it, but instead of torturing their brains to invent out of whole cloth the organization of labor and of production, they studied that which was already created by the very necessities of the new mechanical industry which had arrived at a degree of development sufficient to permit its power and its tendency to be apparent. Its productivity was so enormous, as Fourier and Saint Simon had foreseen, that it was capable of providing abundantly for the normal needs of all the members of society. This was the first time in history that such a productive power had been observed, and it was because capitalist production could satisfy all needs, and for that reason alone, that it is possible to reintroduce communism, that is to say the equal participation of all in social wealth, and the free and complete development of the physical, intellectual and moral faculties. Communism is no longer a utopia but a possibility.

Machinery replaces the individualistic production of the small industry, but the communistic production of the capitalistic factory and property in the means of labor has remained individual, as in the time of the small industry. There is then a contradiction between the individualistic mode of possession and the communist mode of production and this contradiction translates itself into the antagonism between the laborer and the capitalist employer. The producers, who form the immense majority of the nation, no longer possess the instruments of labor, the possession of which is centralized into the idle hands of a decreasing minority. The social problem imposed by mechanical production will be solved, as the social problems imposed by preceding modes of production have been solved, by precipitating the evolution begun by economic force, by finishing the expropriation of the individual in the means of production, by giving to the communistic mode of production the communistic mode of possession which it demands.

The communism of contemporary socialists no longer proceeds, like that of former times, from the cerebral lucubrations of gifted thinkers; it proceeds from economic reality, it is the final goal of the economic forces which, without any attention on the part of the capitalists and their intellectuals, have fashioned the communistic mold of a new society, the coming of which we only have to hasten. Communism, then, is no longer a utopian hypothesis; it

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is a scientific ideal. It may be added that never has the economic structure of any society been better and more completely analyzed than capitalist society, and that never was a social ideal conceived with such numerous and positive data as the communist idea of modern socialism.

Although it is the economic forces which fashion men at their pleasure and spur them to action, and although these constitute the mysterious force determining the great currents of history which the Christians attribute to God, and the free-thinking bourgeois assign to Progress, to Civilization, to the Immortal Principles and other similar manitous, worthy of savage tribes, they are nevertheless the product of human activity. Man, who created them and brought them into the world, has thus far let himself be guided by them; yet now that he has understood their nature and grasped their tendency, he can act upon their evolution. The socialists who are accused of being stricken by Oriental fatalism and of relying upon the good pleasure of economic forces to bring to light the communist society instead of crossing their arms like the fakirs of official Economics, and of bending the knee before its fundamental dogma, *laissez faire, laissez passer*, propose on the contrary to subdue them, as the blind forces of nature have been subdued, and force them to do good to men instead of leaving them to work misery to the toilers of civilization. They do not wait for their ideal to fall from heaven as the Christians hope for the grace of God, and the capitalists for wealth; they prepare, on the contrary, to realize it, not by appealing to the intelligence of the capitalist class and to its sentiments of justice and humanity, but by fighting it, by expropriating it from its political power, which protects its economic despotism.

Socialism, because it possesses a social ideal, has in consequence a criticism of its own. Every class which struggles for its enfranchisement seeks to realize a social ideal, in complete opposition with that of the ruling class. The struggle is waged at first in the ideological world before the physical shock of the revolutionary battle. It thus begins the criticism of the ideas of the society which must be revolted against, for "the ideas of the ruling class are the ideas of society," or these ideas are the intellectual reflection of its material interests.

Thus, as the wealth of the ruling class is produced by slave labor, so religion, ethics, philosophy and literature agree in authorizing slavery. The ugly God of the Jews and Christianity strikes with his curse the progeny of Ham, that it may furnish slaves. Aristotle, the encyclopedic thinker of Greek philosophy, declares that slaves are predestined by nature and that no rights exist for them, for there can be no rights except between equals. Euripides infuses into his tragedies the doctrine of servile morality; St. Paul, St. Augustine and the Church teach to slaves submission to

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their earthly masters that they may deserve the favor of their heavenly master; Christian civilization introduces slavery into America and maintains it there until economic phenomena prove that slave labor is a method of exploitation more costly and less profitable than free labor.

At the epoch when the Greco-Roman civilization was dissolving, when the labor of artisans and free workers began to be substituted for slave labor, pagan religion, philosophy and literature decided to recognize in them certain rights. The same Euripides who advised the slave to lose his personality in that of the master does not wish him to be despised. "There is nothing shameful in slavery but the name," says the pedagogue in Ion, "the slave, moreover, is not inferior to the free man when he has a noble heart." The mysteries of Eleusis and of Orphism, like Christianity, which continues their work, admit slaves among their initiated and promises them liberty, equality and happiness after death.

The dominating class of the Middle Ages being military, the Christian religion and social ethics condemned lending money at interest, and covered the lender with infamy; to take interest for money loaned was then something so ignominious that the Jewish race, obliged to specialize itself in the trade of money, still bears the shame of it. But to-day, now that the Christians have become Jews, and the ruling class lives on the interest of its capital, the trade of the lender at interest is the most honorable, the most desirable, the most exclusive.

The oppressed class, although the ideology of the oppressing class is imposed upon it, nevertheless elaborates religious, ethical and political ideas corresponding to its condition of life; vague and secret at first, they gain in precision and force in proportion as the oppressed class takes definite form and acquires the consciousness of its social utility and of its strength; and the hour of its emancipation is near when its conception of nature and of society opposes itself openly and boldly to that of the ruling class.

The economic conditions in which the bourgeois moves and develops make of it a class essentially religious. Christianity is its work and will last as long as this class shall rule society. Seven or eight centuries before Christ, when the bourgeoisie had its birth in the commercial and industrial cities of the Mediterranean basin, we may observe the elaboration of a new religion; the gods of paganism created by warrior tribes could not be suited to a class consecrated to the production and sale of merchandise. Mysterious cults (the mysteries of the Cabiri, of Demeter, of Dionysus, etc.) bring the revival of the religious traditions of the prehistoric matriarchical period, the idea of a soul and its existence after death revive; the idea of posthumous punishments and rewards to compensate for acts of social injustice are introduced, etc. These religious elements, combined with the spiritual data of Greek

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philosophy, contribute to form Christianity, the religion, *par excellence,* of societies which have for their foundation property belonging to the individual and the class which enrich themselves by the exploitation of wage labor. For fifteen centuries all the movements of the bourgeoisie, either for organization, or for self-emancipation, or for the acquisition of power have been accompanied and complicated by religious crises; but always Christianity more or less modified remains the religion of society. The revolutionists of 1789, who in the ardor of the struggle promised themselves to de-Christianize France, were eager when the bourgeoisie were victorious to raise again the altars they had overthrown and to reintroduce the cult that they had proscribed.

The economic environment which produces the proletariat relieves it on the contrary from every idea of sentiment. There is not seen either in Europe nor in America among the laboring masses of the great industries any anxiety to elaborate a religion to replace Christianity, nor any desire to reform it. The economic and political organizations of the working class are completely disinterested as to any doctrinal discussion of religious and spiritual dogmas, although they combat the priests of all cults because they are the lackeys of the capitalist class.

The victory of the proletariat will deliver humanity from the nightmare of religion. The belief in superior beings to explain the natural world and the social inequalities, and to prolong the dominion of the ruling class, and the belief in the posthumous existence of the soul to recompense the inequalities of fate will have no more justification when once man, who has already grasped the general causes of the phenomena of nature, shall live in a communist society from whence shall have disappeared the inequalities and the injustice of capitalistic society.

The militant socialists, following the example of the encyclopedists of the eighteenth century, have to make a merciless criticism of the economic, political, historical, philosophical, moral and religious ideas of the capitalist class in order to prepare in all spheres of thought the triumph of the new ideology which the proletariat brings into the world. PAUL LAFARGUE.

(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)

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Congress of French Socialists

THE congress held seven sessions, two each on Sunday, September 27, and Tuesday, September 29, and three on Monday the 28th, when there was a night session.

A report on the general activity of the party was read by the Secretary for Internal Affairs, Louis Dubreuilh. In the course of this report he stated that the Parti Socialiste Francais already includes three-fourths of the organized Socialists of France. In a large number of the provinces it is carrying on a systematic activity. In not a single place is it declining. On the contrary, in most of the provinces it is making a rapid gain and it will soon include all the intelligent workers for revolutionary Socialism.

The interest of the convention centered largely upon the question of closer organization of the allied socialist forces. The committee appointed to elaborate plans looking to this end presented three reports. The second of these offered by Paul Lafargue dealt with the question of putting an end to the provisional arrangement adopted at the conference of Ivery, and continued by the congress at Commentry. This arrangement gave to the old organizations the duty of distributing membership cards. All the delegates who took the floor demanded in the name of their respective organizations that this should be done away with, and complete unity be realized. This present congress offered the one occasion when the members could meet together in the capacity of delegates from the old national organizations which had been continued in existence by the compact of Ivery. These organizations were of course the only ones which could authorize their own obliteration.

It is for this reason that Vaillant, in the name of the Central Revolutionary Committee, offered a resolution affirming the unanimous desire of the Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire to realize a complete and indistinguishable unity with the comrades of the other organizations, indicating, moreover, the conditions under which he considered that this unity morally and materially established in form as well as in fact might become the absolute law and duty for all. His resolution reads as follows:

The Central Revolutionary Committee at its regular meeting held June 16, 1903, under the presidency of Comrade Calnels, adopted unanimously the following proposition offered by Comrade Vaillant:

The Central Revolutionary Committee accepts, but only on

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the following conditions, the abolition of the temporary arrangements of the compact of Ivery. That is to say, the abolition of the national organization of the Parti Ouvrier Francais, Parti Socialiste Revolutionnaire and Alliance Communiste, which, with the concurrent local federation, constituted the Parti Socialiste de France.

These conditions are:

One, absolute regard for the compact of Ivery guaranteed by applying a preliminary investigation to every motion for modifying it from any source whatever.

Two, the suppression of all titles and names, of all designations and emblems of all inscriptions and, in fact, of all signs of any kind which might recall, as if existing, the old organizations, P. S. R., P. O. F., and A. C.

Three, only the names and inscriptions of the Parti Socialiste de France are allowed dating from the day when by the abolition of the temporary arrangements of the compact of Ivery the old organizations shall have been merged in the P. S. de F. There was likewise a unanimous decision to establish unreserved unity on the part of the delegates who had received their credentials from the adherence of the Parti Ouvrier Francais. And all agreed in affirming that not only had the P. O. F. exercised no functions as a national organization since the congress of Commentary, but that every public action performed by its federations, sections and groups in the various regions, had been in the name and under the title of the Parti Socialiste de France.

The complete unity which they were commissioned to bring about naturally meant for them the disappearance of the national organization of the Parti Ouvrier Francais, and therefore of the initials P. O. F. even as a sub-title. The representatives of the Alliance Communiste also declared that they had come with a view to bringing about complete unification.

The committee upon a legislative and municipal program for the party presented the following report, which was adopted unanimously. Upon a motion by Vaillant the title of the program was changed so as to read henceforth:

"Program of Immediate Demands."

POLITICAL SECTION.

Article 1. Abolition of all laws limiting for working men the liberties of the press, of meeting and of association. Abolition of all restrictions effecting directly or indirectly the international association of the workingmen.

Art. 2. Civil and political equality for all members of the social body.

Art. 3. Separation of church and state. Abolition of appro-

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priations for public worship. Restoration to the nation of the property of the churches and of the so-called mort-main property real and personal belonging to religious congregations, including all industrial and commercial appendages operated by these congregations.

Art. 4. General arming of the people. Suppression of standing armies and their transformation into national militia.

Art. 5. Measures securing secret voting and the free exercise of the right of suffrage.

Art. 6. The municipality to be supreme over its administration, its finances and its police.

Art. 7. Remuneration for all elective functions.

ECONOMIC SECTION.

Art. 8. Abolition of the taxes which weigh most heavily on the producer and the poor. Uniform and progressive taxation upon incomes above 3,000 francs.

Art. 9. Abolition of inheritance on collateral lines. Limitation of inheritance on the direct line to the profit of the nation or the municipality.

Art. 10. Abolition of the public debt.

Art. 11. Resumption by the nation of the public properties granted to private parties (banks, railroads, mines, etc.), and delivery of their management to the laborers, under the control of the nation.

Art. 12. General scientific and professional education guaranteed to all children, their support being at the expense of society represented by the municipality and by the State.

Art. 13. Legal limitation of the labor-day for adults to eight hours.

Art. 14. Prohibition of the employment of children under 14 years. Limitation of the labor-day of children between 14 and 18 to half the legal labor-day for adults.

Art. 15. Legal prohibition of requiring labor more than six days out of seven.

Art. 16. Prohibition of night labor for children less than 18 and for women.

Art. 17. Prohibition of requiring labor from women six weeks before and six weeks after the birth of a child.

Art. 18. Prohibition of labor in houses of refuge and orphan asylums, etc. Reorganization of labor in prisons so as not to compete with private labor.

Art. 19. Prohibition of piece work of every description.

Art. 20. Legal minimum for wages fixed annually according to the local cost of living by delegates of laborers and employees, or by the unions.

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Art. 21. Equal wages for equal work to laborers of both sexes.

Art. 22. Legal prohibition against employers hiring foreign laborers at wages below those paid to French laborers.

Art. 23. Abolition of fines and of any deduction from wages or salaries. Prohibition of payment in goods or checks. Abolition of company stores.

Art. 24. Abolition of employment agencies. Legal prohibition of pass-books for adults.

Art. 25. Direct participation on the part of laborers in the fixing of all the regulations of factories, shops, stores or offices.

Art. 26. Inspection of labor entrusted to laborers, and employees chosen as delegates empowered to look after the execution of labor legislation.

Art. 27. Revision of the Arbitration laws to assure more guarantees to the laborers.

Art. 28. Extension to all classes of workers, laborers, and employees, in manufactures, mines, transportation, commerce, agriculture, municipal and state works of all labor legislation, especially the arrangements concerning conditions of labor, arbitration, accidents, etc.

Art. 29. Compulsory and immediate compensation at the expense of employers for damages in all cases of accidents without distinction of position or trade.

Art. 30. Direct and exclusive control by the laborers and employees of the labor funds for mutual assistance, sick benefits and insurance. Absolute prohibition of any interference on the part of employers.

Art. 31. Relief at the expense of employers and society for all those whom age, infirmities or sickness have made unable to supply the needs of their existence.

MUNICIPAL SECTION.

Art. 32. Suppression of the octrois with absolute liberty left to the municipalities to establish taxes to replace them, and with participation in the revenues of the State.

Art. 33. Exemption from all personal taxes for small tenants to be obtained by a progressive tax on tenants of a higher grade.

Art. 34. Taxes upon buildings not rented and upon ground not built upon.

Art. 35. Free text books and school supplies. Establishment of school restaurants, providing a gratuitous meal for the pupils between the morning and afternoon sessions. Distribution of clothing and shoes. Establishment of municipal libraries.

Art. 36. Introduction into bureaus of public works and into municipal contracts of clauses establishing stated conditions of

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labor. (Eight-hour day; minimum wage; prohibition of piece work; healthful and safe conditions for the workers.)

Art. 37. Establishment of labor exchanges in municipalities where several labor unions exist. The direction and administration of these to be entrusted exclusively to the unions. In default of unions and labor exchanges free employment bureaus to be maintained by the municipalities.

Art. 38. Remuneration for workingmen arbitrators at a rate assuring them independence of employers.

Art. 39. Municipal hygienic service and sanitary inspection. Compulsory sanitary repairs at the cost of the owners of lodgings found unhealthful. Establishment of free public washhouses and shower baths.

Art. 40. Free medical attendance. Municipal pharmacies furnishing medicine at cost.

Art. 41. Establishment of free sanitariums, maternity hospitals and dispensaries, belonging to the municipality, or a group of municipalities.

Art. 42. Outdoor relief and establishment of municipal and inter-municipal homes for children, the aged and those disabled by labor.

Art. 43. Relief in the way of food for every workingman traveling or without fixed residence in search of employment. Establishment of free lodging houses.

Art. 44. Legal advice free.

Art. 45. Publication of an official municipal bulletin or regular placarding of decisions taken by the municipal council.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM.

On recommendation of the committee the congress decided to refer to the central council:

1. The preparation of a plan for an agricultural program which was to be adopted after consultation between the federations.

2. The publication of a pamphlet commenting on the articles in the program of immediate demands.

The central council was also instructed as proposed by Lagardelle and Deslinieres to prepare before the next municipal elections a declaration of principles to precede the program of reforms of the party. Finally on a proposition by Laudier and Compère-Morel representing the federations of the Cher and Oise the following resolution was adopted.

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.

The second national congress of the socialist party of France (U. S. R.) in assembly at Reims September 27, 28, 29, 1903,

In view of the ever increasing concentration of landed prop-

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erty in the hands of a capitalist minority which brings into agricultural communities the same degree of exploitation that prevails in industrial communities, and,

In view of the introduction of machinery in agricultural labor, which intensifies more and more the struggle for employment and causes the machine (which under the socialist system would be a source of benefit and happiness for the farm laborers by relieving them from the severe fatigue of the work of harvesting) to be under the capitalist system a source of poverty, trouble and privation through the competition which it brings about among country laborers;

Declares that there is need for the party to carry on an active propaganda in the country districts in favor of the limitation of the labor-day, for the relief of those out of work, and in favor of the establishment of a minimum wage, awaiting the time when the economic and political organizations of the forces of labor for the expropriation of the possessing class and the benefit of the dispossessed class, in landed property as well as in agricultural machinery, may permit it to use the means of production in common for the greatest good of all.

EDUCATION.

The report drawn up by Lafargue states in the first place that the question may be reduced to primary education, since secondary and higher education are inevitably closed to the children of proletarians. The congress agreed with him. Lafargue's project is developed in the following resolution:

Whereas, the children of the laborers, given up to the exploitation of employers from the tenderest age, receive only primary instruction and do not profit at an adult age from the scientific information which might permit them to emancipate themselves from the religious falsehoods with which they are poisoned,

The second congress of the socialist party of France declares that, first and foremost, primary instruction should be taken away from the congregations and the ministers of all religions.

Whereas, the laborers, despoiled by the capitalists of the social wealth which they alone have to produce, and receiving only enough to live upon in trouble and poverty, cannot defray the necessary expenses for the education and support of their children, and

Whereas, the laborers provide the revenue of the state directly through the taxes which they pay and indirectly by the taxes which the capitalists pay with the money stolen from them;

The second congress of the socialist party of France declares that the state should be compelled to give gratuitously primary instruction to the children of the laborers, and procure for them

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gratuitously school supplies, clothing, food and other necessary articles.

Whereas, the state, which is the exploiter of wage labor and which shares with the capitalists the thefts which they commit daily upon the wage laborer, gives only an education corrupted by bourgeois ideas of property, justice, legality, the rights of man, patriotism, glory, military honor, savings, liberty to work, etc., and,

Whereas, these bourgeois ideas, which are no less dangerous than the outgrown dogmas of religion, are taught in the primary schools for no other purpose than to prepare the laborers from childhood to submit to the yoke of capital, to live in privation by the side of the increasing wealth which they produce, and to accept without rebelling the inequalities and iniquities of society.

The second congress of the socialist party of France demands that the mothers and fathers of the children attending the municipal schools constituted into an electoral body, elect, in each municipality, women and men to form school boards charged to look after the hygienic conditions of their children and the distribution of food, and clothing, and to control the instruction which is given them, as well as the books which are put into their hands.

Neither the state officials nor officers and ministers of any organized religion shall be allowed under any pretext to hold a place on the school boards.

A discussion ensued on this proposition, participated in by Vaillant, Constans, Galmot, Roussel, Myrens, Landrin, Roland, Lagardelle, Rappaport, Guesde and Ghesquiere. It was unanimously agreed that while the preamble of Lafargue's plan was to be endorsed completely, his conclusions leave much room for discussion and it will be better for the present to leave the question for the study of the party.

On motion by Vaillant it was decided that the party should ask the international congress to declare itself upon the "revisionist" tendencies, by whatever name they may be called, by presenting a resolution similar to that adopted by the German Social Democracy at the congress of Dresden.—*Translated from Le Socialiste by Charles H. Kerr.*

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Materialism and Its Relations to Propagandism of Socialism

I HAVE been a reader of THE REVIEW since its beginning, with the exception of the numbers of the first half of 1903, and, in the main, especially as far as has to do with the doctrines of socialism, I can indorse what has appeared in its columns. It is a power which is opening the eyes of the thinking class of the American public. Nevertheless I cannot but deplore the efforts of some of its writers to build evolution and socialism upon materialism as its philosophic basis. This position in philosophy I must criticise as untenable and destructive of all tendency to reform. Instead of being a stable structure it is an inverted pyramid, whose only foundation is its apex, and which the slightest breath of reason topples over.

First let us consider the objection to materialism from the view point of the propagandism of reforms. Materialism is determinism pure and simple. No old time straight-jacket Presbyterian could be more rigid in his predestinarianism than are the inevitable conclusions of materialism. Everything flows in a determined stream whose sources are the "fortuitous concourse and clash of atoms." Mind is a function of matter, the same as sound, heat, light, and electricity. The brain is a mechanism which gives off thought, consciousness, and will as a tea-kettle gives off steam. The kind, quantity and direction of these products are wholly determined by the motor forces included in the atoms themselves, and the concourses and clashes fortuitously determined by their several environments. In the individual there is no self-determining power; he is merely a molecule carried on and on by the irresistible force of gravity and the direction-determining enclosure of the stream's banks.

With such a philosophy it is folly for an individual to put forth an effort to will, and much more to act. With such a philosophy as our guide to truth no person can in the slightest degree change the flow of events, nor can he be in the slightest degree held responsible for his acts. Materialism carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The ancients placed the world on a turtle's back, but what the turtle rested on was answered by the agnostic "I don't know." Materialism bases the world on the atom; but how the atom has and exercises its wonderful and Godlike power is answered by the agnostic "I don't know."

It has been a hackneyed custom of some philosophers to brand certain kinds of reasoning as metaphysical, and in such a man-

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ner do they speak as to convey the conclusion concealed in their contemptuous epithet, that metaphysics and metaphysical reasoning are obsolete relics of the middle ages, and that no well informed man of the present time will attempt to lead through tortuous windings of a reasoning which begins nowhere and ends in the same place.

Allow me to say here without fear of controversy that there can be no philosophy without a metaphysical basis; and the philosophy which ignores metaphysics has no foundation—no commanding power to give it credence.

All philosophies may be classified under three general heads—materialism, dualism, and idealism. Though under each head are a multitude of variations, each class has certain distinctive doctrines.

Materialism holds that the atom, or whatever it may term the ultimate portion of the world which affects our senses, has the potency of all things and all phenomena, both physical and mental, which we see about us. Everything is reduced to a push and a pull of this ultimate entity of matter—nay, that is not the last analysis; for in strictness we cannot conceive a pull—everything must be reduced to a push of material atoms against each other. The various phenomena of gravity, molecular attractions and repulsions, sound, heat, light, and electricity, sensation, perception, consciousness, thought, and will, all require a foundation—a rational explanation; but at each step the philosopher can only assume that it is so, and attribute the phenomena to the mysterious and wonderful properties of matter. In this upward march to the higher realms of thought the materialistic philosopher continues to endow matter and the atom with attributes and powers adequate to explain the phenomena which he discusses until his matter and atoms arise to the dignity and power of God! His explanations are all irrational assumptions.

Dualism is for the most part the philosophy of religionists in all ages of the world, though there is no necessary relation between religion and dualism. It is also the philosophy of the common sense of mankind. This fact doubtless has for its reason the other fact that it is much easier to attribute the two utterly different orders of phenomena (mental and physical) to two entirely different orders of reality (spirit and matter), than to attribute all phenomena to one kind of reality—the explanation attempted by both materialistc monists and idealistic monists.

Dualism assumes a world of matter and a world of spirit, both of an entirely different order of existence; that in the organism the two orders of existence are mysteriously united, allowing the spiritual to reach over into, as it were, and control the material; that each order of existence is independent in

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its essence from the other. While the assumptions of dualism are rational and cannot be disproved—at least with mathematical certainty—it must call to its aid many agnostic "I-don't-knows," and fails to explain what seems more simple and rationally explained by idealistic monism.

In idealism we find the most impregnable position in philosophy. We cannot conceive how a push can become gravitation, molecular attractions and repulsions, sound, heat, light, electricity, sensation, thought, consciousness, and will. Each transition involves an inconceivable leap from a physical entity to an idea—a transformation from a physical order to one to which we cannot conceive that the physical has any relation whatever. Yet if we start with consciousness—that which says "I am the being that has these thoughts, and will, and know, and act"—we are driven to the conclusion that all our knowledge is mental. Every sensation, perception, thought—the whole realm of knowledge is mental. What we are wont to call physical phenomena are those streams which seem to reach us from without ourself—without the limiting area of our sensorium—streams of phenomena which seem to be to a greater or less degree beyond our reach and control. If all phenomena have a mental reality behind them, as we know to be the case with our own sensations, thoughts and wills, then can all be rationally explained. Every sa-called atom of matter is what we may term a mental monad with a mentality and will pertaining to itself. There may be other existences than mental; but we have no way of proving or disproving this hypothesis. To assume that all nature is thought, consciousness, and will is the only hypothesis by which to explain satisfactorily the phenomena of nature. It is the only rational foundation for evolution and therefore of economics. Determinism has no place in philosophy except as one mental existence limits another. Freedom of will between limits is everywhere, though in man the limits of freedom are most widely separated, allowing the widest swing of mentality. In the atom of what we term inert matter there are the narrowest limits of freedom, yet we have no right to say that the ultimate mental unit has no freedom, else it would be defacto inert and the world would be dead and without life and no motion.

So broad a subject allows but the touching of its salient points in a short magazine article, yet I hope this will be enough to induce more critical thinking on the part of your materialistic contributors.

CHAS. H. CHASE.

Agricultural College, Mich., Sept. 4, 1903.

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The Class Struggle in Australia

CLASS warfare has at length been declared in Australia by the capitalists themselves. The employers of the three eastern states are united in an Employers' Federation, and in each of these states are preparing to raise a large fighting fund to down labor at the forthcoming Federal elections. The secretary of this organization says 'The Employers' Federation makes no secret of its intentions. It will adopt an aggressive attitude towards Socialist-Labor legislation. The object of the defense fund is to assist present political organizations in banding together in opposition to the Socialist-Labor party. We make it clear that we have no objection to legitimate unions (i. e. bogus unions of the Machine Shearers' Union type). Our object is purely to encourage the investment of capital, and consequently the employment of labor and the development of the natural resources of the state." One would think that this declaration on the part of the employers would force the Labor Party to come out as a straight-out Socialist Party. But no; they simply ignore this accusation of being socialistic, for they feel by no means guilty. Their cry at the forthcoming Federal elections will probably be "A White Australia," and "support the party that helped to abolish the duties on tea and kerosene." Indeed the Brisbane Political Labor Council has issued an appeal to labor sympathizers which contains the following: "You who believe in A White Australia, in adult suffrage, in conciliation and compulsory arbitration, in equal pay for equal work and in the adjustment of taxation, are urged to organize."

A new and uncertain factor in Federal politics will be the presence of women voters. In New South Wales and Victoria they are rapidly organizing themselves in Women's Political Organizations. Attempts are being made by *The Woman's Sphere* (the only woman's paper in Australia), to prevent the women from allying themselves with any political party.

In Queensland, however, they have organized along party lines and at the formation of a women's workers' political organization the class warfare was fearlessly insisted on. It is to be feared that the labor politicians who are assisting the women to organize will be able to keep this jarring note in the background. Australian labor politicians seem to imagine that they can abolish class-warfare by conciliation and arbitration bills.

The following is the "Labor Platform" as adopted at "Commonwealth Labor Conference," Sydney, December, 1902.

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FIGHTING PLATFORM.

1. Maintenance of a White Australia. 2. Compulsory Arbitration. 3. Old Age Pensions. 4. Nationalization of Monopolies. 5. Citizen Defense Force. 6. Restriction of Public Borrowing. 7. Navigation Laws.

GENERAL PLATFORM.

1. Maintenance of a White Australia.

2. Compulsory Arbitration to settle industrial disputes, with provision for the exclusion of the legal profession.

3. Old Age Pensions.

4. Nationalization of Monopolies.

5. Citizen Military Force and Australian-owned Navy.

6. Restriction of Public Borrowing.

7. Navigation Laws to provide (*a*) for the protection of Australian shipping against unfair competition; (*b*) registration of all vessels engaged in the coastal trade; (*c*) the efficient manning of vessels; (*d*) the proper supply of life-saving and other equipment; (*e*) the regulation of hours and conditions of work; (*f*) proper accommodation for passengers and seamen; (*g*) proper loading gear and inspection of same.

8. Commonwealth Bank of Deposit and Issue and Life and Fire Insurance Department, the management of each to be free from political influence.

9. Federal Patent Law, providing for simplifying and cheapening the registration of patents.

10. Uniform industrial legislation; amendment of Constitution to provide for same.

CONDITIONS OF CANDIDATURE.

1. That all candidates for the Federal Parliament shall sign the following pledge; I hereby pledge myself not to oppose the candidate selected by the recognized political Labor organization, and if elected, to do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the Federal Labor Platform and on all questions affecting the Platform to vote as a majority of the Parliamentary Party may decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting.

2. That subject to the acceptance of the Federal Platform and Pledge, each State shall control the selection of its candidates for the Federal Parliament.

3. That all Labor candidates shall have a free hand on the fiscal question.

4. That no member of the Federal Labor Party shall accept office in the Federal Government except with the consent of a duly constituted caucus of the Party.

ANDREW N. ANDERSON.

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EDITORIAL

Some Current Events

The expected appears to be happening. The crest of the industrial wave has passed and the depression which socialists have been prophesying is evidently at hand. Notwithstanding all the talk about trust organization, etc., there seems little reason to believe that the approaching crisis will differ in any great essentials from the preceding ones. There may not be exactly the same phenomena in the financial world, bankruptcies will probably be even more closely confined to the small capitalists than in 1894, and it is possible concerted support of banking institutions may prevent any large number of these from going through the bankruptcy courts. Yet all this is but the superficial side of the crisis. To be sure it is the portion to which the capitalist press and writers on trusts pay the most attention because it is the phase which concerns their class the closest. But after all these things are but a part of the machinery of exploitation, and however they may vary in their action, the result is practically the same. This result is a glutted market, an army of unemployed, and suffering and misery among the workers.

Frederick Engels pointed out many years ago that since steel came to be a fundamental in modern industry, it was always the steel trade which first reflected industrial conditions. The reason for this is apparent on slight consideration. The great instruments of production, the rails, and the cars and locomotives that roll over them, the frames and trusses for bridges and sky scrapers, the machines in the factories, all these are made from steel. In each upward swing of the industrial pendulum there comes a time when the individual capitalist decides that his plant has been enlarged as far as his resources will permit, or his view of the market makes him think advisable. Then, while his orders may still be large for consumption goods, he ceases to invest in additions to his plant. At once the laborers engaged in the manufacture of productive articles are thrown out of employment. This greatly disarranges the calculations of the purchaser of consumption goods by tremendously and suddenly reducing the market for such goods in proportion to the employes who have been thrown out. This is the stage we have reached at the present moment. Thousands of men have been discharged in the iron and coal mines and tens of thousand in the steel and

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iron works. The second stage will follow fast. Here the purchaser of consumption goods still depends upon his old market as reflected in the orders which have been sent in by wholesalers, and even by retailers, before the slackening of work in the field of production goods had taken place. But the slackening of demand will be at once reflected in a withdrawal of orders and in a decrease of new orders. This, however, always takes place much slower than the rate of production, so that jobbers, wholesalers and retailers find their stores and warehouses loaded to overflowing with the goods which have, so to speak, backed up on them from the rising tide of bankruptcy and distress. The result is a sudden collapse and this in spite of all the trusts can do.

Some of the trust financiers have been profiting themselves in this time of falling prices and crashing industries by methods which, from the standpoint of the little capitalist, are several degrees worse than highway robbery. A tremendous howl is going up in the press which reflects the interest of these small investors over the way in which Schwab and Morgan unloaded nearly ten million dollars' worth of wind on to the community, and incidentally disproved the existence of honor among thieves by forcing even their fellow pirates to agree not to begin their excursions until the chiefs had practically swept the industrial seas of all profitable craft.

All of this is having its effect on the contest between employer and employed. The larger capitalists are welcoming a period of depression for the double reason that it will enable them to at once clear the field of troublesome competitors and give them a powerful weapon in the army of the unemployed with which to crush the resistance of their employes.

In the face of these conditions employers are paying little attention to the ridiculous farce of the Civic Federation. This organization held a meeting during the past month in Chicago, which discounted anything on the boards of the variety theater in the way of farce comedy. An editor on one of the city dailies who attended one of the sessions that was held expressed the situation in a most striking manner. He said that the whole scene suggested to him a cartoon in which Hanna, Gompers, Easley, Mitchell & Company were promenading round a circle marked socialism, and continually leaping to one side lest they might, in some way, come in contact with the thing that was frightening all of them.

Since few of the laborers have shown any great eagerness to follow the stool pigeons caught by the Civic Federation, and also because of the fact noted above that changing industrial conditions will probably add to the strength of the employers in the struggle with the trade unions, most of the capitalists show much more interest in the Employers' Association, which is just beginning its sessions as we write these lines. This organization, as was pointed out in these columns last month, makes no secret of its aims, but openly declares its intention of crushing the trade unions, and especially of all socialist agencies in the trade unions.

Such an association will be of sufficient strength to make good its claim to represent combined capitalist class interest and as such will have

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at its disposal the governmental machinery, including, of course, the police and militia. That they will use these forces ruthlessly, is shown by the history of the past ten years, and receives special confirmation from the recent events in Colorado.

The inevitable result of these contending forces will be the transference of the fight to the political field. Here we come to a point where socialists are directly and immediately concerned. Up to this point the movements have been beyond the control of any set of persons and least of all the laborers. When the question arises, however, as to the struggle in the political field, how the forces shall be aligned and the battle fought, it is the special mission of socialism to see that the struggle on the part of the workers shall be no longer carried on unconsciously, but shall be guided by an intelligent recognition of working class interests.

The task being thus set for us, it is fitting that we glance for a moment at the forces involved in the political field. As yet, the radical democracy shows little signs of crystallization. Hearst has opened headquarters for his presidential boom, but as yet the boom itself has failed to appear. What effect the crisis may have in this direction it is hard to tell. The efforts of the Civic Federation to retain the laborers in the old party organizations will fail when the class struggle becomes sufficiently sharp to pierce through the covering of sentimentality that they are spreading over it. If the socialists have a sufficiently strong organization to grasp the direction and control of the revolt which will arise as a result of the industrial depression of the next few years, or even months, then the day of the final struggle between capitalism and socialism is not far away. Their ability to do this depends almost exclusively upon the strength and cohesiveness of their party organization. Every energy must and should be exerted towards increasing the membership and perfecting the machinery of organization. Any talk of splits or fusions at this time is criminal; incidentally, it is also very idiotic, since either of the wings which have shown a tendency to sprout from the main socialist body contain so few numbers, that if they should secede, their movement would not rise to the dignity of a "bolt," but would much more resemble a "carpet tack."

The coming National campaign is going to demand concentrated intelligent energy on a national scale, and anything that will tend to hinder this should be promptly suppressed.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Argentine Republic

Ave Lallemant writes as follows in the *Neue Zeit* concerning the movement in Argentine Republic. The fifth congress of the Argentine Socialist Party met in Buenos Ayres on the seventh and eighth of July, 1903. It was composed of 49 representatives from 30 organizations having a total membership of 1736, of which only 840 possessed the rights of citizenship. The party officials for eleven years have been practically the same comrades, mainly Bourgeoise ideaologists who kept up a very strongly centralized organization completely corresponding to the old Spanish traditions. They complain of a lack of discipline in the party, especially in struggles with the very numerous anarchistic elements who preach the general strike which it is claimed has greatly injured the party.

The great majority of the Argentine laboring class have permitted themselves to be driven to anarchism through their hatred of the despotically governed state and have rejected the political tactics advocated by the socialists, which, to be sure, can only be of a purely platonic character since a government according to popular election is absolutely nonexistent. All opposition even of the most mild character to the government is suppressed by force and its adherents scattered. The union movement is wholly under anarchistic influence. Only on the first of May the anarchists and the socialists meet together. This almost always leads to fights which naturally do not better things. The weekly organ of the party has a circulation of 25,000 copies and is strictly controlled by the central authority.

The congress adopted after great discussion a long new party program with a so-called minimal program to which every half way liberal and radical party can subscribe with good grace. Among others there are anti-clerical planks since the party officials believe that they can best meet the attacks of the church with a decisive anti-religious program. They are unwilling to let religion be a private affair and seek to pledge the members to strong anti-church tactics. Some articles of the program take the small farmer directly under the wing of the party and demands complete freedom from taxation for him and the enactment of duties for his amelioration, instruction for agricultural labor with relation to protection of the health, etc. This agrarian portion of the program is decidedly weak and shows little knowledge of agrarian conditions. Of actual socialist demands and principles the program contains absolutely nothing, and they were also wholly lacking in the proceeding, and the party organ shows very little socialist tendency.

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England

Amid the general confusion reigning in political matters in England the socialists are sounding the one clear note. It is now evident that a general election cannot be postponed beyond next spring and the socialists are everywhere preparing to run candidates for Parliament. The following, taken from the *Labor Leader*, the organ of the Independent Labor Party shows something of the way in which our English comrades are meeting the old question of free trade and protection which did valiant service as a "red herring" during so many years in America.

"The 'Socialist reply to Chamberlain's Glasgow speech' was brought off in the St. Andrew's Halls, Glasgow, last Friday night, and a magnificent reply it was. The great hall was packed from floor to ceiling—with working men and working women. There was not a duke or a marquis in the building—or if there were they were incog. The chairman was Mr. W. C. Anderson, ex-chairman of the I.L.P. in Glasgow, and the speaker was Mr. H. M. Hyndman. The Clarion Choir rendered good service. Mr. Hyndman asked the people not to be gulled with this bogus agitation on fiscal matters. Neither in free trade nor in protection was a remedy to be found for the social ills of the country. Yet the workers must not neglect the agitation, for there was a possibility of Chamberlain winning. Mr. Hyndman gave some interesting figures as showing how workmen in America fared under protection. In 1850 67½ per cent of the produce was paid in wages; in 1880 the percentage had dropped to 36, and in 1902 only 12 per cent of the wealth produced went to wages. The rest went into the pockets of the heads of the trusts, of the mortgage-holders, the railroad and other robbers. While the skilled workers earned higher wages than in this country, there were worse slums in some of the cities than even in Glasgow. In Germany, it was the same. In the mines in France tuberculosis was growing at an alarming rate. What the people wanted was protection for themselves and their children from the rapacity of the landlord and the capitalist. Two generations of free trade had produced 12,000,000 of people just outside the starvation area and a lessened physique all over. He wished the people to rise in their might and demand better government than these incapables gave them. They were at the parting of the ways, but it was the parting between plunder and enjoyment, between the people and the plutocrats, between the masses and the classes. Mr. Hyndman then urged the necessity and possibility of a great scheme of nationalization."

Germany

The National Social Party, a party which was formed for the purpose of turning the revolutionary energies of the German proletariat away from the Social Democratic Party, has finally disappeared. At its Convention, held in Gottingen, the 29th and 30th of August, the founder of the party, Friedrich Naumann, declared that it was no longer possible for them to exist in competition with the Social Democracy, and the majority of the members will probably go at once into the ranks of the Social Democracy.

Italy

The threat of the Italian socialists to publicly show their disapproval of the Czar in case of his visit to Italy, compelled him to avoid all public places and to practically remain in hiding while in Italy. The *National Zeitung* declares that this constitutes a great triumph for Ferri, and that thereby "the radical wing of the Italian Social Democracy has gained the upper hand." As was pointed out some time ago the revisionist

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movement in Italy was really overthrown some time back, but this recent move has further strengthened the revolutionary position. The revisionist wing had opposed all unfriendly demonstration. But when it was pointed out that this strong Russian government had demanded the extradition of the Russian Socialists who happened to be in residence in Naples as a price of Russian friendship, then the socialists were well nigh unanimous in their determination to publicly express their disapproval of Russian tyranny.

According to the last party "Bulletin," the Socialist Party of Italy now has 1,136 branches and 39,192 dues paying members. Of the 69 Italian provinces, Cosenza is the only one which has no Socialist organization. Reggio Emilia, the province of the "apostle of Socialism," Camillo Prampolini, M. P., takes the lead, with 100 branches and 3,948 members. The province of Rome has 19 branches and 853 dues paying members. Many Socialists are not enrolled in the party. In the past parliamentary elections, held in 1900, the Socialists received 215,841 votes. There are now 31 Socialists in the Parliament of Italy.

Russia

The *Volks Tribune* of Vienna brings further information of the unrest in Southwestern Russia. It seems that at the beginning of the movement there was little coherence or organization. Indeed, it was said that thousands struck simply "because all were striking," and it was felt necessary to make a sort of elemental uprising as a general protest against tyranny. Further events are described as follows: "Meetings then began to be held, speakers appeared with various positions. Those who were organized, placed political freedom as their principal demand; some others would not listen to any political propositions, but confined themselves to economic demands. Meanwhile, all industry was at a standstill, railroad trains ceased to move, bread and meat trebled in price. This led to the third phase; the military was brought into action. A remarkable feature was seen in this that everywhere the soldiers acted with great reluctance. Many times they fired into the air, and some officers ordered their men to refuse to shoot. Then the Cossacks appeared upon the scene and were turned loose in their customary brutal manner, for which work they were richly rewarded; in one case directly from the manager of the street railways (Leode by name), who is said to have distributed 20,000 roubles among them in order to break the strike. Numbers of the laborers were shot and others wounded until at last the military attained the upper hand, and after several days, labor was again taken up.

"At first, it would appear as if this labor movement had been of no result, and that there had even been a loss in moral energy. A closer examination, however, shows the other side. The outrages by which the laborers were driven back under the old yoke cannot but result in further uprisings against the employers. And no one can tell at what time the storm which is now threatening throughout Russia will break loose, or what the result will be when the next outbreak comes. But conditions will be much different and that is the greatest gain of the battle. The unorganized have seen that they have nothing to expect from the government but Cossack whips and bullets, and, furthermore, that under the present Russian conditions a labor movement on purely economic foundations is impossible. Now that their hopes of favorable action by the government have disappeared, they will constitute the most favorable possible ground for Socialist propaganda and can be drawn into an organization and be better prepared for the next battle. Meanwhile, the government is helpless before this growing movement; its strongest support, the army, begins to give way, and frightened, it seeks only to cover up its terror by new outrages.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

London.—As has been explained in the REVIEW before, the British trade union movement is in fairly good shape, but the new issue that has arisen, namely, the decision of the House of Lords in the Taff Vale railway case, that labor organizations are responsible for any damages that may be sustained by employers because of strikes and boycotts, will test the unions as nothing has before. In fact, the very life of organized labor in Great Britain is at stake. The result is that, whereas half a dozen years ago the great majority of unionists refused to listen to the proposition of taking political action along class lines, now they are falling all over each other to get into the political arena in the endeavor to secure legislation to protect their funds, for be it known the thrifty and saving Englishmen have many millions of dollars in their treasuries which are now at the mercy of the capitalists if they strike, picket and boycott.

This haste to take political action has produced a new species of misleader, who pleads with his fellows to use temperate language, take what you can get, one step at a time, etc. He is a hyphenated critter called a Liberal-Labor leader. The Liberal party is in England what the Democratic party is in America, a conglomeration of antagonistic elements promising all things to all men and never accomplishing anything except to betray the working classes to their capitalist masters whenever the opportunity offers. Some of the British unionists now have the scent of success in their nostrils if they engage in fusion deals with the Liberal procuress, and hence their definition of independent political action is to throw the labor vote to "the party most favorable to our views," etc.

But while some of the unionists can be tricked back into the old ruts by this policy, not all can, and the most intelligent among them are joining the Independent Labor party and the Social Democratic Federation or standing pat with the new Labor Representation organization, strictly independent of the old parties. The I. L. P. and S. D. F. are bound to grow, because of the new conditions that have arisen. I find that there is really not much difference between these two parties. While it is largely a matter of policy, the dividing line is somewhat imaginary and many of the rank and file belong to both organizations and work together in spreading propaganda. No matter from what viewpoint the situation is approached, it is a dead certainty that Socialism is growing rapidly in Great Britain.

Paris.—In France the unions and co-operative societies work in harmony with the Socialist parties, although the latter are at odds over the question of supporting the Millerand-Jaures tactics of upholding the Republican capitalist government against the attacks of the Monarchial-Nationalist combine. The unions have about 700,000 members and are taking the lead in federating the trades of all Europe with considerable success.

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They are also anxious to arrange harmonious relations with the workers of the United States.

From what I am able to learn, there are quite a few anarchists in the labor organizations, and they are using every scheme possible to discourage the unions from supporting the Socialist parties. At the present time they are making a great hullabaloo about the differences of opinion between the Socialists who look to Jaures for leadership on the one hand, and Guesde on the other, and they are also pleased at the manner in which the Socialists have become entangled in the capitalist government's crusade against religious orders. The anarchists hope that the bitterness between the Socialist factions will increase, so that the unionists will withdraw their support and play in the anarchist yard. Just what the outcome will be is problematical. Probably the rank and file will rise one of these fine days and bump the swollen heads of all their leaders and adopt a newer and better policy than to pull chestnuts out of the fire for capitalist governments.

Brussels.—The unions, co-operative societies and the Socialist party of Belgium are three branches of labor activity that are in perfect harmony. A union man who is not a Socialist is regarded as something of a freak in Belgium. Some of the trades are nearly completely organized and during the past three years wages have been boosted as high as 50 per cent in many of the trades, while hours of labor have also been reduced. The co-operatives are spreading all over the country and cutting deep into the business of capitalists. In Brussels, for example, the co-operatives have fixed the price of bread, having forced a reduction of 50 per cent with their bakeries, and at the same time the employes receive higher wages and work shorter time than in capitalist bakeries. The co-operatives are also aiming to dictate prices of coal, meats, clothing, etc.

The Socialist party of Belgium is in excellent shape. There is not the least sign of dissensions or jealousies among the leaders. Besides holding 35 seats in Parliament, they also control 700 municipal councilmen and have a clear majority in 60 places, mostly rural localities, however, that have little power. The Belgians are pushing educational work hard at present, and it would not be surprising if they were the first to secure control of the governing powers.

Hamburg.—We were lucky in reaching Germany just after the Dresden congress and could study the effects of that meeting. For weeks we have read in European newspapers that a terrible crash would occur in the Socialist party of Germany when the Dresden congress met. We kept our ears to the ground, but heard no sounds of deadly combat and the disruption of the Socialist movement. All the calamitous predictions were, after all, merely editorial gas. All the coddling of Mr. Bernstein on the part of the capitalist press simply had the effect of more thoroughly solidifying the party under the leadership of Bebel and making a temporizing policy impossible.

Now the capitalist press is changing its tune. While postponing the schism for another year, for the very good reason that the Socialist party was never more thoroughly united and refused to split itself, the capitalist press is not willing to take any further chances with the "Socialist specter" and a howl is going up to change the ballot law and restrict the franchise. Capitalism feels that it has been driven into the last ditch, and in its desperation it is willing to go to any length to maintain its privilege of driving labor and dividing its product to suit itself.

As for adopting the Bernstein reform policy, that is out of the question. The Socialist party of Germany will remain true to its traditions—revolutionary to the core. And there can be no split, because nobody would follow Bernstein out of the party. The few who sympathize with his

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views are "academics," lawyers, editors and other professionals who seldom come into contact with the practical questions, the hard, cold facts that stare the workers in the face.

Of course, in Germany the unions and co-operative societies are almost as a whole, thoroughly committed to the Socialist program. Both of these branches of the labor movement are steadily growing in numbers and financial resources. The Catholic and Protestant churches, fearing that their communicants might become Socialists if they join the recognized trade unions, have started to organize unions of their own. The Socialists are good-natured about it and wish the good Christians every luck. At the same time they are giving long odds that when the workingmen of the church unions bump up against the good Christian capitalists the same old class struggle will ensue. "And then," say the Socialists, "the church unions will come to us, as they already did in a number of instances." Then, again, our old friend, Emperor Wilhelm, threatens to start a "loyal" labor organization, as well as a labor paper, and become the editor of the same. So it will be observed that our German brethren have plenty of funny things to amuse them between steins.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Call of the Wild. Jack London. The Macmillan Company. Cloth. 231 pp. $1.50.

We have no hesitation in saying that, considered simply as a story this book will rank among the great books of the beginning of the century. As an animal story it easily beats Kipling in his own field. It is the story of "Buck," a dog, who, raised the pampered pet of a California ranch, is stolen and sold to the Klondike. He meets his master in the dog tamer who takes him in hand and he learns the terrible power of the club. This prepares him for the "law of club and fang" that rules throughout the Northland. He discovers that to slip, to give way, to fall, is to die. He learns the tricks of the trade, and fits himself into the environment until he is better suited to it than those who were born into it. He finds his way to the leadership of the team of dogs and then adding to the characteristics gained from the new environment the experience and memories retained from the old, he becomes a dog of fame. He suffers in the hands of incompetent and cruel drivers to fall at last into the hands of one with whom he formed a companionship that was akin to human friendship on both sides. Buck returns from a long hunt to find his master killed by the Indians. He attacks these and for the first time kills the master of animals, "he had killed man, the noblest game of all and he had killed it in the face of the law of club and fang." And here he is left, having become the Evil Spirit of a certain valley which he rules at the head of his pack.

You do not need to search for social philosophy in it unless you want to. But, if you do, it is one of the most accurate studies of "reversion to type" that has ever been published. And here and there throughout the work one catches glimpses that tell us that the author is a Socialist.

The Souls of Black Folk. By Professor W. E. D. Du Bois. McClurg & Co. Chicago. Cloth. 265 pp. $1.20.

In the eyes of capitalism Booker T. Washington is idealized as the leader of the negro race in America. There is no question whatever but what he may represent a social stage through which the negro must pass before he can enter into that heritage of capitalism which it is the business of socialism to realize. Nevertheless we cannot feel but when the history of the black race is written, the author of "The Souls of Black Folk" will rank infinitely above the instrument of capitalism who is perfecting black wage slaves at Tuskegee.

It would be hard to imagine two minds more diametrically opposed than those of Du Bois and Washington. Du Bois is poetical, fanciful, he sees visions and builds castles. Washington is practical, mechanical, he glorifies the dollar and gains endowments for his college. It was impossible that two such men should not come into conflict, and we find one of the principal essays in this work devoted to "Mr. Washington and Others,"

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in which in a quiet, non-controversial manner the weaknesses of Mr. Washington's movement are pointed out.

But after all it is rather as a series of vivid pictures that the essays appeal to one than for the philosophy which they contain. On the question of intermarriage which is always flung at the defenders of negro inquality a most striking answer is found on page 106: "When you cry, Deliver us from the vision of intermarriage, they answer that legal marriage is infinitely better than systematic concubinage and prostitution. And if in just fury you accuse their vagabonds of violating women, they also in fury quite as just may reply: The rape which you gentlemen have done against helpless black women in defiance of your own laws is written on the foreheads of two million mulattoes, and written in ineffaceable blood. And finally, when you fasten crime upon the race as its peculiar trait, they answer that slavery was the arch-crime, and lynching and lawlessness its twin abortion; that color and race are not crimes, and yet they it is which in this land receives most unceasing condemnation, North, East, South and West."

In his essay "Of the Sons of Master and Man" he shows much of an appreciation of the economic causes which underlie the present social relations in the South, but has not seemed to grasp the possibility of evolution into a better social stage.

Although now and then there are portions that seem somewhat overdrawn in style, yet, on the whole, there is such tremendous strength that it covers up an occasional excess of adjectives. You realize that he is tremendously in earnest, that he has really pulled aside the veil that divides the races to let one see the inmost souls of black folk.

Political Ideas of Modern Japan. Karl K. Kawakami. University Press. Iowa City, Iowa.

This is the first appearance in the English language of anything approaching a political history of Japan. There is a very good survey of the origin and development of political situations including a short sketch of the geographical situation and industrial development. The various stages of social and political evolution through which Japan has passed during the last half century are described, and one gains an idea of how much it is possible to shorten social stages when the necessary influences to that end exist.

In the chapter on "The Growth of Social Democratic Ideas" it is pointed out how "the pity, generosity, mercifulness and above all self-sacrifice which have descended from the knighthood of olden Japan are constantly giving way to the greed of gain and the aspiration for wealth." As a consequence he tells us that "envy, enmity, discontent on the part of the poor; and vanity, extravagance, luxury and debauchery on the side of the rich; these are but the symptoms of the great social conflict which will surely arise in Japan in the near future."

* * * * * *

"Under such circumstances it is simply as a matter of course that Social Democracy is now preached in Japan where industrial tranquillity had prevailed only a decade ago."

The history of the attempt to organize a Social Democratic Party and its suppression by the State is told and the platform of the suppressed party is given. His treatment is somewhat unsatisfactory on this point, especially when one remembers that the author has been actively engaged in the socialist work in this country as a member of the Socialist Party, in that he seems to proceed almost entirely from the idealistic point of view. Throughout the work he attempts to account for the ideas which have arised in Japan by the importation of theoretical works written by Europeans. The work as a whole would have been much more satis-

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factory had he shown more completely how the industrial conditions made inevitable the adoption of those ideas whenever Japanese society reached the stages in which similar ideas prevailed in Europe. However, it is rather ungrateful to criticize when he has really put before us a work which was so much needed and which contains so much of value.

Le Syndicalisme Anglais. Resume historique from 1799-1902 by F. Fagnot. Published by Societe Nouvelle. Paris. Paper. 116 pp. Half franc.

We have here a most excellent summary of the English trade union movement. The opening chapter on the situation of the unions in January, 1902, is a condensed tabulation of facts concerning the membership, resources and activities of the unions. Then follows a historical survey which is a model of condensed information. For those of our readers who read French this little handbook will prove of great value as giving in compact form a great mass of information concerning the trade union movement of England. We only wish that a similar work might be written on American trade unions.

The usual bunch of propaganda pamphlets has appeared during the month. One which was published some little time ago, but which we have neglected to notice until the present time is N. A. Richardson's "Methods of Acquiring National Possession of Our Industries," at least has this in its favor, that it does not simply seek to repeat the entire philosophy of Socialism, but deals with specific points. We may not entirely agree with his solution, but it probably is as good a statement as has been published, and is a beginning along a line of pamphlets which will be worth while. Published by the *Appeal to Reason*, 5 cents.

The same publishers issue at the same price a conventional propaganda pamphlet by H. P. Moyer on the "A B C of Socialism." *The Comrade* issues a pamphlet by Ben Hanford "On What Workingmen's Votes Can Do." It is a very effective piece of propaganda material. It is published in imitation of the well known *Pocket Library of Socialism* and sells for 5 cents.

"The Wind Trust," by John Snyder, with an introduction by Edward Everett Hale, is published by James H. West & Co., 79 Milk street, Boston, and sells at 10 cents. It is a rather clever satire on the possibilities of the trust movement should it be extended to the atmosphere.

Social Ethics is the title of a little magazine issued by Granville Lowther at Wichita, Kan., which contains some very good little articles, although so far as it has touched on ethics up to the present time it has been anything but socialist in its philosophy.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE GROWTH OF OUR PUBLISHING HOUSE.

In the spring of 1899 the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company published its first socialist party pamphlet, "Woman and the Social Problem," and made its first appeal for the co-operation of the socialists of America in the work of circulating the literature of international socialism. Since then it has grown with the growth of the American socialist movement, slowly but steadily, and unless all signs fail the movement and the publishing house which serves it are both entering on a period of more rapid growth.

The offices on the fourth floor of the building at 56 Fifth avenue have long been overcrowded, and on the first of October we secured quarters double the size on the fifth floor of the same building. Here we shall have room to welcome the comrades from Chicago or from a distance, and shall be able to supply properly the ever increasing demand for books of scientific socialism.

Another sign of growth which will be apparent even to the comrades who are unable to come to Chicago to visit us is in the new and enlarged edition of "What to Read on Socialism." This is practically a new publication, but we have kept the title formerly used for a little booklet because this title fits equally well the contents of the larger book. This contains a brief introductory chapter on "The Central Thing in Socialism," which may possibly be of some service in clearing the ideas of those who have heretofore come in contact with imitations of socialism rather than socialism itself. But the body of the book is taken up with full and clear descriptions of the best socialist books by the ablest writers of America and Europe. It is printed on paper of extra quality, and contains thirty-six large pages, including portraits of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Vandervelde, Whitman, Carpenter, Blatchford, Simons and other writers. A copy will be mailed free to any reader of the REVIEW who requests it. Extra copies for propaganda use will be supplied in any quantity, large or small, at the uniform rate of one dollar a hundred where we prepay charges or fifty cents a hundred when sent at the expense of purchaser. These figures are far below the actual cost, and no discount from them can be made to our stockholders.

THE SALE OF AN APPETITE.

The name of Paul Lafargue will be recalled with pleasure by every regular reader of the REVIEW as the author of some of the ablest books and articles that have ever appeared on the subject of socialism. New readers will get some idea of his power as a writer from the article entitled "The Socialist Ideal," which appears in this issue. It will be remembered that Lafargue, now well along in years, is the son-in-law of Karl Marx, and is still one of the most active socialists in France.

A good many years ago Lafargue wrote a remarkable story, entitled "Un Appetit Vendu," "The Sale of an Appetite," which had a wide

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circulation in at least two languages on the continent of Europe, but has never, to our knowledge, been offered to English-speaking readers.

This story has now been translated by Charles H. Kerr, and illustrated by the talented young "New Thought" artist, Dorothy Deene. The story tells of a young peasant who had vainly sought work in Paris, and was standing, at the point of starvation, eagerly looking into the window of a fashionable restaurant of Paris. He is approached by a corpulent capitalist, who takes him inside, gives him the most luxurious of dinners, and then proposes a five-year contract by which the young man is to do the capitalist's digesting in return for a monthly salary of two thousand francs, payable in advance. The offer is gladly accepted, but the carrying out of the contract was intolerable, and the young man begged to be released. The old notary who had witnessed his contract told him that release was impossible, but by way of consolation said:

"You complain because you have been reduced to becoming nothing but a digestive apparatus, but all who earn their living by working are lodged at the same sign. They obtain their means of existence only by confining themselves to being nothing but an organ functioning to the profit of another; the mechanic is the arm which forges, taps, hammers, planes, digs, weaves; the singer is the larynx which vocalizes, warbles, spins out notes; the engineer is the brain which calculates, which arranges plans; the prostitute is the sexual organ which gives out venereal pleasure. Do you imagine that the clerks in my office use their intelligence, or that they reflect when they are copying papers? Oh, but they don't; thinking is not their business; they are nothing but fingers which scribble. They perform in my offices for ten or twelve hours this work which is far from exhilarating, which gives them headaches, stomach disorders and hemorrhoids, and at evening they carry home writing to finish, that they may earn a few cents to pay their landlord. Console yourself, my dear sir, these young people suffer as well as you, and not one of them has the satisfaction of saying that he receives per year the sum that you draw for a single month of digestive labor."

This quotation will give a fair idea of the moral of the story, but no idea of its charm and its humor. To appreciate these you must read the whole book. Dorothy Deene's pictures are surprisingly good. They have an individuality all their own, and at the same time they interpret the story most admirably. The book will be daintily bound in cloth with a unique design, and will make an ideal Christmas gift for a non-socialist friend who needs waking up, or for a socialist who would enjoy one of the cleverest satires on capitalism ever written. The retail price will be fifty cents; the price to stockholders thirty cents, including transportation charges, or twenty-five cents if sent at purchaser's expense.

Our printers are now at work on Charles H. Kerr's translation of Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History." This is one of the most important socialist works ever published, and no American student of sociology, whether a socialist or an opponent of socialism, can afford to miss reading it. Historical materialism is the essential principle underlying the whole of our socialist philosophy, but it has never hitherto been adequately developed in any book accessible to English-speaking readers, and this book will prove invaluable in clearing the ideas of our writers and speakers.

It will be handsomely printed, substantially bound in cloth, and will contain about 300 pages. The retail price will be one dollar, with the usual discounts to stockholders in our co-operative company.

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Our newly designed party emblem in gold plate and enamel is proving exceedingly popular. The retail price will hereafter be 25 cents; the price to stockholders 20 cents, postage included.

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NEW EDITION OF "THE AMERICAN FARMER."

This book by A. M. Simons, published in February, 1902, has been endorsed by the best critics of America and Europe, socialist and anti-socialist, as "the largest contribution yet given to the agrarian literature of this country," to quote the words of the Chicago *Tribune*. The first edition having been exhaustted, the author thought best to rewrite the entire work, for reasons explained in the preface to the second edition, which we quote:

"When a little over a year ago the first edition of this book was published, practically no interest was taken in Socialism by American farmers or in American farmers by Socialists. Today few will deny that the farmer question is arousing more interest than any other with which the Socialists are concerned, while Socialism is growing with great rapidity among the farmers. I would be more than human if I did not take to myself some credit for this change of conditions, but fundamentally that change is due far more to economic developments, whose traces were only just appearing one year ago, but which have now grown to be important factors in our social life.

"Owing to the many changes that have occurred in the past year, I thought it best to rewrite the whole work, rather than add an appendix or explanatory chapter. The first part of the book has naturally been changed but little, since history is not altered by the march of events. The second book, however, has been wholly rewritten, expanded and changed to conform to the new material which has since appeared, particularly the census of 1900 and the report of the Industrial Commission. The chapter on "Concentration," which, to my mind, is the most important in the whole book, has been most completely changed. Nevertheless, I do not find that this new material has made necessary any change in the conclusions at which I arrived in the first edition. On the contrary, social evolution has brought many new proofs of the positions there taken,

"Two things are now evident, first, that the small farm owner is a permanent factor in the agricultural life of America, and that he forms the largest uniform division of the producing class. Second, and as a consequence of this, that any movement which seeks to work either with or for the producing class, must take cognizance of him. On the other hand, there are two equally important considerations; first, that large as is this division, it is not large enough to protect itself against the encroachments of the exploiting class of America. And, furthermore, that its isolation and disorganization make it impossible for it to take the initiative in any national social movement. Second, and again as a corollary of the first, if it is to successfully meet the encroachments of the exploiting class, it must do it through co-operation with the better organized and more homogeneous body of the working class composed of urban wageworkers. This is the line of evolution which is now taking place, and which is destined to grow as time passes."

The price of the book, in cloth binding, uniform with the Standard Socialist Series, of which this is the third volume, is fifty cents, with the usual discount to stockholders. Full particulars regarding subscriptions to the stock of our co-operative company will be sent upon request. Address, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

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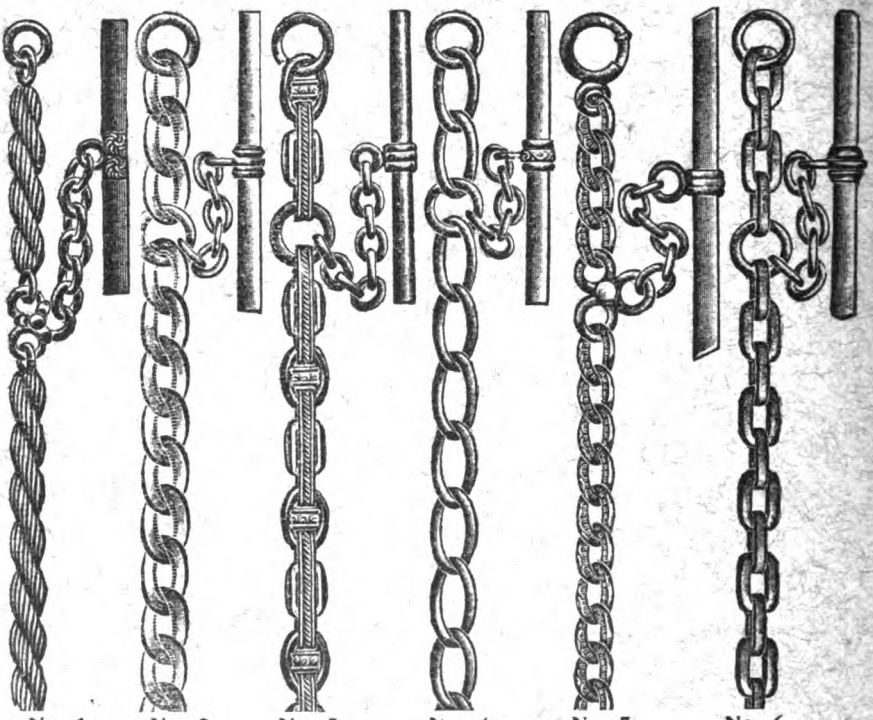
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The International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS:

ENGLAND—H. M. HYNDMAN, WALTER CRANE, SAMUEL HOBSON, H. QUELCH, J. KEIR HARDIE, J. R. MCDONALD. FRANCE—PAUL LAFARGUE, JEAN JAURES, JEAN LONGUET. BELGIUM—EMILE VANDERVELDE, HENRI LAFONTAINE, EMILE VINCK, MME. LALLA VANDERVELDE. DENMARK—DR. GUSTAV BANG. GERMANY—KARL KAUTSKY. ITALY—DR. ALESSANDRO SCHIAVI, PROF. ENRICO FERRI. SWEDEN—ANTON ANDERSON. JAPAN—T. MURAI.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV DECEMBER, 1903 NO. 6

Shall We Revise Our Program Forward or Backward?

THE stately stream of the revolutionary socialist movement of the world is accompanied by little side currents and backflows, like all great streams. One of the most notable of the counter-currents in the socialist movement is the tendency toward so-called revisionism or opportunism. The historian who attempts to classify the tendencies expressed by these two terms will find it difficult to group them all together under one head. But broadly speaking, one might call revisionists those who frame the theory of this side current of socialist thought, and opportunists those who seek to apply the new theory in practical party work and in parliament. The principal characteristic of this tendency is not that it revises the Marxian doctrine, for no one is more diligently engaged in applying the keen blade of critique to this doctrine than the revolutionary Marxians themselves. Its principal mark of distinction is that it revises the Marxian doctrine in a direction which brings it into conflict with the revolutionary element. It finds fault with the course of the great revolutionary main current and seeks to divert it into side channels. In order to clearly understand in what respect this new philosophy differs from the original Marxian philosophy, it will be necessary to state the fundamental theses of the two.

The Marxian philosophy declares that the economic foundation of society determines the form of human activity and thought; that the history of all human societies since the introduction of the principle of private property has been a history of class struggles, waged for economic and political supremacy; that in present capitalist society, there are three distinct economic classes: the capitalist class who are in control of the essential means of production, the working class who are proletarian in character, being

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in possession of no other means of existence but their labor power, which can only be applied by its sale to the capitalist class, and the middle class who are partly capitalist, partly proletarian in character; that the majority of the middle class are being reduced, by the process of capitalist production, to the ranks of the economically lowest class, the working class; that the capitalist minority of the middle class and the capitalists are becoming less and less essential in production compared to the working class; that the ever more intensified economic antagonism between the capitalist class and the working class, and the laws of capitalist production itself, make the downfall of the capitalist system economically inevitable and produce a corresponding intensification of the political class struggle between the two contending forces; that this class struggle will end in the victory of the working class; and that this class will inaugurate a system of collective production based on economic and political equalities which exclude the existence of all classes but one, the working class.

The fundamental theses of revisionism are not formulated so concisely, but they may be stated in substance as follows, taking as their basis Eduard Bernstein's work, "*Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus:*" That the Marxian conception of historical materialism is formulated too dogmatically; that the Marxian conception of the class struggle still contains some of the "dangerous elements of Blanquism" and is too catastrophic; that the economic inevitability of the collapse of capitalism cannot be fully demonstrated; that the middle class does not disappear from society, but simply changes its character; that the class antagonisms do not become more intense, but milder. The final aim of the historical mission of the working class is not denied by revisionist philosophy, but recedes almost out of sight before the present day activity of the socialist movement, as they would have it.

The purpose of this article does not require a further analysis of these fundamental theses as to their soundness. I am simply stating the conditions, not analyzing their theoretical origin. I am comparing what others have formulated, not seeking to justify the scientific claims of one side or the other. I can therefore proceed to state that the Marxian philosophy has given rise to tactics which follow the so-called revolutionary method; tactics which aim to keep step in the uncompromising political evolution of the working class with the economic evolution of the capitalist system and to accompany the intensification of the economic class struggle by an intensification of the political class struggle. It does not pretend to cure the evils of capitalist society by the old method of symptomatic treatment, but by the abolition of the causes of the evil. The revisionist theory, on the other hand, has created a tactic which is so free from the "dangerous elements of Blanquism" that it has a decided affinity for the utopian attempts of Proudhon to emancipate the working class by the help of the capitalist class

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or for the abandoned Lassallean standpoint of securing the aid of the capitalist state for the amelioration of the condition of the working class. The revolutionary method keeps the class lines constantly and clearly in view; the revisionist method blurs or even obliterates them.

The salient points of the Marxian and of the revisionist tactics are supposed to be summarized in the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 288 against 11 at the Dresden convention of the German Social Democracy, September, 1903: "The convention repudiates emphatically the revisionist attempts to change our present tried and victorious tactics in such a way that the conquest of the political power by a defeat of the capitalists would be replaced by a policy of conciliation with the present order of things. The consequence of such a policy would be that our party, instead of being a movement aiming to revolutionize the present capitalist society, would be transformed into a movement which would be content to reform the present society. The convention furthermore condemns the attempt of glossing over, in the interest of a gradual approach to the capitalist parties, the ever increasing class antagonisms. The convention instructs its representatives in the reichstag to use the greater power acquired by an increase in the number of mandates and of the mass of socialist voters in the interest of the proletariat as provided by our platform, to work energetically for the extension and security of the political liberties and equal rights of all, and to carry on a still more aggressive campaign against militarism, against an increase of the navy, against colonial expansion, against imperial world politics, and against wrong, oppression, and exploitation of every kind."

The discussion of the resolution at the Dresden convention reproduced, in a more pronounced form, the phenomena which had appeared in the wake of Bernstein's above named work. Bernstein strenuously denied that it was his intention, or even a logical conclusion from his standpoint, to abandon the ground of the class struggle. He held that the resolution did not represent his case fairly and therefore voted against it. Most of his followers also claimed that they were not revisionists in the sense defined by the resolution, and that, since it did not fit their case, they could very well vote for it. And so they did. This lack of unity on the part of the revisionists was also shown in their theoretical discussions. In the literary discussions, Bernstein often found himself compelled to deny that the conclusions of socalled Bernsteinians could be derived from his criticism of the Marxian doctrine. And whenever revisionism was pressed for a concise definition of its position, the majority of Bernstein's followers forsook him. The same lack of unity is also shown by the practical opportunists. While the German opportunists claim to be in full harmony with the Marxian program and method, the Italian and French opportunists have formulated a socialist program of their own, and

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drawn the very conclusions which Bernstein repudiates. And while the German opportunists, in spite of their lack of harmony in theory and practice, have expressed themselves in favor of the unity of the party, the French and Italian opportunists have established harmony between theory and practice by divorcing themselves from the revolutionary method, forming distinct opportunist parties, and going to the full length of the practical consequences of such a step. The revolutionary Marxians are a unit on the fundamentals enumerated above and on the revolutionary method.

But apart from these differences between revisionists and opportunists, there are other differences between revisionist-opportunists and revolutionary socialists that complicate the situation still more. These differences seem to be mainly traceable to certain misunderstandings, which are expressed in the charge that the revolutionary element rejects all present day work for palliatives and is working intentionally toward a catastrophe, and on the other hand that the revisionists are undermining the independent existence of the party by neglecting the class lines. Neither of these charges can be logically connected with the theoretical and practical position of the two camps. The revolutionaries cannot be blamed for any catastrophes that may follow in the course of social evolution, because there is no fundamental distinction between evolution and revolution, such as some revisionists affect. The Marxian philosophy defines revolution as a certain stage of evolution. Hence catastrophes lie in the very dialectic of capitalist development. We do not seek these conflicts willfully. We are born into the midst of them. Between the choice of meeting a catastrophe by preparing for it or meeting it unprepared, the revolutionary socialists prefer the former alternative. Therefore they endeavor to organize the working class in harmony with this process of evolution and work consciously toward the stage where the economic revolution will be accompanied by the political revolution of the proletariat. Whether this will bring on a catastrophe will depend in the last analysis on the capitalist class, not on the working class.

On the other side, the revisionists seem to have a secret horror of the idea of a final climax between the contending forces in the class struggle. And the revisionist theory of the decrease in the intensity of the class antagonisms furnishes the scientific basis for this view. Nevertheless, this policy cannot evade the final catastrophe any more than the Marxian tactics can. It only leaves the proletariat unprepared for it.

As for the charge that revisionist tactics must necessarily and logically lead to a dissolution of the party or of the party discipline, this is founded on the similar misapprehension of the facts as the charge of catastrophic intentions. The German and Belgian Socialist movement has not suffered in unity and discipline, in spite of its tactical differences, while the Italian and

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French Socialist movement has. Hence there must be some deeper cause to explain these results; they cannot be traced to the theory of revisionism itself. Kautsky sees a step toward the solution of the problem in the distinction between theoretical revisionists and practical opportunists. Of course, there is such a dictinction, and I have made it in the introduction of this article. But the same distinction can also be made between theoretical and practical Marxians. That is a perfectly legitimate and rational distinction, but it explains nothing as to the fundamental differences between Marxians and revisionists. The theory is simply the mental workshop for the socialist politician, be he revolutionary or revisionist. The trouble must be sought deeper.

In my opinion, the cause of the tactical differences between the revolutionary main current and the revisionist counter current is found in the fact that no socialist program has so far made a clear distinction between the class struggle in the electoral battle and the class struggle in parliament. And yet there is a very marked distinction between the two. It is the fundamental difference between the maximum program and the minimum program, between the fundamental socialist platform and the immediate demands. While in our electoral campaigns we are distinguishing ourselves from all other parties by the maximum program which can only be realized by the revolutionary method and by a majority of the voters of a nation, we are forced, while representing a minority party in parliament, to confine ourselves to the minimum program, which is essentially non-revolutionary and symptomatic in character. This minimum program offers little opportunity for the employment of the revolutionary method, but lends itself much better to the opportunist method. The Dresden resolution has not solved this contradiction. It starts out with a ringing declaration in favor of the revolutionary method, but ends with a weak program which that method shall realize at present. The resolution is, therefore, unable to give either the Marxians or the revisionists their just dues.

The distinction between the maximum program and the minimum program is plainly that the one is our real platform, while the minimum program is nothing but a set of instructions given to our representatives in parliament for their guidance in parliamentarian action. To the fact that the Communist Manifesto, in 1848, has not made this distinction, and that the first German Socialist platform did not correct this mistake, is due, in my opinion, the whole trouble which the revisionist ideas have caused. From this contradiction between the revolutionary method and the opportunist immediate demands spring all the difficulties between Marxians and Bernsteinians in Germany, Guesdists and Jauresists in France, Ferrians and Turatians in Italy. The authors of the Communist Manifesto had at least a good reason for attaching an opportunist program to their revolutionary manifesto; and the

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same reason, that of compromising with heterogeneous elements, was still active in the formulation of the Gotha program of the German Socialist Party in 1875. But the Erfurt program of that party, in 1891, was no longer subject to such considerations of expediency. On the contrary, every consideration of that period was in favor of separating the campaign platform from the working program of the elected representatives.

There is a very logical reason for this differentiation of our campaign platform from the parliamentarian program. The campaign platform is the basis on which the whole body of socialist voters is moving in elections as distinguished from all other voters. But the program for parliamentarian action outlined by the immediate demands is only the basis for the movement of our representatives. These representatives get into office only because the whole body of Socialist voters is moving on a platform which draws a sharp class line between socialist and capitalist voters. But after they have been elected, it devolves upon them to carry out the instructions embodied for their guidance in the immediate demands. The whole body of socialist voters cannot take any direct part in the realization of the immediate demands. They must be realized by the representatives alone.

On the other hand, the demands outlined in our straight socialist platform cannot be realized while we are a minority party. They require not only the action of our representatives, but the active participation of the majority of the nation. In this they differ from the immediate demands, which may be enacted into laws without the active participation of the voters. But when we become a majority party, parliament as an independent law making body ceases to exist, and the power of legislation passes into the hands of the rank and file of the socialist majority, who set about inaugurating the co-operative commonwealth.

It is clear that this fundamental difference between the minimum and the maximum program, between the action of the representatives of the party and of the whole party, should be plainly expressed by a separation of the one from the other. Nothing should go into our campaign platforms but the typical socialist demands. And the immediate demands should be published in the form of a handbook for our representatives, to be used by them in their parliamentarian work, and by our agitators for propaganda purposes. Such a separation in no way interferes with the present day activity of our representatives, but rather paves the way for a more elaborate immediate program. And at the same time such a separation of the fundamental platform from the opportunist program removes all possibility for any election compromises that might endanger our separate existence as a party. It leaves no room for any opportunism in election campaigns, and that is the only dangerous opportunism. Opportunism in parliament is powerless to hurt the stability of the move-

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ment, because the party membership, and in a wider sense the mass of the socialist voters, have it in their hands to elect candidates that will not compromise, even in parliament. And since we have put the principles of direct legislation in practice in our party affairs the rank and file of the socialist movement is alone to blame if it places opportunists into responsible positions.

The further consequences of the separation of our principles from present day opportunism are still more significant. This step will make that possible which the Communist Manifesto was unable to accomplish: It will make the adoption of a uniform international socialist program a possibility.

We are fond of boasting of our international character. We proudly point to the fact that the class-conscious working men of the world have already solved for themselves what all the sentimental capitalist philosophers were unable to accomplish—the question of international peace. But as yet we have not manifested our international solidarity by anything but international congresses and an international socialist bureau. We have neglected to do that by which all parties document their solidarity. We have not demonstrated to the working classes and to the capitalist classes of the world that we are international because we are all standing on a uniform international program. But if we can meet at the same international congress and elect delegates to the same international bureau, why not have first of all an international program?

The only thing that has prevented the adoption of such a program is precisely the immediate demand tail, which had to be adapted to local conditions. With the separation of the minimum program from the maximum program there is no longer any reason why we should not adopt the same program in all countries of the globe.

I will not urge the adoption of such a program for any opportunist reasons. I will not point to the fact that the existence of a multitude of socialist programs has not only made it possible for the capitalists of one nation to claim that the socialists of another nation were not socialists at all, but also enabled the capitalists of certain nations to play one socialist party against the other socialist party of the same country. I will not mention the fact that a uniform program would force the Jauresists in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, the Socialist Labor Party in the United States, to show their true colors and to either unite with those who are willing to adopt this uniform program or to stay outside and confess that they are either anarchists or reformers. I will not base my appeal for a uniform international program on such and similar reasons. I am content to claim that a uniform program for all socialist parties of the world is a logical and matter-of-course demand.

I shall not presume to formulate such a program. There is

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not the slightest doubt that our various delegates at the next international convention in Amsterdam will easily give us a program that will be acceptable to every sincere and class-conscious socialist. And I am satisfied to leave it to the rank and file of all socialist parties whether their delegates shall be instructed to work for the adoption of such a program or not. A united action of all revolutionary socialists in the world is sooner or later indispensable. Let us furnish to the world the unmistakable proof that we are one and the same *International Socialist Party.*

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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Socialism and the Storthing Elections In Norway.

"THERE is no room for socialism in Norway." We hear this assertion continually whenever anyone begins to talk of the outlook of socialist politics in our little fatherland. "We have a Paradise of freedom on earth. The Constitution of 1814 placed the internal government of the kingdom absolutely in the hands of the people, in 1821 the nobility was abolished, in 1837 local autonomy for municipalities was introduced. Here there are no class distinctions, all are equal." Then we are further referred to the fact that with the extension of parliamentary government in 1884, so great reforms were carried through that the lower classes of the people have no longer any reason for dissatisfaction. Trial by jury was introduced in 1887; in 1889 the new educational law was adopted providing for compulsory instruction for all children, while at the same time the oversight of the school was placed completely in the hands of the parents, and in 1892 the factory inspection law and the law referring to accidents to workingmen were enacted; in 1898 universal suffrage in State and municipality was introduced, and in 1900 municipal suffrage was extended to women. With such things as these before the eyes it is asserted that there is no longer room for any far-reaching radicalism. The results of the last year, however, show that this is an error. Many great democratic journeys on the road of legislation have already been made. But much more still remains to be done. And this shows that there still exists a very good field for socialism.

The labor movement in Norway dates from the year 1848. At that time a young student, Markus Thrane, seized by the ideas of that year of revolution, arose and made himself the spokesman of the interests of the laboring class. He founded many labor unions, advanced the demand for universal suffrage and worked for social democratic ideas. The poet, Henrik Wergeland, one of the greatest intellects that Norway has ever brought forth, was in a certain sense the forerunner of Thrane. But he was much limited by his Chauvinism and did not dream of making the cause of the oppressed people a class movement, although he was a firm comrade in the struggle against capitalistic and official power. Markus Thrane founded a movement based on the class struggle. But this could not be endured in "the free and popularly governed Norway." The spokesman of the laborers, because of his socialistic activity, was sentenced again and again to imprisonment. This destroyed his health, and he was soon obliged to give up his work, and during

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the years from 1850 to 1860 the labor movement wholly disappeared. The single party that represented freedom of thought was the so-called "farmer party" with Ucland as representative in the Storthing and later Johann Sverdrup as leader. By the help of the Thraniten (Social Democrats) the latter was elected to the Storthing in 1851. The great question which was then upon the programme was the Lieutenant Governorship and the position of the Council (during his residence in Sweden the king had a lieutenant governor in Norway). This office was abolished at the end of 1873 and in 1884 the Council was granted admission to the Storthing. The government, which wished that the king should exercise an absolute veto on this law, was overthrown by the imperial court. This important decision gave rise to the most intense party struggles. In the midst of this the union movement and social democracy re-appeared. In 1872 the first trade union was founded, and in 1883 the first social democratic paper in Norway "Unsere Arbeit" was called into life by Christian H. Knudsen. In 1844, the first political labor union in Christiana with a purely socialist programme was founded, and in 1877, the Norwegian labor party held a congress in Arendal. This party was made up from social democratic and radical labor unions. Because of the participation of liberal elements the programme was formulated along radical-liberal lines, but by the year 1888 this was changed in the direction of social democracy.

In the beginning the tactics of the labor party were directed towards supporting the radical left, which had become so strong in the discussion of this Council question that it had a majority of more than two-thirds in the Storthing. The time had now come for the laborers to push through the demands which the Left had placed upon their programme, for example, trial by jury, school reform and universal suffrage. Simultaneously, however, the labor party was carrying on its propaganda for special labor demands.

The democracy suffered at this time a great disillusion, in that its greatest and most victorious leader, Johann Sverdrup, who had become a Minister of State in 1884, betrayed his trust on the question of suffrage, and declared that "Norway cannot be governed with universal suffrage." Owing to this and the question of union with Sweden, the Left was split. The conservative part drew near to the Right, and the radical wing proceeded with its democratic policy. Johann Sverdrup was expelled and Rektor Johannes Steen became the leader of the radicals.

The conditions of the union between Norway and Sweden have always been a source of dispute, not only between the two countries, but also between the two parties of the Right and Left in Norway. As a result of the outcome of the struggle over

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the governorship, the condition had been reached where Norway and Sweden carried on all external relations in common and had a common consular service. The Left demanded that Norway should have its own ministry for external affairs and its own consular service, while the Right wished to maintain the unity. The struggle about this led to violent uprisings in the united governments. In order to meet these uprisings, the Socialists in 1892 demanded the dissolution of the union; for they reasoned correctly that the unsatisfactory condition of the relations of union was the cause of these disturbances. The larger portion of the Left agreed with this proposition. To be sure, the Socialists laid no great importance upon it. They supported the Left because of the social policy which it followed. It is a very peculiar fact that the radical Left during the years round 1890, in many respects, followed a purely socialist policy. The leaflets and pamphlets of the Left contained many violent attacks on private property and capitalism. The Left placed universal suffrage upon its programme, together with the eight-hour day, the protection of the right of coalition, universal popular insurance, etc. But when it came to working with the outspoken Socialists, the Left refused to act. Socialism appeared to the farmers as a sort of specter that sought to drive them out of house and home. Nothing remained for the Socialists, therefore, who were in a despairing minority, but to vote with the Left. In 1897 for the first time the Socialists of Christiana voted for their own ticket. But even upon this ticket, undoubtedly on account of the conditions of suffrage, there were a number of the representatives of the Left. After the election of 1897 the Left had a great majority. Shortly afteryards universal suffrage was granted to all men over twenty-five.

Meanwhile reactionary tendencies began to appear in the ranks of the Left. After the election of 1891 the insurance of laborers against accidents was proposed and the question of universal popular insurance was agitated. The elections of 1894 gave the Left only a narrow majority, but shortly afterwards a shortened labor time of 53 hours a week was introduced into the governmental workshops, and the promise given that the eight-hour day would be introduced. But the law for the protection of the right of coalition was always postponed. In 1897 there was only a single vote lacking for the adoption of a satisfactory proposition. During the years 1898 and 1899 the country was visited with a severe commercial and industrial crisis, which brought suffering and destruction throughout the country. The people cried out, and the Left, which was principally composed of farm owners, younger capitalists, speculators, etc., began to be frightened at its own social policy. It would not listen to anything

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further about great social reforms. Everything must now proceed circumspectly and step by step. However, the Left was able, in the election of 1900, to hold the country on the question of union, so that it obtained a two-thirds majority. Then, for the first time, there arose a strong opposition within the Left. This, however, was not radical, but, on the contrary, reactionary and in the highest degree antagonistic to laborers. This opposition so gained the upper hand that the Left no longer dared to take up the eight-hour day. Popular insurance was left untouched, and when the law proposing the protection of the right of coalition was laid before the Storthing (April and May, 1903), twenty-four members of the Left voted for the imprisonment clause proposed by the leader of the Right. Fortunately, this incomplete legislation was rejected by the Lagthing.

Under these circumstances the Socialists saw that independent parliamentary tactics were a necessity. The treachery of the Left had brought about, in addition, great discontent with the party, even in its own ranks. The labor party, which since the beginning of the 90's had been sailing under a purely socialist flag, began to receive recruits rapidly. At its foundation it had only about 100 members, while in the year 1903 it had 13,500. It was now large enough to stand upon its own feet. The situation had, however, essentially changed since the last election. The Left had since 1894 begun a violent struggle with Sweden. The consequent disturbances were, after the elections of 1897 and 1900, pushed still further under the regime of the minister of war, Stang. The expenditures for the navy arose at one time so high that they amounted to twenty-five million kronen in a total budget of one hundred million. In many circles of the Left a war against Sweden was even discussed. But simultaneously a peaceable solution of the consular question arose out of the negotiations which the government of the Left was carrying on with Sweden. These negotiations led to an agreement that the Swedish and Norwegian governments should each have its own consular service, and that the relation of the consular service to external politics should be determined by a uniform law, "a regulation law," subject to the endorsement of both governments.

The Conventions of the Right, of the Left and of the Socialists expressed their approval of this outcome. Nevertheless, there arose a strong opposition within the Left. The fanatical disturbers, of whom Stang and Konow were at the head, declared that the regulation law bound Norway in relation to her external policy. They wished, therefore, if we could not at once obtain our own consular service, "to take matters into our own hands" and force things through, even if this led to war with Sweden. As a result of these acts the position of the Left became very

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contradictory. This furnished good material for the agitation of the Right against the Left, in the same way that the factional disturbances of the Left, together with its unsatisfactory social and political position, furnished the Social Democrats good weapons against their former political associates.

The Left had sunk into a caricature of a party. Before the present elections it struck out the great social political demands from its programme. The law for the protection of the right of coalition, the law of popular insurance, and for a shortened labor time, all were struck out of the programme. The Right and the labor party accepted as the fundamental position of their programme direct suffrage. The Storthing's elections are indirect. The qualified voters choose electors (one for each 100 voters in the country and one for each 50 in the cities); these meet and choose the representatives of the Storthing. The Left wished, however, direct voting only in the cities, not in the country. The policy of union was the only point where the party sought to maintain its old position. The Right captured the voters for the present by a "liberal" programme. It surrendered its opposition to separate consular systems, promised the pensioning of officials, etc. But as a new point of its programme it announced "battle against all socialist projects and the protection of private property."

Socialism alone in this election represented freedom of thought and progress. Its electoral programme in its essential demands was that of the German Social Democracy, to which were added a number of special demands, the repeal of unjust laws and the like. And this programme gave to the Socialists of Norway a result they had not dared to hope. The Left received a most pitiful overthrow. The question of union was no longer a cause of division. There was practical agreement on this point. The present election for the first time in our country turned on questions of social policy. The Right laid the emphasis in its agitation upon the battle against socialism, and the Socialists directed themselves mainly against the disturbances and the social reaction. The election gave the most gratifying result, and the Socialists created for themselves at last a firm position. For the first time avowed Socialists were elected to the Storthing. To be sure there were only four, but when one remembers the insignificant number of votes cast by the party in 1897, then this number is not to be considered small. At that time the party received only 947 votes. The result of the elections of the last two years are as follows:

1900.	Socialists.	Left.	Right.	Democrats.
Country districts	1,187	93,550	68,074	4,076
City districts	6,253	29,116	27,759	
Total	7,440	122,666	95,833	4,076

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In 1900 76 Storthing representatives were won by the Left, and 38 by the Right, but the Socialists elected none. The result at the next election is somewhat different:

1903.	Socialists.	Left.	Right.	Democrats.
Country districts	10,130	66,675	69,000	6,174
City districts	14,649	22,705	33,410	
Total	24,779	89,380	102,410	6,174

In 1903 the Socialists elected four Storthing representatives, the Right 63 and the Left 50 (the number of representatives has been increased by three since 1000). The Socialists gained complete control of only one electoral district, namely that of Tromsö in the North, which sends three representatives to the Storthing. This is all the more remarkable in that in 1900 there were no social democratic votes from this district. The Tromsö district was hitherto indisputably the possession of the Left. The victory is, aside from the peculiar social conditions among the population, due essentially to Comrade Dr. Alfred Eriksen, pastor in Karlsö. He worked tirelessly as organizer, speaker and editor. His paper, "Das Nordlicht," was like a flaming torch. At the last election in this district the Socialists had 4,128 votes against 1,804 of the Right and Left combined. Eriksen is one of the three representatives to the Storthing from this district. The fourth representative of the Socialists comes from the three cities of Tromsö, Bodö and Narvik in the north. Narvik was made a new electoral district in 1900. The Socialists were really victorious only in Narvik, at the direct election; the Left was victorious in the two other cities, and therefore had the majority; for Tromsö and Bodö had together many more voters than Narvik. But the electors from Bodö were angry at those from Tromsö because the latter had always succeeded in having the representative to the Storthing elected from their city. They united with the socialist electors from Narvik and chose Comrade K. J. Berge from Narvik as representative to the Storthing. Berge is a very able and widely traveled man. He is a Catholic, but his electors are Lutherans. He edits the paper "Fremover" (Forward) in Narvik. There will be still a fifth Socialist sitting in the Storthing. Egede-Nissen, the representative from Hammerfest, Vardö and Vadsö (all in the extreme north of Norway), is in complete accord with the programme of the Socialists. But he did not declare himself as a Socialist and was elected from the Left. His electors, however, were fully aware of his socialist attitude.

The Democrats are a radical-liberal labor organization. Their votes were divided at the present election in two districts,

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Hedemarken and Christiana, where they brought about the election to the Storthing of the state's attorney, Gastberg, and the teacher, Myrvang, as radical socials. Many of their supporters were Socialists.

The statistics given above are not absolutely correct, for the official tables have not yet been published. But they do give a correct picture of the electoral situation. In relation to the Social Democracy, however, they do not show the full result which has been obtained. In a few cities the Socialists and the Left fused and voted the same ticket, so that it is impossible to distinguish the votes of these two parties. Many of the democratic laborers in the districts of Hedemarken and Christiana were also Socialists. We have reason to believe that our total vote in the whole country is in the neighborhood of 30,000. A conservative paper estimated our vote at 27,000.

The outlook for further and greater results for the Socialists is of the best. The Left has shown its incapability of fulfilling its social tasks; the Right uses as its rallying cry "battle against all Socialist Projects," and whoever wishes to assist the progress of social or political reform in this country can do nothing else than enter the ranks of the Socialists. The socialist labor organizations go steadily forward. The whole number of industrial laborers in the country reaches nearly 80,000. Of these about 16,000 are organized in unions.

The Socialists have participated with good results in the municipal elections. As yet, however, they have not attained an absolute majority in any municipality. But since in the great majority of cases proportional representation exists, it has been possible to elect a number of party comrades in the municipal governments. Since 1900 those women who had reached their 25th year and paid taxes upon an income of 300 kronen in the country and 400 kronen in the cities, or who were married to a man who paid taxes, have also had the right of suffrage in municipal elections. At the municipal election of 1901 48 per cent of the qualified voters among the women in the cities and 9.4 per cent in the country, have exercised their rights of suffrage. A total of 98 women have been elected to positions in municipal governments. In 1901 the Socialists elected a total of 147 municipal officers. We are certain to double the number during the next year.

In the country socialism is rapidly winning ground among the small farmers and fishermen. During the last few years a strong socialist movement has developed among these classes. This development proceeds particularly fast in the North. If it continues to advance as rapidly as at present, the famous Land of the Midnight Sun will soon have only socialist representa-

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tives in the Storthing and only Socialists in municipal governments. The agitation in Norway finds its greatest obstacle in the great distances to be traversed and the difficulty of communication, together with the scanty population. In this widespread country there are only 2,200,000 people and only seven to the square kilometer. But even these obstacles are giving way before the conquering hosts of socialism. The present accomplishments are great and the future belongs to us even in Norway.

JAKOB VIDNES, *in the Newe Zeit.*

Translated by A. M. Simons.

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The Inconsistency of Morris.

OF THE thirty-eight numbers of the I. S. R. published, fully one-half contain the name of Wm. Morris; it has come to such a pass in the Socialist world that his name is synonymous with the highest and best in art, and ere one dare express an opinion on art, he must first approach the shrine of Morris, kneel reverently, count his beads, mumble a few glorias, and in payment receive that inspiration which is due all hero-worshipers.

"Who is this Socialist that he should take up so much room in our art?" some one once said of him. Is it not time that we Socialists paraphrase that sentence by asking, "Who is this artist that he should take up so much room in our Socialism"?

Of Morris the man, poet, artist, scholar or craftsman there can be but one word spoken, but as a Socialist it seems as though he lacked much. His idealism especially fitted him for the Fabian school of dreamers, but wholly incapacitated him for the more earthy Marxism. His analysis of existing economic conditions and their historic relations to other economic periods was so unscientific that he became reactionary. His sentimental soul revolted at the manner in which commercialism was affecting art, and lacking the foresight to fight *through* the evil (as evolutionary Marxism would have taught him to do), he turned his back on the present and future and sought consolation in the companionship of the superstition-soaked priests of the era of mental ossification. The history of the world's art furnishes no similar case of such apostacy, no parallel for such mental cowardice. There never was a period in the world's history but there were those contemporaneously who recognized its imperfections material and intellectual; but the world's benefactors, the promoters of progress, have always been those pioneers who, refusing to submit to their environment or to superimposed authority, have gone forth and broke new ground to stand upon, have fought the world's evils, not by flying back from them nor around them, but *through* them; Morris sought the feathered bed of a bygone age and with the assistance of the emotionalists and faddists of the time he won—for a day.

The beauty of idealism reached its manhood in the Greek scriptures, its senility and decay in the ecclesiastical mysticism of the Middle Ages, and the cure for the evil was naturalism. This was the work of the renaissance. And when naturalism had run the entire gamut, even to the coarseness and brutality of the Dutch School, art did not fly back to idealism, but through the evil of Romanticism, that bastard child of idealism and naturalism,

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neither of heaven nor earth, but hanging in the mid-air. Thank God, it died soon! What now? Back to idealism? No.

Idealism was the only art that could live "bowed under a weight of authority"; naturalism was the revolt, that, not knowing what to do with its freedom, flew to the other extreme. Romanticism was the recoil, the child ashamed of the excesses of its parents, seeking to condone their crimes by combining in itself their virtues. It failed, it went to seed in the melodramatic, the emotional, the sentimental.

The history of art is the history of democracy. Idealism was for the intellectuals alone. Naturalism was for the thick-headed *grande bourgoisie.* Romanticism with its sickly sentimentality was better adapted for the then-rising thin-headed petite bourgeoisie, the empty-headed *sanscoulotte* had, as yet, no art; all the existing phases of art transcended his wisdom, sufficient for him was a full belly and a place to lay his head. The tendency of art in all of its successive changes was to adapt itself to ever larger audiences. Tolstoi to the contrary.

And now art must be brought down to the *sanscoulotte.* But how? His nature must be taken into consideration; he must be approached from the physiological rather than the psychological side. "And thus it was that ethics dropped from art and esthetics took its place." The technical school was born. And with its perfection democracy will have achieved a complete triumph in art. The fourth estate will have an art.

*If the history of art is the history of democracy, it is likewise the history of evolution, and the finger that traces philosophy traces art.

With the breaking up of the feudal system and the consequent breaking up of the old transcendental and ideological systems of philosophy, necessarily came the shattering of all of those forms and institutions built upon the old economic and philosophical systems. The base of philosophy was shifted from metaphysical conjectures to scientifico-materialistic deductions,—from the abstract to the concrete,—from the ethereal realms of otherworldliness to the altogether too matter-of-fact this-worldliness, and consequently the problems of 'how to worm your way into a blissful heaven the other side of the moon,' 'how best to float around in the thin aether of an imaginary Arcadia' or 'how best to attain to a thrice threefold condition of sanctimonious sancti-

*The difference between opportunism and impossibleism in socialism, and La Marck and Weismann in biology, however important they may seem to us in this age, will be considered insignificant to the historian five hundred years hence, who will consider as important only what both opportunism and impossibleism held in common against its common enemy, the capitalist system,—or what both Lamarck and Weismann held in common against their common enemy, the theological conception of genesis. In like manner I have risked the anathema's of the so-called conservative historians of art by making broader or more general divisions of art, based upon economic determinism, and utterly ignoring the pedantic definitions and scholastic classifications of the petty schools and cults, reactionary or otherwise.

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moniousness," gave way to the very earthly problems of "how to get enough to eat" and "how to adjust your relations with your fellowman"; and from Bacon's "Novum Organum" we slide swiftly down from the clouds and land with a thump against "First Principles," "Origin of Species" and "Capital." Religion and art were the first to feel the effects of the revolution.

Idealism was the dominating principle of art so long as the economic and philosophical conditions warranted of it, and when they changed art changed with them, hence naturalism. But the new economic condition was as yet too unsettled for the new materialistic philosophy to find a firm base for itself, and so art speedily deserted it without having even so much as tasted the real fruits of naturalism (the Dutch went farthest, but mistook coarseness and deformity for naturalism), but having previously deserted idealism it found itself without a home—hanging in mid-air, hence romanticism.

But now we have got our new economic system settled, it is no longer an experiment, but a fact; and now Spencer, Darwin and Marx will adjust a philosophy to it; the last vestige of idealism will be driven from philosophy and it will be placed on a purely materialistic basis. Now art, you may come down out of the mid-air; you need not be afraid! Here is a firm foundation for you. And art came down and adapted itself to the new conditions.

Beauty of idea gave way to beauty of form, objective expression gave way to subjective impression, and suggestion was substituted as a makeshift for idealism. And then came the technical school, the extreme left of the new art. Moral import, goodness, righteousness, truth, perfection and all of the concomitant adjuncts of ethics are swept aside to make room for form. Ethics is dethroned—esthetics is crowned king. Art has become ultra-material; realism is naturalism placed on a firm, scientifico-materialistic basis; beauty is looked upon as a physiological sensation.

To be explicit: Certain lines perpendicular, horizontal, diagonal, straight or curved—certain masses of light and shade—certain colors, hues and tints are so arranged geometrically or chromatically that the impression received by the brain is agreeable (harmonious); add a dash of suggestion and take. You don't like it? No? Well, what else did you expect in this materialistic age? But the subject-matter? Oh, let that shift for itself. And the moral import? Please don't bother us with such questions; sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. We are too busy with the physical construction of our picture, poem or song.

Let the aristocracy of intelligence with their fools paradise of idealism sneer at our esthetics—no mean thing, this technical school, even if only as a stepping-stone. Time will tell. Evolution does not work purposelessly.

And this is the technical school or esthetic art. The creature

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of its environment, the product of time, the art of the proletariat, upon which Morris turned his back at a time when this art and the people who needed this art required his services the most, deserted them to attempt to resuscitate an art which they could not appreciate and which could not of its very nature be resuscitated even if it could be appreciated, for "it was not of its time"; deserted them to—sell them fifty-dollar books and thousand-dollar tapestries and unwittingly create a cult of middle-class dilettantes who to-day are socialism's worst enemies. The act was foolhardy; time is proving it so.

But if his antagonism to the technical school was foolhardy, his hatred of the machine was doubly so. Inconsistent Morris, what had the poor machine done to incur your enmity? In two short centuries it had transformed the dull, illiterate, wooden-saboted peasant into the urban wage-worker and surrounded him with at least a modicum of comfort, given him at least a smattering of education and art.

The cheap printed calico, the bargain-counter tapestries, the gaudy-figured carpets and the crude attempts to realize beauty in the machine-made furniture, this was the blackboard class of the proletariat in art, truly better than the thatched roof and mud floor of the medieval peasant. Again he deserted them, imbued with his reactionary ideas.

How are we to account for the inconsistency in this man, who, believing himself progressive, became reactionary, who, laboring in the interests of the working-classes, allowed his left hand to work adversely? That he became a victim of the predominant emotionalism can be the only rational answer.

It was just at this period that the evils of commercialism were at their worst and beginning to manifest themselves to the world in general.

The shockingly revolting condition of the laborers in the factory, the mine, etc., was crying out its indictment against society, with nothing(not considering as worthy of mention the fashionable parlor-economists) to answer back but the novels of Dickens, Hugo and Sue, fag-end of the romanticism so gloriously brought to perfection by Byron, Goethe, Schilling and Scott—remnants soaked in emotionalism.

The voices of Darwin, Spencer and Marx had not yet been heard, but so soon as "The Origin of Species," "First Principles" and "Capital" were written,* the old-fashioned revival as a means of combating the encroachment of materialism must give way to a higher criticism and St. George Mivart; a literature of sighs and tears must give way to a literature of investigation, analysis

*While it is true that these three contributions to modern materialism were given to the world about the middle of the last century, they did not sift down to the public, i. e., become subjects of popular reading and discussion, until the mid-seventies or early eighties.

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and action; in the social science charity and pity must give way to the class struggle and political activity; and an art tainted with commercialism and the prevalent emotionalism must give way to —God save the mark!—a second-hand art, revamped by the firm of "Morris, Rossetti & Co."

Every revolution in every branch of human endeavor brings with it, in its transition stage, a series of eccentric excesses from which the weak-minded recoil and which causes all but the strongest-minded to denounce the entire revolution. Morris looked upon the excesses of the transition period and flew to a monastery.

While it is true that the modern technical school (as applied to the graphic art) relies solely upon an appeal to the esthetic sense, and consequently seeks only the physical construction of a picture, still, the future historian will hold, say for example, Aubrey Beardsley (line) and Claude Monet (color) as the excesses rather than the spirit of the revolution. The technical school has come to stay until it shall have served its historical mission and solved the problems allotted to it; and then, if the world wishes to return to idealism, it will return in a body and not be dragged back to please the whim of one man or a petty cult.

Let the failure of pre-Raphaelitism and the triumph of the technical school serve as a warning that evolution is not to be thwarted by emotional fancy nor sentimental obstinacy.

Or, perchance Morris believed as the author of "The Revolt of the Artist" that "art is threatened with sterilization" because "freedom of expression is smothering true individuality and is causing an increasing glorification of technique." God, Father in heaven! And this from a Socialist. Go to, man. There never will be an art in this world until the last vestige of artistic authority is lifted from the shoulders of the individual. Until then we will simply have *schools.**

As with art, so with the machine. Morris simply looked on the transition stage, the crude, shabby product of the primitive machine, unlike the more artistic product of to-day, only a quarter

*The fact that this is a journal devoted to the discussion of socialism and not art, alone deters me from entering at length upon this, what I consider to be, the most important question in art at the present time.

"But is it legitimate art?" said a friend of mine (and a socialist at that) to whom I was showing some prints that I intended submitting to the fourth Chicago Photographic Salon. Is it legitimate? Or, in other words, does somebody permit you to do this and call it art? Does some great functionary, judge, jury, clique or *school* kindly condescend to hand down an approval that will make it true art, whether it is or not?

"To what *school* of art do you belong?" said my friend a few minutes later. There you have it, substitute "orthodox" for "legitimate" and "creed" for "school," and you can smell the burning flesh of the—but no, five hundred years of civilization have substituted a more refined (but none the less effective) *censorship* for the more brutal inquisition.

Judges, judges, and ever judges, until every vestige of real art is drummed out of the heads of the novice, and stupidly he takes his place in the procession —creating things according to *somebody else's standard of beauty, not his own.*

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of a century later. And what will the future of the machine be? Let us anticipate:

Machinery is of three kinds: (1) To accomplish that which man by virtue of physical deficiencies (absence or limitation of certain natural organs or functions) cannot accomplish unaided; to this class of machinery belongs the microscope; telescope, spectroscope, etc. (2) To create artificially certain natural conditions (or to create artificial conditions or objects), beneficial to the material welfare of man (light, heat, imitations and substitutions); to this class of machinery belongs electric and gas-lighting apparatus, ice-making machinery, etc. (3) To accomplish that which man unaided (save by primitive tools) may accomplish, but to accomplish that something more rapidly, with less expenditure of energy, *i. e.,* more economically. It is with the two last divisions of machinery that socialism concerns itself mostly.

Primitive man found the sickle the most convenient tool with which to garner his wheat, but the scythe by virtue of its longer blade must needs drive the sickle out of the field. Next the "cradle" manifested itself as a greater saver of labor, followed by the mowing machine, still more economical than any of its predecessors. Up to this point the function of the tool or machine was to perform one operation, to cut down the wheat, a performance which may be best characterized as repetition or duplication. But mark you now what occurs: The reaper cuts the wheat and lays the sheaf ready to bind; the self-binder cuts, binds and discharges sheaf all bound.

Then comes the combined harvester and thresher driven by steam or gasoline which moves across the field with 30-foot strokes of its sickle and gathers the grain heads, elevates them to the cylinder, or separator which threshes, cleans and sacks the grain ready to send to the miller.

And what is true of the machinery for the harvesting of wheat is true of all machinery; the more primitive the machine the more is it confined to one single, simple operation (duplication), and the greater must be the expenditure of human energy and care in connection with it. The more modern the machine, the greater the number of its performances (variation) and the less the expenditure of human energy, as witness the linotype, corn-shredder, husker, automatic screw-making machinery, etc.

To sum up: Primitive machinery—duplication, plus much labor; modern machinery—variation, plus little labor.

And is this the end? Come, let us be optimistic. Heretofore the product-varying machinery consisted simply in the combination (in obedience to the predominant law of concentration, I presume) of several correlated machines (e. g., cutting the paper, printing on both sides, pasting, folding, etc.), more or less automatically adjusted; and consequently the variation of product is

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not in its last analysis so much of a variation after all, but rather a manifold duplication. But the ultimate goal of invention is machinery that will permit of a true variation of product, of a greater suppleness in the hands of man and a greater obedience to his will; nor is this a Utopian dream, but a cold, scientific fact. This will be the third stage of machinery invention, and the twentieth century is already anticipating it.

Machinery will more and more vary its product until—where will it all end? Who knows? Not I. But there is one thing I DO know, and which Morris seems not to have known; viz.: *Machinery, like everything else, is subject to the law of evolution.*

CENTRIST.

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Australian Labor and Socialist News.

THE heart of the political opportunist in Queensland is made glad. The old corrupt government is overthrown and a coalition government is formed in which two of the members of the Labor Party hold seats. The new government has a following of 42 in a house of 72, and of these 23 are members of the Labor Party. The policy of permeation will now bear fruit. Already signs are not wanting of its beneficial effects! On taking office the new premier announced that no extreme or controversial legislation would be introduced. The ex-leader of the Labor Party, who is one of the new ministers, in the face of this says: "I believe that it is quite possible to be loyal to the premier and the colleagues I have now elected to work with, and at the same time be true to my old principles. In the meantime I would ask the men and women of Queensland who have so long and so earnestly worked for reforms we so much desire, to accept my assurance that it is the sincere belief that the quickest and surest way to get these reforms is by the new departure made that has caused the Parliamentary Labor Party and myself to adopt that course." Another member of the Labor Party, who has lately been raised to the dignity of chairman of committees, said recently that the Labor Party were prepared to go slow and not expect too much from the present government. He rejoiced in the fact that the Morgan government had come to stay. The same individual announced that the Labor Party was not a class party. It has long been evident that such is the case, but this is, I think, the first occasion on which a member of the party has ventured to express it in public. The majority of labor organizations throughout the state heartily endorse the policy adopted, although even the most sanguine of them expect nothing more than electoral reform. At present a system of plural voting is in force, the owners of landed property having a vote in every electorate in which he owns land. An electoral reform bill has been promised by the premier, which will abolish plural voting and extend the franchise to women, but it is not to be introduced till next session. The action of the Labor Party in forming the coalition is only the logical outcome of their departure from the propaganda of their early days. If they had kept alive the agitation in the country for electoral reform, the plural vote would already have been abolished and the franchise extended. But no! The conducting of a revolutionary agitation was in complete variance to the policy of the vote-catching practical politician. It is now only a matter of time before the Labor Party are completely absorbed by the liberal element in the new government. This will clear

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the way for an avowedly socialist party, and it is to be hoped that the result of the failure of our present practical labor politicians will be the formation of a revolutionary socialist party, whose aim will not be to reform the capitalistic system out of existence.

Practical politics in New South Wales has also shown how little is to be gained from these measures. The most short-sighted of all of these is the demand for compulsory conciliation and arbitration. In N. S. W. the conciliation and arbitration act has enabled a bogus union to be registered, the Machine Shearers' Union. This union has already caused a reduction in the wages of shearers and bush workers and the Australian Workers' Union have been compelled to accept the reduced rates. A circular has been issued to members in which agreement to this reduction is recommended. This circular contains the following: "Your patience has been sorely tried, we know. The arbitration act that promised you peace, has brought you war." Instead of seeing the utter folly of obtaining a remedy through the arbitration courts they are demanding more arbitration. "A Federal Arbitration Act," they say, "will almost certainly be passed this session and this will enable us to have our differences settled, not for N. S. W. only, but for each of the states covered by our Union. Profiting by the N. S. W. experiences, the *Federal Parliament can be depended upon* to see that no bogus union shall hold up its head, and that the important powers entrusted to the Registrar *shall be placed in capable hands.*" When we hear of the likelihood of a capitalistic government going out of its way to procure justice for the workers, we may well question whether lack of insight and reasoning capacity do not go hand in hand with the mania for practical reforms.

Mr. Sven Trier, a Danish socialist, who recently visited New Zealand, says with regard to the arbitration act: "With regard to this, one thing is unrefutable, and that is that now one union has much less interest in the welfare of another than before the act came into force, each union only working to get one penny more for their people per hour! And the result is that the political interest of the working class is getting smaller and smaller; their broader view of the oppressed classes' demands have changed to a narrow union self-interest.

A Trade Monopolies Prevention Bill was introduced into the New Zealand parliament to prohibit the growth of monopolies. This is a direct consequence of the middle-class nature of the government. It is not to be supposed that this bill if passed, can stem the tide of economic development, but it serves to show what is the controlling power in New Zealand.

ANDREW M. ANDERSON.

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The Socialist; the Ideal Peace and Arbitration Man.

*TO ARBITRATION.

Blest Arbitration, boundless boon to man,
Significant assumer of the soul in all,
Appropriate partner in the Peace-man's work,
Declarer of the day when War shall cease—
Hail, hail thy universal sway!

Democracy's defense against all deathly deeds,
Base Battle's bearer to unbottomed grave,
Sincere saluter of contestants with the kiss of peace,
All-uncorrupted, calm, convincer in despite of purchased courts—
Hail, hail thy universal sway!

Announced in notes of joy that jubilantly praise Almighty God at end of war.
Embodied in the ballot cast that bears behest of ours,
Revealed in revolutions swords rebelled against—
Thou art, O Arbitration, born of Love and Peace, th' acclaimed compatriot of every cause that cries:
"Come let us reason—not resort to force."

Conspirator that hast conspired to strangle strife;
Well-wisher of the world, most wise, that daily waits to deal cursed war a death-blow, to his face;
Adviser of the down-trod: "Dare demand, and I will speak the doom;
Beguiler of the brute to plead where brutes are evermore brought low—"
Hail, hail thy universal sway!

Conceived by Love incarnate close at hand,
Brought forth for this: To furnish Peace a realm and race complete and fit,
Endowed with daring to demand the earth as thine,
Enthroned in hearts, whose homage hastes where Justice stands—
Thou art, O Arbitration, born of Love and Peace!
Less loved than War by lisping lass unschooled by life,
Less loved than War by wanton, warriors waste their pay and manhood on,
Less loved than War by world that wounds its Christ to death—

*Published in "The Peacemaker"and "The Advocate of Peace," October, 1903.

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But thou, O Arbitration, born of Peace and Love, art now, hast been, and evermore shalt be th' acclaimed compatriot of each cause that cries:

"COME LET US REASON—NOT RESORT TO FORCE."

The preceding poems* were sent out by the author many months ago. Without any concert of action on the part of the editors both poems were published in the October issue of several periodicals. This simultaneous publication called the author's attention anew to the work and occasions in him the following thoughts:

Would it have been possible to have secured the publication of "To Socialism" in a Peace journal, and would any Socialist journal have been inclined to give publicity to "To Arbitration?"

The answer to the first query is undoubtedly No; and to the second, It might have been possible, but was not probable.

Now, why?

It is true that in a recent discussion with Mr. Love, of "The Peacemaker," Dr. Gibbs successfully demonstrated that there is an irreconcilable difference between the arbitration principles as embodied in the eleven cardinal principles of the "Peace Union" and Socialism; and it is equally true that there is now an established and growing feeling of contempt for the results of arbitration as between Capital and Labor in the minds of many socialists; and in order to sift this matter to the bottom I have thought it wise to set forth, confront and consider certain facts.

First: The "eleven cardinal principles" are, so far as I am informed, merely the setting forth of the mode of operation of a particular peace-society towards securing the acceptance of arbitration by parties in dispute together with the reasons which prompt their author and some of the members of the society to take action in the case and a statement of the foundation on which they believe the principle of arbitration to be based. They are in no sense a final embodiment of the principle of arbitration, and a great wrong has been done the cause of arbitration by founding those "cardinal principles" on the assumed righteousness and unchangeableness of capitalism. An equally great wrong has been done and is being done by confusing in the minds of the workers the unsatisfactory results of arbitration in many cases as applied under capitalism with the abstract principle of arbitration. For, just as in voicing the thought "To Socialism" there was never an intention in the mind of the poet of endorsing

*The second poem to which reference is made is the one entitled "To Socialism," published in the October number of the International Socialist Review.—Ed.

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everything that might possibly travel under that loved name, so in the case of "To Arbitration" the principle in its perfect application to the needs of mankind *under a just system*, certainly not under capitalism, was held consistently in view.

Just as under the grossly inequitable system now in vogue neither Christianity nor Socialism should be asked to produce their legitimate results, so neither can Arbitration—nor should satisfactory results now be expected. In order to secure even approximately satisfactory results, arbitrators of an unprejudiced and disinterested quality are imperative—these can *never* be secured under a system where the present inequalities of wealth and station are recognized as not only legal but just.

Therefore the Socialist should keep in mind that in condemning and renouncing the application of arbitration to present day disputes he must not so condemn or renounce the principle of arbitration itself; for nothing is more certain than that arbitration, if put in practice under Socialism, would bring about ideal decisions—just and humane and in the vast majority of cases perfectly satisfactory to all parties; and the Socialist of the future is going to need this ideal method of settling disputes which will inevitably arise so long as human beings fall somewhat short of the hypothetical angel estate.

On the other hand, the Peaceman is making a monstrous and fatal mistake when he bases or attempts to base an ideally just system on an altogether unjust, outworn, and about-to-be discarded system. His attempt to make it bring about anything like permanent results under capitalism has never been satisfactorily accomplished until he secured the acquiescence of powerful nations to the plan—in other words backed its decisions by force. And force, next to fear, is the lowest appeal that can be made to a reasoning being, such as is pre-supposed by arbitration. This founding of the principle on anything less or lower than the conception of Socialism, and the making the acceptance of the cardinal principles as enunciated a *sine qua non* of good and regular standing as a Peaceman, whether done officially or in the mind of the member at large, is fatal to the progress of the peace cause.

Second: No class of people, as a class, have more steadfastly and consistently demanded the overthrow of militarism than have the Socialists; and yet the average Peaceman looks with distrust on the Socialist, who is the ideal Peaceman and arbitrator; for only under Socialism, where equality of wealth and station can be secured, is it possible to bring about permanent world-peace or secure disinterested arbitrators.

In looking for the cause of this distrust we find that it arises because few, if any, Socialists have totally discarded and dis-

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avowed the right to resort to the arbitrament of war in the final event. That this should be a matter of disagreement between the two bodies is strange indeed; for we find only a scattering handful of the avowed Peace people of the world who are able or willing to endorse Tolstoy's extreme position, which enables him to state truthfully that he would not resist evil even though it took the shape of the rape or murder of his own daughter in his sight. So far from endorsing such a position except by silence concerning it there may be observed the names of many prominent officials of peace organizations on the roll of the League of Peace of England, an organization which avowedly stands for the right of resistance for home defense, and its secretary is a member of many other Peace Societies; and in this country few indeed are the members of our Peace organizations who are not proud of the record of some member or members of their families who gave up their lives on the field of battle either in the cause of Independence or in the late Civil War—where men were deluded into thinking they were fighting for the freedom and enfranchisement of the chattel slaves. Now, this primal right of ultimate resistance to the death for one's loved or for a principle is no more strenuously asserted by the Socialist than by the average Peaceman, could we but secure an open expression of opinion from him. The Socialist is opposed to militarism and to all war, appealing as he daily does to the reason of the people for a decision in his, and their own, favor. He continually thereby acts as an advocate in a great Arbitration Court, whose judge and jury, plaintiff and defendant are identical (not an ideal court by any means); still he pleads with them to render their decision at the ballot box, peaceably, and not on the field of battle, where blood is inevitably shed, lives lost and irreconcilable hatreds engendered. Nevertheless, the ballot is and necessarily must be his only weapon or means of defense—*but only in the present;* for he must not ultimately stand passively by and see the means of the advancement of the race taken by trickery from the hands of the workers—as is now being done in numberless cases and by methods so utterly beyond the reach of all present laws as to make him glance thankfully in thought to the fact that he has at the last always in his own power the right and ability to resist by force this gradual reduction of his fellows to the slave condition.

Does this thought and this gladness concerning it, render him less available as a sincere Peace advocate today? If it shall be decided that it renders him entirely unavailable let all Socialists, as well as all non-socialist members of Peace societies who honestly find in themselves this same thought and gladness (though inevitably coupled with great sadness that such a thought

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need ever arise), sever connection with all societies whose constitutions, by-laws or cardinal principles make a resort to war *under any and all circumstances* a fundamental part of the things they disavow and in which they disbelieve. And where will the Peace organizations be?

This much seems clear: So long as we are compelled to live under capitalism no such hard and fast line can be drawn by the societies; though indeed it has been drawn once and for all for them by the government in the infamous "Dick" law—as the societies will discover whenever the law is put in operation. That would leave only absolute non-resistants in the societies. Now, the most earnest and strenuous upholder of the Tolstoyan position in America today—a man I delight to honor, but from whom in this I hopelessly disagree—openly avows that for his part the living completely up to the doctrine of non-resistance is not in him; for which I the more honor him. And even Tolstoy falls far short of a literal obedience to the *commands* of that master he has selected as his ideal. He has elected *perfect* obedience to non-resistance of evil and *partial* obedience to "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." True, he lives somewhat like a poor man; but until he has utterly divested himself both of titles and possessions he is not a poor man and *can never feel as a poor man feels.* The essence of poverty is the uncertainty as to the morrow's bread—and this no man situated like Count Tolstoy ever has felt or can feel. Moreover, Tolstoy's non-resistance is definitely confined to resistance by act; for a more strenuous resistance by voice and pen to evil of every form, than his this world has never seen or heard.

Why then draw the line sharply in this other matter? Tolstoy is recognized the world over as honestly believing in Christ and as putting in practice Christ's doctrines so far as may be, and so far as his sight is clear, under the system which he by the fact of birth is constrained to endure. So, and fully as much so, the Socialist is a true and earnest Peaceman. He eschews war and the warlike just so far as the day and hour permit. He believes whole-heartedly in the principle of arbitration and appeals to its court for decisions often even when no possibility exists of securing such arbitrators as the principle demands. He daily submits his whole case to the whole court—and reserves only the right of ultimately enforcing the decision which he confidently expects that whole court in the near future to render in favor of his contention. For the present he peaceably submits to all adverse decisions, and proposes to continue so doing. But already are clearly heard the voice of some of the defendants threatening not only to ignore an adverse verdict, but to resist to the death its enforcement. For this cause, and for this alone, the Socialist is

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constrained to keep the possibility of an appeal to arms as his reserved right. He will not be the man to break the peace; the peace will already have been irretrievably broken by the rich when, if ever, the Socialist defends and enforces the decision rendered in his favor by the ballots of the people.

It may be said that no attempt has yet been made herein to logically demonstrate the justice of the claim that the Socialist is the *ideal* Peaceman and arbitrator. In the mind of the writer no other proof is needed than the writing and publication of the two poems which serve as a text for these thoughts. Each is the sincere outspeaking of a Socialist mind. But to others more may be necessary.

Socialism is admitted to be an embodiment of ideal justice and the securing for the whole people of ideal conditions of life. Even its most bitter enemies and opponents dare bring nothing against it to a reasonably unprejudiced mind except that it is "too good to be true" and "will not work." That it *will not work* under capitalism, or anywhere in its neighborhood, is readily and gladly admitted. While the Christianity of those theologians who concur in the statement that "Christianity is a system of belief, not a life" has measurably succeeded in fulfilling all expectations *they* had any warrant for entertaining, genuine Christianity as taught by the founder has pathetically failed under these same capitalist conditions, to actualize its central doctrine: Loving Brotherhood and Oneness. So will every other even approximately just system. Light and darkness are mutually destructive each to each. One must inevitably give place to the other.

But the Socialist, even under these adverse conditions, is the ideal man of whom we spoke.

First: Because at the same moment that he detests war and discards it as much as any man except, possibly, the extreme non-resistant, he frankly faces the possibility of the day of physical conflict. He devoutly hopes that that day may never dawn, but he is subject to no delusions concerning the fact that if the conflict which he is now confining to the mental sphere can possibly be forced by the capitalist into the physical one it will be taken there and there fought out. For his delusions as to the humanity of capitalism were dispelled long since. This freedom from delusions on that subject is all in his favor. He does not call present-day conditions "peace" simply because only backward peoples or barbarian races are now being legally slaughtered, or because few or many "boundary disputes" and such like matters of controversy between *great* nations (who have discovered that war is too costly, as waged between themselves) have been temporarily or even permanently settled by arbitration. The warman and his master, the capitalist, are well aware that of all

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peace-loving people the Socialist is most clear eyed as to their plans for the present and future—and if anything can restrain them in the attempt to carry out those plans, that fact will.

Second: He is even more the ideal Peaceman because he is ever actively a resistant, chronically in revolt against the evils that afflict humanity—but ever with the hope of a better day and of ultimate victory before him. For observe that in order to achieve the things for which our ideal stands we must in all cases be buoyed up by *hope of ultimate attainment.* We must be optimists. Pessimism, as to the present, is perfectly permissible: The present could scarce be worse and be endurable. But as to the ultimate result of our struggle, as to the future of the race, as to the inherent nobility of human nature, we must be optimists of the most strenuous kind. We must believe it and continuously live in hope of it till our faces shine with the light shed by the faith-foreseen oncoming day. Herein is strength; herein is victory! Realize this, and then observe that the non-resistant's foremost man, as a result of a lifetime of thought and endeavor in the non-resistant direction, lands in the blackest pessimism ever voiced to the world or harbored in the heart and brain of a man who consented to survive the present hour. He thinks and says that the hope of the race is to "let it die out." He would create a double-distilled inferno in the interim on earth by leaving the begetting of children to those he considers as less elevated bodily, mentally and spiritually than himself. All really well-intentioned people, according to him, should unite to let the race die out. That, indeed, in its ultimate is peace—*the peace of the grave.*

Compare with that the ideal ever present in the mind of the Socialist; a world more full of happy men, women and children than it has ever been with miserable ones. Realize that the Socialist of today is a man on fire with enthusiasm, filled with love for his fellow man, hating only the monstrous system which condemns him to live the very inequality he hates and detests, and there should be no difficulty in deciding between the two poles of thought (there is no real workable middle position). There should be instant decision that the sincere, disinterested Socialist is and ever will be the ideal Peace and Arbitration Man.

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLZ.

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Hilquit's "History of Socialism in America."*

NOTHING offers a greater proof of the permanent position which has been attained by Socialism in the United States than the character of the literature which it is producing. It is a trite but true saying to apply to such work as Comrade Hilquit has produced that it marks an epoch in the socialist movement in America. It does this in a double sense; it records the completion of the preparatory stage in American Socialism and it presents to us the most scholarly and pretentious volume that has yet appeared by an American Socialist on the American Socialist movement. Almost one-half of the book is given up to the discussion of "Utopian Socialism and Communistic Experiments." Indeed it seems that rather too much space is given to this feature. This is for two reasons; primarily, because they are by no means as important in the development of socialism as this extended treatment would indicate, and, second, because this phase of the subject has been adequately treated in other volumes. The classification which he makes of these communities into Sectarian, Owenite, Fourieristic and Icarian, is the best division of the subject that we have yet noticed. Here and there we run across interesting little items which have been ordinarily overlooked by previous writers, such as the fact that a son of Robert Owen was twice a member of Congress and drafted the Act establishing the Smithsonian Institution.

The summary of the cause of the failure of these communities he states as follows: "But the times of the Robinson Crusoes, individual or social, have passed. The industrial development of the last centuries has created a great economic interdependence between man and man, and nation and nation, and has made humanity practically one organic body. In fact, all the marvelous achievements of our present civilization are due to the conscious or unconscious operation of the workers in the field and mines, on the railroads and steamships, in the factories and laboratories the world over; the individual member of society derives his power solely from participation in this great co-operative labor or its results, and no man or group of men can separate himself or themselves from it without relapsing into barbarism.

"This indivisibility of the social organism was the rock upon which all communistic experiments foundered. They could not possibly create a society all-sufficient in itself; they were forced into constant dealings with the outside world, and were sub-

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jected to the laws of the co-operative system both as producers and consumers. Those of them who learned to swim with the stream, like the religious communities, adopted by degrees all features of competitive industry, and prospered, while those who remained true to their utopian ideal perished."

It is in his treatment of the modern movement that we find the matter of greatest value. This portion of the work indicates an extensive investigation into original sources, and preserves for us much matter that would have been very difficult to assemble in future years when the generation that was concerned in these events had entirely passed away. He finds practically no connection between the communistic settlements and modern socialism save that here and there individuals were concerned in both movements. The first real movement that is entitled to rank as forming a link in the evolution of the present American Socialist movement is the work of William Weitling, whose activity during the years 1849-50 aroused considerable interest. The German Turners and an organization in New York called the Communist Club, which had an ephemeral existence, were the only other important manifestations of the Socialist idea in the years prior to the Civil War. This great struggle practically wiped out all movements not directly concerned in the struggle between the North and the South, and there was little sign of reviving activity until the advent of "The International Workingmen's Association." The history of this organization has often been told, and yet there are so few accounts of it accessible that the rather full description given in the present volume is acceptable. It really had but little influence in America and would be of little importance in the history of the American movement save for the fact that it came to America to die, being removed to New York in 1872 in order to place it outside the influence of Bakounin and his anarchist followers. What influence was manifested by the International in America was largely through the National Labor Union, which reached considerable strength in the years 1867 and 1868.

Not the least of the valuable things about Comrade Hilquit's work is to be found in the fact that he has rescued from oblivion many names which now sound utterly strange to American Socialists, but who played their part in building up the movement of which we are now so proud. One of these, William H. Sylvis, was the heart and soul of the National Labor Union, and at his death in 1869 the organization disappeared, although it lived long enough to send a delegate to the Basle Convention of the International. The National Labor Union was not directly affiliated with the International, and most of the sections of the latter organization were composed of Germans, although it finally became cursed with an unnatural prosperity which drew to it "reformers of all shades" and, as is inevitably the case with such

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a growth in a socialist movement, brought about its downfall, not, however, until it had organized some remarkable labor demonstrations and left its impress on the thought of the period. It finally died on July 15, 1876, only to be revived again with greater strength and with a form adjusted to the infinitely wider field and duty that lay before it in the new International Socialist organization which still remains.

The next phase of the movement to occupy the field was "The Social Democratic Working Men's Party of North America," which was formally organized on the 4th day of July, 1874, by several sections of the International, which had withdrawn from the organization earlier in the year in January, with some local labor organizations of New York and Williamsburg, Newark and Philadelphia. This greatly grew in strength and in 1877 changed the name to "Socialist Labor Party of North America." This organization sprang into life in the midst of the most wide-spread industrial disturbances this country had witnessed up to that time and received a tremendous impetus from the sufferings and disorder of the time. "The many labor troubles and the general condition of popular destitution of the period had made the minds of the working class more receptive to the teachings of socialism than ever before, and the socialists sought to take advantage of the situation by every means at their command. In all great industrial centers demonstrations were arranged, proclamations were issued, street-corner meetings were held, and some of the most eloquent speakers of the party—McGuire, Parsons, Savary, and many others—undertook extended and systematic lecture tours through the country. Socialist newspapers appeared in all parts of the United States and in many languages. Between 1876 and 1877 no less than twenty-four newspapers, directly or indirectly supporting the party, were established." This movement disappeared with the coming of the capitalist prosperity of the early 80's. With the coming of the hard times of the late 80's the oppressed workers turned again to socialism, but once more the movement was destined to confusion and finally to end in one of the most tragic episodes in the entire history of the working class. It became involved on the anarchist movement and well nigh disappeared when the Haymarket tragedy and the execution of the anarchists took place in Chicago.

Once, again, the movement was slowly built up from the bottom, but each time the builders worked more in accord with scientific principles and amid an environment more susceptible to permanent growth of socialism. There were times of confusion with the Greenbackers, Populists and the Henry George movement; there were dark days of intrigue and a few instances of betrayal. But through it all, socialism was growing. The Knights of Labor movement gave it a great impetus, only to

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be lost when that organization fell into disrepute. Out of the contact with the Knights of Labor, to some degree at least, sprang the fatal trade union tactics of the S. L. P., which was to end in the disruption of that organization and the founding of the present socialist party. Here the history practically stops, and perhaps it is as well, for matters since have scarcely sufficiently receded into the perspective of history to enable an impartial account to be written.

The work is one which must compel the attention of every student of American social life, and will form an essential part of any collection of socialist books. Nevertheless, there are portions which are somewhat unsatisfactory. The treatment of American economic development is the most prominent of these. There seems to be almost no conception of the industrial history of America as differentiated from that of other countries. Wherever this subject is treated the whole United States is discussed as if it were a unit, whereas, at any time during the periods covered by the book there were great sectional differences, and these differences were really the main factors in the peculiar political development of America. One is surprised to see a socialist book repeating the nonsense about the disastrous competition of the "bonanza farms" of the west with the ordinary American farmer, when it is now known that these bonanza farms were absolutely helpless in the competition with the ordinary American farmer, and were subsequently competed out of existence.

In the same way there is a decided localism in the treatment of the struggle with the S. L. P. where he declares that: "The insurgents were practically confined to the City of New York, while the sections in the country knew little about the merits of the controversy." This will be somewhat surprising to the comrades throughout the country who were plunged into that fight often with fully as great energy and intelligence as those of New York. We have already criticised the space which is given to the colony feature, but this is more striking in view of the fact that the communistic character of frontier life which has been present in some portion of the country throughout the history of the United States is completely overlooked.

There is also a strong tendency to exaggerate the importance of the Greenback and other reform movements in comparison with the Populist as contributing to the growth of socialist thought. No mention is made of the planks in the Populist platform which were very much nearer socialism than those to be found in the Greenback party, with the possible exception of those which the socialists were able to drag in when they were admitted to the Greenback conventions.

A. M. SIMONS.

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The Religion of Resistance.

IT IS our way to laugh with the laugh of the superiorly pitiful at the backwardness of the ancients who inferred that slaves and women had no souls. But like most of our moral derision this laugh of ours has no account behind it—it is only a laugh which does not understand.

Morality is an entirely social relation; that goes on the face of it. A man cannot be moral alone. Religion is some larger consideration than that of immediate punishment which induces people to be moral. Whatever else religion may have to say about heaven and souls she uses these as accessories of the mundane morals she happens to be teaching. Only a few fanatics who do not know why respectable people went to the trouble of making them religious in their youth have the audacity to separate religion from morals. Any church openly declaring such divorce would be forced out of business at once, and this they all perfectly well understand, though they may not understand true morality. Some ancients and moslems say that slaves have no souls. But we as Christians always make very much of the slave's soul because we want to make so very much more out of the body.

I suppose that there can be no real moral nexus between slaves and masters and that religion in supplying an unreal one for a purpose has at least saved the ancient human families from utterly destroying one another—saved us out of those periods of brutality and ignorance for the time when religion shall have better functions than to invent fables to hold the slaves and keep the masters fat.

A moral code can only have force and meaning between men in equality. The ten commandments were compiled for the use of people who were pretty well to do. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's ox" was addressed to a man who had an ox of his own. No such commandments were ever addressed to destitution. It has no place in a slave system where force or fear only save the master's ox. There is no slave, destitute or deprived man but *must desire* that absent thing, which, being out of his possession, makes him what he is; and none but such as are resolved to have and keep him a-less-than-man would seek to take from him that sacred desire.

A community that is so organized that slavery, black or white, constitutes its essential requirement must therefore have some men in it that are less than men—men without souls. In free competitive wage slavery we require the largest part of our population to be thus deprived or destitute in order to keep them in the slave ranks. Our system requires, indeed, that the largest part of the

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population shall be less than men, and therefore outside the moral relation and having no soul, or only its germ.

Great numerical communities must be held together by force, by habit, by delusion or by the moral consideration—that is true religion. Force can only end itself and society sooner or later. Habit can only last up to its equivalent of physical necessity. Delusion works until several of them begin to compete and no longer, and there is really left for society in the end no other bond than that of the moral consideration. Now equality of conditions alone can provide the atmosphere for that moral consideration.

If the master classes of the world possess the soul life then it must be evident that slaves cannot possess it (or other dependents) except on the assumption that the soul life of religion is not moral at all. In which case it is difficult to understand why the master classes should be religious except as devotees of a war god fighting against the slaves. The assumption of a common soul-nature in all mankind and a common God involves equality of condition and they who work to-day for the increases of capitalistic property in mankind's machinery or means of living are utterly irreconcilable with either. Now, I regard socialism as the restitution of every man's right to spiritual life (including slaves, women and other dependents), and that this restitution must be preceded by a declaration of resistance.

The religion of resistance is not the religion of repression to be smuggled into the mind of the repressed by hireling priests. Resistance is the antithesis of invasion—the invaders therefore will not hire the master's priests to teach us the religion of resistance. We must learn and practice this religion ourselves amidst our own circumstances and against all things that make for inequality of condition, and all that teaching that opposes resistance. Every human being possesses racial intelligence or the capacity for it who possesses a mind; and that racial intelligence in operation is the soul of man. It is not mind as an absorbent of statements or dogmas, but mind as the knower of what to do that gives us our first cheque on the bank of the spiritual life. The free mind observing and acquainting itself with its helps and hindrances is the mind of the human soul which now calls for the religion of resistance.

When a thing is to be resisted one of three events must take place. The resistance must go, the thing resisted must go, or the resister must go. Some actual evil greater than the evil resisted (or the menace of it) must stop the resister and his resistance. Force therefore, as a fact or as a delusion, confronts resistance and nothing more. Whatsoever fosters this delusion or strengthens that force is the thing to be resisted if the evil is to be overcome. To maintain the power of resistance is therefore the first religious duty of the man who seeks the spiritual life. Every man should

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repudiate that condition which for himself and his fellows, resists resistance to evil with the menace that it shall be followed with a greater evil than the one complained of. To reduce delusions to facts is the first step of the man struggling with his own and social wrongs. Is there a greater wrong to punish one? Is there a majority of people really kept in bondage by the force of a minority? There is not. No such force exists upon the earth. It is a delusion. To strip that delusion down to fact we have but to cease our contributions to the overcredited forceful class. The capitalists of America have no force at all with which to dominate the majority—only that which out of its own delusions the majority concedes. Withdraw those concessions the force vanishes and the workers are free. We therefore at an early stage in this crusade for the restoration of free religion resist the misuse of our own force against ourselves by correcting our own delusion that any minority can maintain a wrong. If change is the father, resistance is surely the mother of life. No word in the languages of men is so sane, so noble as this word "resistance." It is man's life at the outposts defending itself from that brutal principle of assault, the strenuous life— the aggressive disease of aristocracy. In the energy of resistance we have infolded all the active beginnings of morality and the spiritual life of collective man. In it is the philosophy of democracy; it is a new volume begun every day, and its first chapter is a chapter of wrongs considered and assailed; and its last chapter will be one of wrongs overcome.

The ideal of co-operation is far, very far, ahead of present moral development. The sentiment having positive force in it to marshal and hold men together, to make great things and to gently bind nations together is a social subconscious force operating upon the individual life, but upon which the individual life cannot as an agent act or operate, though he may operate himself into it. There is a hidden, indefinable social potency; the central force of man's history as *a citizen,* the soul of the race, concerning which only one thing I will here affirm. It is a divine (that is, a whole human) dynamic, responding to, rewarding and strengthening the active courage of the man of resistance. Beginning with the body physically and locally, resisting the disagreeable effects separately coming upon it from other things, then proceeding to the resistance offered by the same body, as a whole person, to those effects; then advancing as a mind to the immediate cause of those effects and resisting them in large; then clothing this mental defense with the bodies of many personalities in combined resistance, just as the aversion to a single disagreeable effect was previously clothed with the powers of the whole personality. Beginning as an oppugnance to the series of assaults upon the physical life, of which we are admonished by the disagreeable effects of some things upon us, we move from these ulterior things, involuntarily, as it were, by coil or spiral

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movements, towards the Central Human. From resisting simple hurts directly to the avoidance or removal of simple hurts menacing us we move from animal to man. We have made mind matters of our physical hurts; we look behind them to deal with their causes; we begin ahead of them to deal with them before they come. We pass them from ulterior to inner circles for treatment. Our hurts have become evils to be considered in the inner executive chamber of the mind that they may from thence the more effectually be smitten back by the physical hand, if necessary, at the outposts of resistance. Now henceforth more of the life of the resisting man is spent on the mental circles than where the hand is uplifted—a year to think, a moment to strike. Man's mind is more of a collective mind in proportion to its being a mind resisting; for as he continues to resist he continues to learn that rarely and still more rarely is a man called upon to resist alone. Wholesomeness of resistance is soon manifested as wholeness of resistance, and thus the defender becomes conscious of wrongs as interferences by strenuous and unruly property-persons with the general life, resisting which he knows to be the one way left of saving the God thought until that time when men will know what to do with it. When we have done smitting God will begin to build. Let us leave the ruder hurts and elementary evils of the past far behind us and go on to attack our collective wrongs and so hasten that day.

Evolution has been the history of the development of man as an animal forming and an animal feeding. Biologically and economically, evolution describes the process by which the physical individual has thus far developed and survived. But swooped in together by modern economic forces each man is now so lost in many men that evolution can no longer find him alone, or one line. He has retired to involution, and if evolution will remain in the business of an expounder of progress she must follow him in as a social intellect from this point of resistance to wholeness of mind.

The polar activity of the religion of resistance is power from all to each; it is that which takes place between the vital affluence of the Center Human and the single emptiness of each remote resistant. It is a social endowment falling upon the heart and head of that uttermost man who resists wrong. It is the divinity of the whole human life drawn off as the negative drains the positive cloud of electricity. But, again, the Collective Human draws back from each resistant that which it gave, plus the new experience, to be returned again on call to the next resister's demand, plus whatever new experience has passed in and which the new resister is able to employ—a flux and reflux between man fighting and God helping.

To kick a vicious dog away from one's legs, to drive it away from the school house, is a more religious act than to invade

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China with guns having crucifix triggers. The Chinaman invaded is on the resister's side on the religious side of the question, while the invader is on that of the mad dog. But, alas, since the American man with the cross gun nor the Chinaman with his primitive walls are neither the invader nor the resistant, but only, in both cases, the mere instruments and slaves to the real foes behind them—the controlling aristocrats of two nations, the rulers of slaves. The first thing for the human race everywhere to do in all Chinas and Americas is to resist slavery ere we come to that age of responsibility which shall usher it to involution. Broadly then all men are called upon everywhere to resist the private control of social activities. Before we can have the spiritual we must either throw away our chains or be engaged in breaking them.

Throughout all previous resistances to the disagreeable and hurtful we were only preserving ourselves alive to fight this good fight of private courage that wins us social growth.

Another circle of resistance is the opposing of that which promotes personal contests and differentation. We will also be found opposing that which stimulates without promoting the singleness of life, false catholicisms and false publicisms. And also that which promotes the fallacy that res publica can flourish at the cost of any persons. And that which prevents the will of man from being as linked together and mutual as the machineries of production. And that which prevents the minds of men from being as world-fluent as the wares of the merchants. And that which prevents the organization of labor from stretching as widely as the hide of labor is stretched to be sweated. And that which blinds us to the world-values of our own small wrongs and the divinity of our first resisting. And that which prevents us from seing that between capital and labor there is being played or fought out the drama of sin versus holiness. And that which hinders the outflowing of every man's mind into world connections. And that which steals away our leisure and burdens with misinformation and fraud our spare hours of thinking. And that which removes our objects of interest and resistance from the present time and place to later on. And that which lifts dogma above deed. And that which alienates the social forces of labor, law and wealth from community to persons. And that which diminishes private courage by the overshadows of a profound and mighty past and future. And that which overburdens the private mind or body beyond what it is able to bear. And that which exaggerates the personal responsibility while disarming the person. And that which places us under law rather than in life. And that which substitutes self's view of society for the social view of self. And that which presents ideals to suffering men as magnets to draw them from their evils or their evils from them. When truly the ideal should be a sword with which, in

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hand, smitting our wrongs, we should be marching backward fighting into the citadel of common life.

I appreciate that whatsoever leaves less than absolutely simple, the way of the resisting life is but entangling the people' feet in the painful undergrowths of another theology. Therefore I say, He that is to resist is not my disciple, but my teacher; he is the teacher of all the ages. Are you giving resistance? You are giving the only lesson that ever yet instructed tyranny.

Right resistance should be acute and contiguous to begin with. Resistance is the whole social program of every man until, as a whole, man learns his program of substitution and acquires the totality of mind, habit and will required for the whole doing.

The savior of society is before all the man who is afflicted; therefore the philosophy of evils rightly handled is the philosophy of salvation. How then shall we resist our evils? First, by collecting them into the present time and assailing them in unified and concrete forms; that is, never to strike a coming evil until we have done well by the one that has come. Second, by never doing alone what can be done with others; that is, choosing of two evils which calls for resistance that one which more than one person together can *now* resist. Whether that united resistance be deemed better or worse as to its present efficacy the religious power of it is the enlargement of the issue beyond the limits of personal resentment and the co-operation ensuing. Primarily, the mind being the executive chamber of resistance, becomes the rogues' gallery, where we keep an eye upon our wrongs; that is, the personal physical hurtings which have become group hurt, harm, injury, damage. The rogues occupying this gallery are of two sorts, transitory and permanent. To the inner chamber of evils let us therefore transfer those hurts, harms, injuries and damages which have become habitual; that is, which have become evils.

As doctors learn to translate physical disagreeable sensations into groups and orders of sensations which also afflict others, pathology and medicine become scientific; for a drug which could only cure one person would never find a place in pharmacy, and a king's doctor is no doctor at all; nay, a specific in medicine can only be tolerated until a more vitally comprehensive medicine has been discovered. It is by ordering and grouping our hurts that we rise from the anarchy of private smiting to the science of social resistance. Believing as I do that the evils of the world exist only as long as they remain personal, and that they are all removable by the grouping process, and confronted by that collective zeal and intelligence which I am calling the religion of resistance. And believing that it is the practice of such intelligent resistance which alone educates us as persons into righteousness, and which alone draws upon us, as persons, the dynamic rightness of the human soul collective—the divinity of the whole

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—it is evident that this religion of resistance is based upon the material facts and everyday experiences of mankind, that it is strictly objective, inductive and constructive advancing from singles on to larger generalizations until the largest generalization *becomes itself* the dynamic force of the whole. This seems to me a sound scientific process of dealing with our scattered wrongs. But I believe it to be more than scientific.

Science, at its best, is but the most correct statement of operation of forces; but science ends with the accuracy of its own statement. If science could, along with its accuracy of statement, and by means of that accuracy and completeness, impart an energy ingermed of its own correctness, that is, a corrective energy, so that while stating processes it was performing, then science would become in nature as this religion is in man. In economics, politics, sociology, I hold that there is such a scientific religion. It is the philosophy of democracy; it is the monopsychic democracy; it is the religion of resistance uttered in the proletarian revolutionary socialism of this day in America.

In this religion of democracy there can be no selfishness, in the "bad" sense attached to that word; inasmuch as the thing that hurts one person alone is outside of the democracy, just as the thing that benefits one person alone is outside of it. A wrong or a strength which cannot be expressed in the terms of, nor is included in, the wrong and strength of others is a subject to which democracy is indifferent. If I find myself in a position where my wrongs are my own alone, where only I myself can take measures to drive them from me, where I do things best by myself, then I am afflicted with the greatest of human misfortunes.

By the word good I understand the strength of God as already defined in this paper. Such good no man can possess by himself. A man can possess what we now call "goods" and possess them selfishly, but they are no part of democracy; they are only to be resisted and smitten away from good men as chains that bind them outside of the democracy.

What, then, is a good man? The man who has social strength, the man who is intelligently resisting, waiting or preparing to resist the obstructions of democracy, and his goodness may be graded in proportion to the magnitude of the number of other men with whom, and in whose common interest, he is making such resistance and preparation.

It is evident, then, that we can have no good children or bad children for praise or blame save only as their minds have been made receptacles of socialisms or selfisms. No economically or politically disarmed women or men are good save as books are good; possessors of good thoughts and utterers of good words, the results of public instruction they may be (I do not mean the

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public-school instruction of to-day), but *instruction in the public way*. They are good, better or best in proportion as they happen to be caskets of public truth.

Here is no room for chastizing the child or the ineffective adult by this last. Only if I had a heart for chastising a child I would surely select for the whip that one that sensed itself to be better than the others.

Of all the odious and sickening things under the sun, remove me far from that man or child from whose lips proceed the stench of his own single righteousness. This is the dry rot of all false religions, that they are but differentiators—manufacturers of saints and sinners. Such religions, one and all, and all such affections, are evils to be strenuously resisted by the spirit of democracy.

They only have no God who feel themselves to be always under the necessity of holding him in their consciousness. They only have a god who knows of a constitution of things upon which they can lay working hands. The wrongs of society and of persons afford such a constitution of things to every man. Resistance to capitalism and all its attendants affords the most welcome and fruitful field for developing divinity in the lives of men.

PETER E. BURROWES.

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Socialism, or Anarchist Communism.

IN THE many good articles that appear in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, by the many different writers, and varied conditions of thought, an occasional confused idea must inevitably creep in. The tendency of the times is toward confusion of thought. This modern Babel is the result of the clash of class interest, the clash between those of the working class, who thoroughly understand their class interest, and the capitalist class in its entirety, who realize that their class interests are being attacked as a class, and not as individuals.

The capitalist class did not pay much attention to any attack during the period that the individual was attacked along political lines, but as quickly as the change was made by the Socialist, and their interest as an entire class was attacked, they immediately secured the service of all kinds of intellectual prostitutes to confuse the minds of the workers, whom they have been and hope to continue fleecing, through the aid of the aforesaid intellectual prostitutes.

Is it any wonder, then, that the capitalists and their cohorts, the politicians, have been successful in pulling the wool of confusion through the lines of thought laid down by many writers. In the September REVIEW Comrade Raphael Buck seems to have bucked up against an anarchist communist—in other words, a sadly confused confusionist. He seems to have imbibed some of this confusion, much in the same way that many people imbibe religion—that is, without question or investigation—when he says, "Anarchist communism is the best and highest stage of political and economic progress"; even if he does mention how foolish it would be to advocate it at the present day. Anarchism simply means individualistic chaos; communism is simply the economics of the heap as advocated by Kropotkin and Elise Reclus, and it is because the Socialist objects to producing wealth and luxury for loafers that he advocates Socialism as it was expressed by Marx and Engels, and it is for the same reason the Socialist attacks both anarchism and communism. Communism is an old Utopian idea, take it in any light you look at it; and as far as anarchist communism is concerned, it cannot exist any more than hot ice or cold fire can exist.

Kropotkin in the advocation of his theory says that "anarchist communism means a free society voluntarily organized by its members." Any form of organization must necessarily be a form of government, voluntarily or not; therefore, there can be no such thing as anarchist communism; it is a misnomer.

I am curious to know if Comrade Buck would stand for the

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sublime teachings of anarchism, as taught by Bakounin and Jean Grave, and in order to save Comrade Buck valuable time I will give a sample of the sublime teachings of those two worthies below:

"All reasonings about the future are criminal, because they hinder destruction pure and simple, and fetter the progress of the revolution.—*Bakounin.*

Of course Bakounin forgets to mention those two companies of militia by which that great and grand revolution at Lyons was broken up.

Jean Grave in his book, "Moribund Society and Anarchy," discussing tyrannical employers during times of strike, says: "Let us suppose one of the like executed in some corner, with a placard posted explaining that he has been killed as an exploiter. In such a case there is no being mistaken as to the reason prompting the authors of the deeds, and we may be assured that they will be applauded by the whole laboring world, such are intelligent deeds: which shows that actions should always follow a guiding principle." But, as the guiding principle in this case is the natural seeking for the revenge of the savage, further comment on that sublime idea is unnecessary.

Benjamin Tucker, of Boston, says the theory of anarchism is based on the individual; also, anarchism is the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by individuals or by voluntary associations, and that the state should be abolished. Here again we find that association of some kind is necessary to carry on the necessary work of man, and this is an admission, even by the leader of those that boast of their individualism, and means that some form of government is an absolute necessity.

This does not necessarily mean that we (Socialists) will need the vast paraphernalia that is necessary to the maintenance of the present bourgeois form, as there will be no wage slaves to repress in the manner the present ruling class are doing in Colorado, the classes being wiped out, and all having an equal opportunity.

This is, I believe, the only way out of the matter for Comrade Buck, to let him obtain copies of the past and present authors on anarchistic literature, read them through, study them, then compare them with the authors of Socialist literature. He will then note one fact, that each disagrees with the other in most everything; but all agree in the commuity idea, some in competition and others in ownership of all by all, without the taking into consideration the propensity to laziness on the part of some.

A. F. DUGAN.

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Equal Distribution.

COMRADE BUCK in the article entitled "Ascending Stages of Socialism" voices the theory of the aristocratic antagonists to Socialism.

That equal distribution of social product would tend to carelessness in production; that the high rate of remuneration attending equal distribution would simply institute an era of brute gratifications, in which an inordinate sexualism would play an important part, thus increasing the population beyond the limits of subsistence; that equal distribution would establish a premium for slothfulness, and he predicts dire disasters as a consequence upon the inauguration of equal distribution—namely, a constantly decreasing product and a constantly increasing population: all of his statements, forecasts and arguments concerning the future of the Co-operative Commonwealth might simply be dismissed as so many surmises, non-debatable, because non-provable.

But when he ignores the true concept of distribution, the biological basis of equal distribution, and Marx's concept of labor and value, then he invites open discussion.

He clings to the capitalistic idea of wages, remuneration, labor tokens, and speaks about "Ensuring to each *individual* neither more nor less than the full value of his *individual product.*" Also "Out of which product he would have to provide for his own needs and the needs of his dependents."

In another place, "Each individual being obliged out of his own earnings, *which are proportionate to his exertions,* to provide for his own needs, and for the needs of his family."

Marx demonstrated that use commodities have only a use value, and that exchange value was a capitalistic fetish, as exchange value is resolved under capitalistic production into money.

That this transformation of use value into money reduces labor power to the status of a marketable commodity.

These conditions would disappear with the passing of capitalism into co-operation.

Marx further demonstrated that the social product is the result of social labor, abstract human labor, and as such can have no longer an absolute computable individualistic value.

For instance, what is the full value of a ditch digger's product? And what is the full value of a thousand ditch diggers' product, working with pick and shovel, compared to a thousand diggers' product working with the new steam ditch-digging machines?

And when we talk of the time-price of production, we invariably compute the time value of the production of social necessities. It is otherwise impossible to find the time value of the

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full product of the ditch-digger's hour, the piano teacher's, the doctor's, the stoker's, engineer's, etc., hour.

There is no other way of computing the full product of these classes except by an equal share in the socially necessary use-commodities. Therefore there can be no unequal remuneration, paid in money, or labor tokens, based upon the ratio of the individual's intense or lax exertions.

So much for the first two accusations. The biological basis of scientific socialism is the law of the greatest evolution of organisms and species under the most favorable environment. Now, if we are to have a substratum, a proletariat, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, lax, indigent, slothful and *badly paid* in consequence; having a too numerous progeny, and being obliged to support this family out of their meager *wages,* I do not see how it could be a conducive environment to physical, mental, moral or esthetic development. The burden of consequences for the father's inefficiency would fall then, as now, upon innocent shoulders, the shoulders of helpless mothers and children. One might as well urge the retention in solitary confinement of the thief, burglar and forger, after the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. If any need the best of environment to rehumanize them and raise them to the evolutionary plane of their fellows, it is the present substratum of the working class, and the outcasts.

An environment which keeps them down, acts as a drag to the evolutionary progress of the whole race. Therefore this substratum need an equal share of the use-commodities, and a considerably greater share of education, music, refining surrounding and intercourse, than would Comrade Buck or Comrades Simons, or Herron.

Then, if we perpetuate the proletariat by the system of unequal remuneration, we will always be threatened by revolution of the proletariat. But this is what Comrade Buck wants, because he is not a Socialist, but an Anarchist (Communist?). Refer to pages 161 and 162. Therefore he foresees three stages of Socialism.

First, unequal remuneration Socialism. Second, Bellamy's military Communism. Third, Anarchist Communism, Johann Most's. So he hopes that the repression of unequal remuneration will force a second revolution, and the restrictions of military Communism a third revolt, and then perfection will be attainable.

But he places this thousands of years in the future, so that it can only concern us in the immediate present to get all we can while we are at it, and we can only get that through equal distribution of the total social product.

He speaks on page 158 about the effort necessary to overcome natural inertia, and speaks of the stimulus of reward proportioned to the energy expended to obtain this reward as being necessary to overcome the aforementioned natural inertia. This is the capital-

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istic argument of *incentive,* always brought forward to show that under Socialism there would be no incentive to improve, create and invent.

As though the incentive of an equal share in the nation's total social product of music, art, commodities, etc., were not incentive enough for the starving, expropriated proletaire!

Again, the editor takes exception to his statement that economic well-being is noted by an increased birth rate. Statistics at present prove the exact opposite.

Is it to be supposed that under a system of equal distribution, that all women would have offspring every eighteen months during the normal period of their child-bearing life?

Comrade Buck had best ask the Socialist women of the world, or of the United States, whether such is their intention.

I think their reply would startle him. They would answer to a woman that, as they expected to be free economically, they also expected to have something better to occupy their time than merely gratifying masculine scortatory passion and having an unnumbered progeny.

A closer knowledge of women, and of the proletariat, might show Comrade Buck that there were more things than were dreamt of in his philosophy.

As a colossal monument of the peculiar imaginings of a pessimist philosophy, his article is a wonder. Viewed in the light of practical mathematical demonstration it is but the baseless fabric of a dream. Abstract labor creates the total social product. Abstract labor must own the total social product.

The abstract labor of one individual out of many millions has no peculiar relative value that is greater or less than each of the other millions.

The abstract labor of one individual is therefore relatively equal in value to each of the other millions.

Therefore each individual is entitled to an equal share, WHEN HE WORKS, of the total social product.

Therefore the Socialist proposes time checks, having a purchasing power designated by their fractional numerator of the total necessary labor time to produce the total labor product. Translated into present parlance, twenty-five million laborers labor seventy-five million hours per diem for two hundred days per annum to create the total necessary social product.

We will suppose, then, that one hour's time check will equal the present purchasing power of one dollar (though an hour's time check will probably be worth more than a dollar is now). If a given individual, for any reason whatever, real or fictitious, will only work one hour a day for one hundred days, he will only have time checks to the amount of one hundred dollars. So here is your Utopia of unequal remuneration for the slothful and industrious.

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But if the said individual *can* only work one hour for one hundred days, he shall be entitled to the full income of three hours for two hundred days' necessary social labor, or six hundred dollars.

So it becomes evident that, notwithstanding the principle of equal distribution will prevail in making every hour's time check for whatever labor performed, equal in purchasing value to every other's hour's time check in all the varied industries of the nation, yet it operates to prevent equal distribution where unmerited. Otherwise it will operate according to the law of the parable—at least for a long time—of always tending toward equal distribution yet not reaching it.

This seems at present to be the only just method of distribution, and one that seems to meet with the approval of all classes, especially those who are terribly concerned about the class of people who won't work.

"What are you Socialists going to do with the fellows who won't work?"

This is a question I have had to answer probably one million times in twenty-five years. Yet I have always found that the time check theory satisfied these questioners, who thought that Socialism and Communism are one and the same thing. And as the time check system leaves the quantity of each individual's product, or the intensity of his exertion uncoerced, it naturally becomes an incentive to overcome *natural inertia,* and a *stimulus* to attain increased productiveness, and an equal distribution.

For if the aforementioned 25,000,000 will but work, each one of them and altogether, the average necessary labor time, then each and every one of them will have an equal amount of time checks, which will mean equal distribution of their total product.

CHAS. F. PURDY.

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EDITORIAL

Trade Unions Not Political Parties.

It is a fact of which Socialists continually lose sight that the trade union and a political party have two distinct, though closely allied, fields of activity. For this reason, Socialist resolutions by trade unions are of little more effect than would be strike orders by Socialist parties. We say now, as we said last year, that the passage or the defeat of a Socialist resolution by the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is of no importance except as a means of advertising and to a very trifling extent as measuring the growth of Socialist sentiment among the rank and file. For reasons pointed out by Comrade Hayes, elsewhere in this number, it is really of less importance on this last point than is ordinarily thought.

Everywhere this confusion of function of the two phases of the class struggle finds expression in Socialist speeches and papers. Yet every attempt of the union to usurp the political field has been as fatal as have been the occasional corresponding attempts of political parties to invade the union field through the organization of "federal unions" for purposes of political propaganda. If the union can perform the work of political action, then, what need have we for a Socialist Party? The fact that when the union itself attempts to enter the political field by the adoption of socialist resolutions, or even incorporates sections of the socialist platforms into its constitution, it does not have any great effect on the political outlook, has been shown time and again. Perhaps it received its most striking confirmation at the last election when the A. L. U. membership in Colorado seem to have voted almost unanimously for Populist candidates, since the socialist vote of the state can almost be accounted for without the votes of the A. L. U.

There has been very little connection between the passage of socialist resolutions, or the capture of socialist central bodies in any state or municipality, and the progress of the socialist vote. Indeed there has been even less than would naturally be expected, since some cities in which the central labor body is practically controlled by socialists and where the official organ of the trade union is a socialist propaganda paper, the progress of the party seems slowest. We do not claim to say that this is cause and effect. Indeed, we believe that in the majority of cases the reverse is true, and that when trade union affairs are in the control of men who have the wider outlook upon the class struggle which socialism gives, the result will be beneficial both to the trade union and to the socialist movement. It is of the greatest importance, however, that any such capture should be preceded by the conversion of a majority of the rank and file in the trade union field. Here, as elsewhere, socialism cannot depend upon the conversion of leaders. The control of the leader without the backing of the rank and file would be rather disastrous than otherwise.

It must always be remembered that the trade union membership, for

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various reasons, is most susceptible to socialist propaganda. They are men who have at least resognized the existence of the class struggle on the economic field and, as has been pointed out by many socialist writers, this struggle continually leads them into the corresponding political struggle. But so long as the ruling thought of society comes from capitalist sources, the action of trade unions in the political field may or may not be a clear reflection of working class interests. These points have been so frequently covered in socialist literature that they need not detain us longer, and there is still another point to be considered at this time.

The Socialist Party has now grown to a point where its friendship is of value, and it is easily possible that we shall ere long see trade unions seeking Socialist Party endorsement as often as the reverse. This endorsement once given may easily be made use of in a manner which will be injurious to the socialist movement. It may involve the Socialist Party in trade union controversies which have no relation to the real task bf socialism. The fakir may invade socialist trade unions as well as pure and simple unions, although there is no doubt but what we will have a much more thorny road to travel in a union whose members have once begun to grasp the fundamental principles of socialism.

It has been one of the principal aims of this magazine, as we have frequently said, to publish studies of American industrial conditions. We are now glad to announce that during the next year we will undertake what we believe to be one of the most valuable studies of this sort yet published. Mrs. May Wood Simons and A. M. Simons are preparing a study of concentration of industry and the trust movement which will appear during the coming year. We believe that a stage has been reached in this movement that enables it to be treated with much more completeness than was the case even a few months ago.

The study will begin with a theoretical discussion of concentration in industry, consolidation being considered as an historic stage in capitalism. The conditions of concentration, such as an enlarged circle of the market, perfected factory system, developed banking facilities, corporate organization of industry, etc., will be pointed out. The various stages in concentration with their logical connection and the economics of the trust as given both by capitalist and socialist writers will be discussed. This will form an introduction to the work, the main portion of which will be devoted to an historic study of concentration in this country.

The condition of industry at the close of the Civil War will be taken up and the conditions considered which made possible the growth of great capitalist industries. The gradual development of concentration from one industry to another, the part played by certain great basic industries in the general consolidation, the effect of the panics of 1873 and 1894, and other historic features in this evolution will be some of the points covered.

Then will follow a survey of the recent movements in concentration, closing with a study of further evolution and probable results. Throughout the work special emphasis will be laid on the effect of these great industrial movements on the laboring class, particularly on the trade union and the wage bargain. The manner in which the industrial classes which were developed by these movements have expressed themselves in political parties will be given thorough consideration. We believe that such a study will be found to be of special value during a campaign year and will present a great amount of material for the use of socialist workers.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Austria.

The National Convention of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Austria met at Vienna on November 9. The sessions were held in the Arbeiterheim (labor home), which belongs to the Social Democratic organization of the Tenth district of Vienna. The hall seats 2,000 and is elaborately decorated with socialist mottoes and portraits of the great socialist workers. One hundred and forty delegates were present, of whom 74 were German, 39 Bohemian, 15 Poles, 6 Ruthenians, 3 Italians and 3 Slavs. Eight of these delegates were members of the Reichsrath.

The report of the party organization declared that during the last two years great advances had been made. This is shown by the different elections that have been held which have everywhere given considerable increase of votes. The union movement has also grown in the most satisfactory manner. The report also describes the massacres of laborers which have taken place during times of strike, in which many laborers were killed and wounded.

The delegate from Dalmatia reported the founding of a Socialist Party in that country, the holding of numerous meetings, and the establishment of various local organizations. The efforts at agitation were met with the most brutal suppression on the part of the government.

The report of the parliamentary fraction told of the work which had been done in legislative bodies. The action of the fraction in working for a reduction of the period of military service from three years to two was attacked by several members on the ground that it was a compromise with militarism, but nevertheless the report was unanimously adopted.

The question of a general strike, which is of special importance to the Austrian movement since they have still to gain universal suffrage, was discussed at some length. The general opinion seemed to be very well voiced by Dr. Adler when he said that "if the political conditions are ready, and if the masses of the laborers are so disposed, and the necessary organization exists, then we are ready to do what we can in regard to a general strike; when and how we shall act remains to be seen. But until that time I am satisfied that the Convention must reject a general strike."

On the subject of the International Congress Dr. Adler said that the Austrian Socialists were little interested in the discussion between the revisionists and the revolutionists since these questions had never risen in Austria.

A report on the co-operative movement stated that there existed at the present time in Austria 170 co-operative organizations with 53,000 members and a capital of 17,000,000 kronen. Some of the delegates attacked the idea of associating the co-operative movement with the socialist movement, declaring that while no one could deny that the labor movement might be benefited by co-operatives it was also true that is could

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be injured, since cheapening prices might easily tend to a lower standard of life. Furthermore the desire for dividends aroused the "beast of private property" in the membership and tended to weaken the revolutionary attitude of the working classes.

The Woman's Social Democratic organization met at the same time in the same city as did the Socialist Convention. There were sixty delegates present representing thirty organizations in Vienna, and nineteen from the provinces. It was reported that the organization of trade unions among the women was proceeding rapidly and that at the present time there were 11,000 women in the Austrian trade unions. A resolution that all women should work with the political organization of the Socialists and assist in all political activity was adopted unanimously. It was also decided ta urge upon the Socialist parties of the world the necessity of giving more prominence to the demand for woman suffrage.

Bohemia.

The first National Congress of the Bohemian Social Democratic party was held on the 28th and 29th of last June at Prague, with fifty-eight of the *Vertrauensmanner* of the party, four members of the executive committee and seven members of the National Council of Bohemia. The conference occupied itself with the discussion of the means of propaganda. During the last two years 808 political meetings have been held to advocate universal suffrage for the Landtag, insurance for the aged and the sick, to fight militarism, alcoholism and the tariff. At the last election to the Landtag the party had candidates in fifty-one electoral districts.

England.

The protection proposals of Chamberlain seem to have furnished to some degree at least the jar which Comrade Hyndman has so long told us was necessary to rouse the working class spirit of England. For the first time it looks as though there was really going to be a real vital socialist movement along revolutionary lines in that country. With apparently all his old-time vigor Comrade Hyndman is carrying on a lecture tour that is stirring England as no socialist activity has ever stirred it before. Everywhere we hear of the largest halls crowded to overflowing to listen to him. At the same time the I. L. P. seems to be drifting nearer and nearer to liberalism.

Italy.

After the recent Cabinet crisis in Italy, it was generally believed that the new Cabinet could not be formed without the assistance of the Socialists, and the Ministry undertook to enter into negotiations with Turati and Bissoloti as to the terms upon which one of them would enter the Cabinet. These men, of course, had no authority whatever to speak for the Socialist Party, but owing to their well known revisionist tendencies they were selected by the capitalist government. Fortunately, in spite of their revisionist attitude, they refused to enter except upon certain conditions. These conditions, which were in the nature of certain labor laws, the government refused to accede to. The revolutionary socialists were of course opposed to the whole proposition and had n part in this dickering and were very

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glad when the whole matter fell through, thus saving Italy the trouble of a Millerand case.

Ferri, through *Avanti*, continues his attack on the government. He exposed such a state of corruption in connection with the Minister of Marine Bettolo that the latter, after first vainly seeking to deny the allegations, finally admitted their truth by resigning, and is now pushing a libel suit against Ferri. At the first meeting of the court *Vorwaerts* states, "that the streets were filled with militia and police in order to prevent any popular demonstration by the working class in favor of Ferri."

Some time ago he showed up the dishonesty of the minister of finance, who first denied all the accusations, and, supported by the capitalist press, has proposed to bring suit. But when Ferri pressed the charges home, and brought evidence of the truth of his accusations, the minister committed suicide, thus tacitly admitting his guilt.

The uncompromising attacks on capitalist officials seem to be getting Ferri into trouble in various ways, as the item from the *Vorwaerts* shows:

"ROME, Nov. 14.—At noon today, as Comrade Ferri was returning from the editorial office of the *Avanti*, he was met at the door of his house by a young man who introduced himself as the son of Senator Roux, publisher of the *Tribuna*, and demanded that Ferri cease his attacks on his (Roux's) father. Naturally Ferri replied that no threats would prevent him from fulfilling his duty as journalist, whereupon with a mass of abuse young Roux threw himself upon Ferri and sought to strike him. With a well aimed blow upon the nose Ferri stretched out his assailant, who, however, recovered himself and again attacked Ferri. But some laborers came running up and held the rash youth while Ferri quietly walked to his house. Such outrages as these are the natural results of the campaign of some of the 'organs of the established order' who have taken as their motto, 'Against the Socialists nothing will avail but force.' In this case even force seems not to have helped. *Avanti* will continue to do its duty and young Roux can spend the next fortnight in curing his nose.'"

The Socialist Club at Mantua has come to the conclusion that the revisionists have departed so far from Socialist principles that a parting of the ways is necessary and advise a division of the party. It also criticises the revolutionary wing as being ultra extreme.

Japan.

Recent events in Japan continue to duplicate the history of Socialism in other countries. We learn that two men have been driven from one of the daily papers because they were socialists, and of the formation of two new Socialist Clubs, one at Waseda College and another in the city of Wakayama.

The editor of "The Socialist," Comrade Katayama, is on trial for the publication and distribution of socialist literature, and the Japanese government seems to be determined to try the same tactics that have been tried by the opponents of socialism in every other country.

A book of poems entitled "A Collection of Poems of Socialism," written by Kwagai Kodama, has also been confiscated by the government. "The Socialist" says: "Will these petty persecutions stop the growth of socialism in Japan? Far from it. Socialism is now studied more and more in every rank of society. We hear many talk of socialism and find believers in it among primary school teachers. Come, persecution and oppression! Socialism will grow like spring grasses under snow."

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Boston.—The convention of the American Federation of Labor that has just closed will not go thundering down the corridors of time as epoch-making. In fact, this year's gathering of labor legislators was 'way below the standard, and but for the debate on socialism, which occupied a day, the session would have been almost without interest.

To begin with the officers' reports, they showed a very good increase in membership and considerable progress in the matter of raising wages and shortening the hours of labor. It should be noted right here that there has been a tendency in recent years on the part of Federation officials to usurp to themselves the credit for the gains that have been made in union memberships and wages increased and hours of labor reduced, when as a matter of fact the Washington office has had little or nothing to do with the concessions secured. The campaigns of organization are not directed from Washington, nor the battles that are fought upon the industrial field. These moves are made at the direction of and by national and local unions. It is the obscure and voluntary local organizers who do the upbuilding and make the sacrifices; it is the local union business agents and organization committees who bring in the new members, who make demands for better conditions and strike and boycott, and, after they have won their hard fought battles, some of our national officials swell out with pride, gather at their annual mutual admiration feast and claim all the credit as being due to "our policies." And the worst of it is that many of the rank and file believe and applaud them for what the members themselves have done. The labor movement can be likened to military operations, when those who do the fighting are forgotten and the generals who sit in their tents in the rear of the army receive all the credit, with this difference that in labor circles the rank and file and non-commissioned officers initiate all the moves to be made, while in military affairs such is not the case. The trade union movement is approaching the danger point of losing its democracy and establishing a bureaucracy.

This unwelcome fact becomes apparent when one considers how guardedly many of the delegates from national unions discussed general questions and how they hesitated to take a firm stand upon propositions that were unpopular, though correct in principle. They seemed to fear that they might offend some one, and that their acts might case temporary disadvantages. Several delegates dreaded the consequences of criticising our capitalistic brethren or going on record against the profit system for fear that such actions might make it difficult to secure concessions from employers. Others become quite alarmed at the timely suggestion that a note of warning be sounded to organized labor that a period of industrial depression was approaching, holding that such an honest statement of fact would prove injurious.

Coming down to trade union politics, the discussion upon socialism revealed a curious condition of affairs. Scores of delegates declared em-

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phatically in private conversation that they were just as good socialists as the next man, but to vote for a resolution this year would be bad policy because they were interested in jurisdiction controversies, and to make a stand now would prove hurtful to them, and, then, anyhow, the rank and file of their members, they asserted, were not socialists. In fact, I could name half a dozen delegates who deliberately voted contrary to the action of the conventions of their national unions in order to gain support, or at least ward off criticism, in their jurisdiction grievances.

The debate upon socialism early in the discussion showed plainly that the conservatives were determined to make amends for the criticisms that had been heaped upon the trade unions since the New Orleans convention of a year ago by the Parrys and Hannas. As in former years, the socialists confined themselves strictly to a discussion of facts, showing the developments in industry and present conditions in our social system, and pointed out the necessity of political unity to meet the attacks of combined capital. They dwelt upon the president's report to the effect that not only were no advantages secured from congress and the state legislatures, but labor's opponents were actually making steady encroachments upon our liberties—that labor bills were strangled, labor laws declared unconstitutional, the boycott outlawed, the blacklist legalized, government by injunction made permanent, police and militia continuously employed against the workers, and, finally, the damage suit was being utilized to confiscate treasuries and smash unions. But all appeals were in vain. One might as well have directed his words at so many statues in marble for all the impression they made. Not that alone, but those who preached political and industrial unity of the working class were denounced more severely than if they were Parryized trade union wreckers. President Gompers, who always reserves to himself the right to close the debate, was especially harsh. Like nearly all of those who speak from the conservative side, his whole speech was composed of personalities and appeals to prejudices. Advocates of socialism, he declared, were not good trade unionists, although some of them pernaps made as many and more sacrifices than he ever did or ever will. He charged that the socialists were conspiring to "capture" the trade union movement and seemed to think that they had no right in the crganizations, while, as is well known, if they do not join they are roundly condemned for standing aloof. In a word, the speeches opposing socialism were such as could be endorsed by all class-conscious capitalists. I am willing to wager something that the Washington officials will not publish a verbatim report of the socialist debate, despite the fact that an official stenographer was employed to copy the proceedings.

Unquestionably the bulk of the Socialist Party is composed of trade unionists, but that does not mean that a majority of the members of organized labor are socialists. It is, therefore, useless to expect that converts can be made of the officials, and every socialist ought to bend his energies to gain adherents for his cause among the rank and file. When the latter begin to move in earnest there will be some lively sidestepping done by the "leaders." And the day is not far distant when some of the gentlemen who are now surfeited with power, and who are absolutely merciless in their unfair attacks upon those who have the manhood to plead for the abolition of capitalism and its wage slave system, will find that those whom they trust most as loyal followers will be the first to turn on them. History has a habit of repeating itself, and so far as the adherents of socialism in the trade unions are concerned they are perfectly willing to submit their case to the historians of the labor movement, to the despoiled workers of today and the emancipated toilers of the morrow.

While the charge that the socialists were making an organized attempt to "capture" the trade unions is without foundation, for the very good reason that such a scheme would be of no benefit where the majority are

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opposed to their principles, there were nearly twice as many advocates of socialism in the Boston convention as were present in New Orleans, which is a pretty safe indication that the tide of socialism is steadily rising and that within the next few years those who stand for political as well as industrial progress will increase in numbers very materially.

When the trade unions become pretty thoroughly socialistic, then the socialists will undoubtedly take control, and then there will be no danger of reaction. Under present circumstances it would be suicidal to attempt to place a socialist in the presidential position. Let the triumphant opposition control the situation and use its power while it is in the enjoyment thereof. It is immaterial to us whether a Gompers, Duncan or dark horse is elected president of the Federation just at present, and the rumors of plots and conspiracies during the year to effect changes merely afford amusement for the time being. There are no disappointments among the radical element. As one of the conservatives naively remarked: "They have the arguments, but we have the votes."

Little or no progress was made in adjusting the many jurisdiction controversies that are clearly the outcome of changing methods of production and distribution, but which the exponents of narrow craft organizations, or autonomists, seem unable to comprehend. Quite likely the struggle between some of the national unions will continue during the year as formerly, to the great satisfaction of their capitalistic masters, who are organizing trusts and associations. Probably on this question, as that of political action, there will soon come a revolution of thought that will serve to solidify the movement more compactly than ever and place it upon the right road to accomplish its mission, namely, to play its part in overthrowing capitalism and establishing a co-operative commonwealth.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The One Woman. Thomas Dixon, Jr. Doubleday, Page & Co. Cloth, 350 pp. $1.50.

Another sign of the growing strength of socialism is seen in the fact that the literary hacks are beginning to write anti-socialist books. This particular volume is in many ways an example of the effect of capitalism in the world of letters. It is written on the "penny dreadful" style, with characters that are caricatures and, if dramatized, would delight the crowd who throng to the melodramas with "plenty of killin'." So far as socialism is concerned we can simply give the author the old alternative of the fool or the knave. There is nothing in the book that shows that he knows anything about socialism excepting a few haphazard quotations which have no essential connection with socialist philosophy. We have had this sort of novel treating of almost every other subject, and it was inevitable that sooner or later some searcher after sensational themes should light upon socialism. When he had "discovered" this new theme, the next question was, on which side was the great majority of readers, and from the literary style of the book there was but one answer to this question. It was upon the side of the defenders of capitalism, so, of course, he took that side. The ghoulishness characteristic of the modern reporter in search of a sensation is his. He has hung his story on the actions of two prominent socialists and has felt the more safe in so doing since their well known non-resistent principles protected him from a libel suit. Yet taking his distorted facts as a basis he is still unable to make any strong case against socialism. After howling and shrieking through some 250 pages about the way in which socialism destroys the family, he finally has his one great knight errant of the established order and defender of that sacred institution sneak into another man's house and win the affections of his wife, for which he is killed by the free-love socialist (?) husband. The first wife of the socialist (?) then comes to the rescue, intercedes with the governor and obtains a pardon.

Some of his choice criticisms of socialism are as follows: "Socialism takes the temper out of the steel fibre of character; it makes a man feeble." And this in the face of the countless martyrs who have died in the name of socialism the world over, of a Liebknecht and Bebel who have turned aside from the richest rewards of capitalism to accept imprisonment and ostracism through half a lifetime, or a Marx writing out the fundamentals of socialism with a child lying unburied, for lack of funds, which but the slightest waving to the side of the enemy would have secured. And all this from an intellectual spineless prostitute, who will write a book like "The One Woman."

After praising the man who is elected as governor, and denouncing the rule of the mob, he proceeds to a glorification of Tammany, and the Tammany mob, which out-demagogues anything to be found outside of the

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actual facts of Tammany politics. Verily, socialism need have no fear of such weapons.

Mazzini: the Prophet of the Religion of Humanity. By Louis J. Rosenberg. Cloth, uncut pages, 86 pp. 50 cents: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

Of all the characters who arose out of the confused revolutionary movement of the 40's in Europe, Mazzini was certainly the most picturesque and in many ways one of the most typical. He fell far short of ever comprehending the revolutionary socialist point of view, and, indeed, must be looked upon largely as a middle class reformer.

As a writer, he has had few equals, and he must always remain one of those characters whom it is necessary to know if we are to gain a thorough understanding of the conditions from which sprang the International Socialist movement.

This little volume, finely printed with wide margins, on heavy paper, is perhaps as convenient a summary of his teachings and survey of his life as could be prepared. It is written by an ardent admirer who overlooks all defects, although the following summing up gives a hint of his weaknesses:

"Like most prophets, Mazzini was not practical, and like most prophets, he was somewhat obstinate. He believed *his* ideas were the most correct, and was ready to pay with his life for them. Like most prophets, he was very conscious of his mission, and like most prophets, he believed himself to stand at the head of his age. But again, like most prophets, he does it in so innocent, earnest and sincere a manner, that we cannot charge him with ambition."

The work is divided into three books, the life, a survey of his teachings, and his greatest address, the one entitled "To the Young Men of Italy."

Tolstoi and His Message. Ernest Howard Crosby: Funk & Wagnalls. Cloth, 93 pp. 50 cents.

Here we have in condensed handy form a sketch of Tolstoi's life and a summary of his more important doctrines from the pen of his foremost American follower. Mr. Crosby is not, however, a blind follower, but sometimes criticises, and quite sharply, his master. Yet, on the whole, the work of that of a disciple. Perhaps it is better so, for only a disciple can interpret Tolstoi in patience.

The work is written in the easy, enlivening style that is characteristic of all Mr. Crosby's works. The chapter which he offers on Christian teaching and practice is an endeavor to show that in the case of the Quakers, the Moravians and some others, the principles of non-resistance worked well in practice. His story of the Moravian massacre, however, is not exactly in accord with the statements of other historians, as the common report is that the non-resistant Moravians allowed themselves to become a shield behind which their more savage neighbors committed all sorts of atrocities upon the American pioneers. And this would seem to be the common and probable outcome of any attempt to carry on doctrines of non-resistance today.

There is no denying the fact, however, that Tolstoi is one of the great figures of the nineteenth century, and this little book is certainly the handiest way to get an idea of his teachings for those who are too busy or too indolent to read the voluminous works of Tolstoi himself.

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The Monarch Billionaire. Morrison I. Swift: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company. Cloth, 317 pp. $1.00.

There have been countless attempts to write "the Socialist novel," but none have yet been written that deserve that title, and the present volume falls behind some of those which have already been issued. It has some defects that are common to such attempts. After the first fifty pages the author forgets about his plot and sets all his characters to making long speeches. The auhor has at times a short, trenchant style, and the work contains many quotable things. For instance, he has his typical capitalist say "if 10,000 men had nothing to eat and the hoarders of the food supply should beckon one of them and feed him, the rest of the starved crowd would exclaim 'we are all fed and now we belong to the eating class.'" Some of the long speeches are very good and others indifferent. The author is still caught in the idealistic method of thought and makes his socialist seeker declare that "there is no science of history or economic evolution; there are no fixed laws of industrial growth; the controlling force is in the men of the time, and what they may do is uncertain; it rests with their intelligence and degree of will."

One great defect of the book, which can but doom it to oblivion, is that it is dull, notwithstanding the occasional flashes of brilliancy. It might have had some influence had the author openly set it forth as an economic treatise, since then those who are interested in technical economics would have been willing to overcome its dullness. But sent forth as a novel it must fail to arouse any great attention.

Revolutionary Essays in Socialist Faith and Fancy. Peter E. Burrowes: The Comrade Publishing Company. Cloth, 320 pp. $1.25.

This is a book from which to quote, a work to be read in sections, and not as a whole. It is too condensed, too epigrammatic for continuous reading. You can open it almost anywhere and find something that, if you were an exchange editor on a socialist paper, you would mark with a blue pencil for reproduction. We predict that for years and years to come this will prove a storehouse for the socialist paragraphers.

It is hard to say which of the essays are the best. All are good. Many of them have appeared in different socialist publications, including the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Those of our readers who have read those that have so appeared will want to read the rest. It is a good book to take along with you on a vacation.

Two new issues of the well known Pocket Library of Socialism attract our attention. These are: "Socialism and the Organized Labor Movement," by May Wood Simons, and "The Capitalist's Union or Labor Unions: Which?" published by Union 7386, A. F. of L., for the affiliated unions, and are sold by Charles H. Kerr & Co. at 5 cents each. Of the first, Eugene V. Debs says: "It is clear, logical, unanswerable. The simplest mind can grasp the argument and its conclusions are inevitable. If the average Trade Unionist who, in his ignorance, has his face set against socialism would but read this brief economic study with open mind, he could not escape the logic of socialism." The second is a general survey of the conditions that confront organized labor at the present time, and show how these conditions will compel the unions to take political action along the line of socialism.

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The regular annual meeting of the stockholders of Charles H. Kerr & Co. will be held at the company's office, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, on January 15, 1904, at 2 p. m. At that meeting a proposition will be voted upon to increase the authorized capital stock of the company from $10,000 to $50,000, by authorizing the issue of 4,000 additional shares of stock at $10 each. An official announcement of this will be made through the *Chicago Socialist*, and through circulars mailed to the present stockholders, but in this department of the REVIEW some further details will not be out of place.

And, first of all, the announcement does not mean that the co-operative company is selling out to any capitalist or any group of capitalists. On the contrary, the ownership of the company is more firmly vested in the Socialist Party than ever before, and the effect of the proposed revision of the charter will be in the course of a comparatively short time to place it in a position where its future will be secure, irrespective of the life or death of any individual.

Of the thousand shares authorized by our present charter, the greatest number held by any individual is a little over a hundred still standing in the name of Charles H. Kerr, and one or more of these are being transferred nearly every day to single holders. They would last only a few weeks more, at the present rate of stock subscriptions, and that is why an amended charter is necessary.

The meaning of all this is that our co-operative plan for supplying socialist books at cost has passed the stage of experiment. It has proved a complete success. It has placed the management of the company in a position where we can afford to consider, regarding a proposed publication, not whether it is "popular" enough to appeal to the enthusiasm of the ignorant, but whether it is an able presentation of international socialism. We have now seven hundred and fifty stockholders with whom we are in regular communication, and we are thus able to find an immediate sale for any new socialist book that is worth reading, while we can safely let alone such books as we believe are not worth reading.

So much has been done, but much more remains to be done. In our urgent need for providing the standard books of international socialism, we have been obliged to use capital lent us by comrades who may soon need it again, and we have also to some extent utilized our credit with banks and printers. To put the future safety of the company beyond doubt, several thousand dollars in stock ought to be subscribed at once, in order that the business may be put upon a strictly cash basis and kept there.

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make it less and less possible for any individual in any future situation that may ever arise to use the resources of this publishing house in any other way than to promote the cause of international socialism. Are you a stockholder? If not, send on $10 for a share, or if that is more money than the capitalists allow you to have at one time, then do as most of our stockholders have done, pay a dollar a month for ten months. You can buy books at cost as soon as you have paid your first dollar.

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The Sale of an Appetite, by Paul Lafargue, translated by Charles H. Kerr and illustrated by Dorothy Deene, is fully described on page 319 of last month's REVIEW. It is a thoroughly charming story and is printed in luxurious holiday style, not the economical style which we are forced to use in our strictly propaganda literature, where the main point is to give as many pages of socialism as can possibly be afforded for each penny. "The Sale of an Appetite" is pretty enough to give to a laborer who imagines himself to be a capitalist, and it may start him to thinking before he knows the risk he is running. Try being a socialist Santa Claus, and watch the results. Price, 50 cents.

Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History. By Antonio Labriola, professor in the University of Rome. Translated from the latest Paris edition by Charles H. Kerr. The publication of this book, announced for November, has been unavoidably delayed in the printing, but the electrotype plates are completed and on the press as this issue of the REVIEW is mailed, and all orders for the book will be filled before the holidays. It is not too much to say that Labriola's Essays is the most important socialist book which has appeared since Marx's Capital. It is a necessary supplement to the Communist Manifesto, explaining in detail the ideas which the Manifesto states in a form so condensed as to be too difficult for the ordinary reader. We do not mean to imply that the new book is itself easy reading. On the contrary, it demands careful study, but it will well repay all the study that is put on it. No socialist writer or speaker can afford to remain ignorant of Labriola's Essays, and every student who desires really to understand the subject of socialism will find this book absolutely indispensable. Price, $1.

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The International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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JAN 18

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV JANUARY, 1904 NO. 7

Russianizing America.

IN SPITE of the organized system of suppression of news and distortion, known as the Associated Press; in spite of the conspiracy of silence among those great makers of public opinion, the capitalist journals of America, enough facts have leaked through to show that the condition of affairs now existing in the mining camps of Colorado openly and definitely gives the lie to the claim that either national or state governments within the United States guarantee any rights whatever to any class of citizens unless those citizens have sufficient economic power to maintain those rights—unless, in short, they belong to the ruling class of capitalists. That the declarations of military law and accompanying outrages at Telluride, Victor and Cripple Creek are but part of a general movement by the capitalist class of America to crush out all political and economic resistance on the part of the working class is plain to any one who chooses to look at the evidence presented.

The following quotation from the Associated Press report of the meeting of the National Employers' Association held in Chicago October 1, 1903, gives the beginning of the plot:

"Blows at the Western labor organizations are to be struck repeatedly, and the American Federation of Labor is to be invited by the employers to step into the movement. Socialism, according to the claim of the Western employers, completely controls the Western labor movement, which is practically in the grip of the American Labor Union and the Western Association of Miners.

J. C. Craig, secretary of the Citizens' Alliance of Denver, who attended the employers' conference at the Auditorium Tuesday, said yesterday: "The American Labor Union and the Western Miners must go. Both organizations have reached the point where they are dangerous to the community at large. They are

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lawless aggregations, teeming with Socialists and Anarchists. They do no good to labor and have an astounding record of crime and murder. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, I regard as a comparatively conservative man, and the employers of the West would be glad to see him succeed in extending the control of the American Federation of Labor throughout the West. If the American Federation of Labor would put its organizers in the territory controlled by the American Labor Union today it would reap a harvest in a remarkably short time. The manufacturers who will join in this movement of employers will assist in clarifying the dangerous Western situation, and I believe that the time is not far away when the American Labor Union and the Western Association of Miners will be wiped out of existence."

Whether Samuel Gompers is actually a partner in this nefarious work or not there is no evidence to prove. That he is lending it at least his tacit support is shown by the cowardly silence of the *American Federationist* concerning the present outrages in Colorado.

The plan of action here laid down once understood, all subsequent actions are easy of comprehension and form but part of one continuous, nefarious plot. In 1902 the people of the State of Colorado, in a referendum vote, declared by a majority of 40,000 for a constitutional amendment providing for an eight-hour work day in the mines. Unfortunately they neglected to elect any but capitalist officials to office and these officials promptly refused to take any notice of the referendum. Incidently, this should help to teach something to the "initiative-and-referendum-first" bunch of reformers, as showing the uselessness of any such action not backed up by a class conscious Socialist party strong enough to carry through any demands not in accord with the interests of the capitalist class.

The miners becoming convinced of the impossibility of securing any assistance from capitalist legislative bodies, went on strike to secure what the supposed sovereign power of the state had declared was legally theirs, and in so doing offered the excuse for action for which the Employers' Association had been waiting. This strike took place in the mines surrounding Cripple Creek and Telluride. No evidence whatever has been put forth to show that any violence accompanied this strike. No one was injured, no property destroyed. Nevertheless, troops were at once rushed to the scene. Governor Peabody has since admitted that these troops are in the direct pay of the Mine Owners' Association; that is to say, he has turned the militia over to a branch of the National Employers' Association to be used by them as their private police force. This is not all, more direct action was demanded, so it was that members of the "Citizens' Alliance," as

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the local branch of the Employers' Association is called, were directly enlisted in the militia as the following dispatch will show:

"Victor, Colo., Dec. 9.—Brig.-Gen. F. M. Reardon, retired, postmaster of Victor, has received orders from Governor Peabody to muster in a new company of the Colorado National Guard at the armory here tomorrow night. This company will be known as Company L, Second Regiment, C. N. G., and will be composed exclusively of members of the Victor Citizens' Alliance. Eighty men have signed the muster roll. Harry T. Moore, president of the Victor Citizens' Alliance, will be captain of the new company; A. A. Rollestone, cashier of the Bank of Victor, will be first lieutenant, and J. C. Cole, secretary of the Citizens' Alliance, will be second lieutenant."

Then that no link might be lacking to connect the whole machinery of government with this infamous work, the War Department of the national government, acting, it is said, under direct personal instructions from Roosevelt, supplied these militia companies with the latest improved Krag-Jorgensen rifles, manufactured at the United States arsenals, and accompanied them with a plentiful supply of the new "riot cartridges," designed for the especial purpose of shooting unarmed, unresisting men.

Finally, after the militiamen had done the dirty work of capitalism, had sold their manhood, and betrayed their class to help rivet the fetters still firmer upon their fellow-workmen, they were thrown aside by their masters with the same brutal recklessness that everywhere marks the treatment of the wage slave.

The *Rocky Mountain News* of December 11 has the following in reference to a company of soldiers who have been ordered from the Cripple Creek district and are in an armory on the outskirts of Denver:

"Thirty men, the remnants of the once proud Company L, First Regiment of the National Guard, State of Colorado, are out at the Berkeley Armory, near Elitch's Gardens, almost totally without food, with only such fuel as they can skirmish up around the country, and without bedding or sufficient blankets.

"These men have been at the armory since Saturday night waiting. They claim that the State owes them an average of $50 each in pay for their services. Since their arrival in Denver the men have been furnished nothing whatever by the State or anybody connected with the military department of the State. * * * Yesterday the boys saw starvation staring them in the face. * * * Many of them are young boys. * * * Most of them have pawned their citizen's clothes and now have nothing to wear but their uniforms."

We are not, however, so much concerned with the fate of these hired murderers as with that of the miners whom they were hired to kill.

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Having turned over the regularly organized militia to the mine-owners and organized the heelers and hangers-on of the local capitalists for the purposes of murder under the authority of the State, it only remained to arm and turn loose those dupes and tools of the employers who were too disreputable for military discipline and arm them with authority to carry on a guerrilla warfare upon unarmed strikers. This was accomplished by the issuance of an order by the military authorities of Cripple Creek commanding all citizens to turn in any firearms they might possess. The houses of the miners were visited by searching parties who confiscated any firearms not previously surrendered. Permits were then issued by the thousands to the thugs of the Mine Owners' Association permitting them to carry firearms. In other words, the union miners were first disarmed and rendered helpless and then turned over to the tender mercies of any gang of thugs, scabs, "bad men" and "gun fighters" who might be designated by the Mine Owners' Association. Lest there might even then be some misunderstanding about the fact that it was a labor union and the Western Federation of Miners especially that was being attacked, the Mine Owners' Association ordered all its members to compel their employes to surrender their cards in that organization, as the following Associated Press item will show:

"FLORENCE, Colo., Dec. 10.—J. M. Hower, Jr., manager of the Dorcas Mining and Milling Company, received yesterday from the Mine Owners' Association of Cripple Creek a letter to the effect that he must discharge every employe who would not sever his membership with the Western Federation of Miners, and that in future he was to employ no man who was a member of that organization. If he did so he would not be allowed to treat any ore which could be controlled and diverted elsewhere by the association. Mr. Hower refused to comply and will leave for the district in the morning. When the trouble with the mills in Colorado City started Mr. Hower, who had always been friendly to the Mill and Smeltermen's Union, made an agreement with his men by which he has been able to work his property almost steadily. He has never had a labor trouble of any kind and his relations with his employes have always been of the most friendly nature.

"J. Q. McDonald, general manager of the mills of the United States Reduction & Refining Company at Florence, stated in an interview today that the Union mill would be started under full operation the first of the year, but that no member of the Western Federation of Miners would be employed; that the company had no local organization of their employes, but would not tolerate membership in the Western Federation of Miners."

In the territory under military law, outrages which still

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further demonstrated this point occurred. Fifty of the miners who were out on a strike at Telluride, were arrested in their homes on charge of vagrancy, thrown into the "bull-pen," as the military stockade is called, denied the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* and were fined various sums, which they were compelled to work out with ball and chain, under military guard, on the streets. They were all informed, however, that if they would either leave the city or go to work as scabs the fines would be remitted. President Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, has been ordered out of the strike region under pain of arrest, although no disorder whatever has been urged against him and no charge save the holding of an official position in a trade union.

At Victor, Colo., on Sunday, the 22d of November, while the president of the local union of the W. F. M., who had died during the strike, was being buried, the funeral procession was stopped by the militia and twelve men were taken from the carriages in which they were riding with their families and thrown into the "bull-pen." This, of course, without any warrant being issued, any charges preferred or any hope of a trial to determine guilt or innocence.

Since practically the entire mining population of the West is included within the membership of the W. F. M. the usual talk about "peaceable men anxious to enjoy their God-given right to work," and being debarred of that right through union tyranny, was hardly suitable to the occasion. Indeed, it being manifestly impossible to obtain scabs through the ordinary methods the most high-handed means were adopted for this purpose. Men were shipped by employment agencies under various pretexts to Joplin, Mo., under promise of work in the zinc and lead mines of that locality. On arriving there they found no laborers were wanted, but they were then told that miners were wanted in Colorado. Not only was nothing said to them about the fact that a strike was on but all possible means were taken to keep that fact from becoming known. In some cases at least these men were locked in the cars with armed guards to prevent their escape en route. On arrival at the scene of the strike they were locked up in the stockades inclosing the mines and compelled to work as scabs, whether they wished or not. If they succeeded in escaping the armed guards that surround the mines they were promptly arrested as "vagrants" and given the ball and chain, with the alternative of going back to scab or leaving the place.

The next step was to prevent the laborers of the United States from gaining a knowledge of the situation, consequently press censorship was established. For the first time in the history of the United States a newspaper, *The Victor Record*, appeared with what has long become familiar to the readers of

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Russian papers, a blank space where the leading editorial ordinarily appeared. The *Cripple Creek Times*, of December 20, contains a notice that the military authorities have notified it that no official statement of the district union of the Western Federation of Miners can be published by that paper hereafter. Meanwhile the strike goes on. The Western Federation of Miners has established co-operative stores for the relief of its members. Threats have already been made that these will be seized and their property confiscated. One thing is certain, the union workers of this locality are engaged in the most desperate fight for liberty and elementary justice that has ever yet been waged on this continent. If they are crushed, those officials of the A. F. of L., or their secret assistants who have contributed to that end, will have a chance to learn something of the gratitude of the capitalist, since the next step will inevitably be to transfer the same methods to the eastern states and the eastern unions. The Western Federation of Miners is an avowed Socialist organization and it is undoubtedly this which has added to the ferocity of the employers' attack. They are now seeking for help to continue this fight and that request should meet with a ready response from every trade unionist and every Socialist, and certainly from every Socialist Trade Unionist throughout the country.

Funds for the support of the strike should be addressed to William D. Haywood, 625 Mining Exchange building, Denver, Colo.

A. M. SIMONS.

[The following from the Chicago *Record-Herald*, coming just as we go to press, gives a vivid view of present condition:]

"CRIPPLE CREEK, COLO., Jan. 4.—Thomas Evans, a miner, and his wife and young daughter have been arrested and placed in the 'bull pen' by the military authorities for jeering at soldiers and nonunion miners.

"TELLURIDE, COLO., Jan. 4.—Twenty-six men arrested here by the military authorities, including former Attorney-General Eugene Engley, counsel for the Telluride Miners' Union; Guy E. Miller, president of the union, and J. C. Williams, vice president of the Western Federation of Miners, were placed on board a north-bound train today and taken beyond the boundaries of San Miguel county under military guard. They will not be allowed to return to this district while martial law is in effect.

"Under the proclamation issued by Governor Peabody declaring San Miguel county to be in a state of insurrection, and giving the military full power, Major Zeph T. Hill, commander of the military at Telluride, has established a strict press censorship and taken control of both the telegraph and telephone lines."

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The Negro and His Nemesis.

SINCE the appearance of my article on "The Negro in the Class Struggle" in the November REVIEW I have received the following anonymous letter:

Elgin, Ill., November 25, 1903.

Mr. Debs:

Sir, I am a constant reader of the International Socialist Review. I have analyzed your last article on the Negro question with apprehension and fear. You say that the South is permeated with the race prejudice of the Negro more than the North. I say it is not so. When it comes right down to a test, the North is more fierce in the race prejudice of the Negro than the South ever has been or ever will be. I tell you, you will jeopardize the best interests of the Socialist Party if you insist on political equality of the Negro. For that will not only mean political equality but also social equality eventually. I do not believe you realize what that means. You get social and political equality for the Negro, then let him come and ask the hand of your daughter in marriage, "For that seems to be the height of his ambition," and we will see whether you still have a hankering for social and political equality for the Negro. For I tell you, the Negro will not be satisfied with equality with reservation. It is impossible for the Anglo-Saxon and the African to live on equal terms. You try it, and he will pull you down to his level. Mr. Lincoln, himself, said, that "There is a physical difference between the white and the black races, which I believe will forever forbid them living together on terms of social and political equality." If the Socialist leaders *stoop* to this method to gain votes, then their policy and doctrine is as rotten and degraded as that of the Republican and Democratic parties, and I tell you, if the resolutions are adopted to give the African equality with the Anglo-Saxon you will lose more votes than you now think. I for my part shall do all I can to make you lose as many as possible and there will be others. For don't you know that just a little sour dough will spoil the whole batch of bread. You will do the Negro a greater favor by leaving him where he is. You elevate and educate him, and you will make his position impossible in the U. S. A. Mr. Debs, if you have any doubts on this subject, I beg you for humanity's sake to read Mr. Thomas Dixon's "The Leopard's Spots" and I hope that all others who have voiced your sentiments heretofore, will do the same.

I assure you, I shall watch the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW with the most intense hope of a reply after you have read Mr. Thomas Dixon's message to humanity. Respectfully yours,

So far a staunch member of the Socialist Party.

The writer, who subscribes himself "A staunch member of the Socialist Party" is the only member of that kind I have ever heard of who fears to sign his name to, and accept responsibility for what he writes. The really "staunch" Socialist attacks in the open—he does not shoot from ambush.

The anonymous writer, as a rule, ought to be ignored, since he is unwilling to face those he accuses, while he may be a sneak or coward, traitor or spy, in the role of a "staunch Socialist,"

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whose base design it is to divide and disrupt the movement. For reasons which will appear later, this communication is made an exception and will be treated as if from a known party member in good standing.

It would be interesting to know of what branch our critic is a member and how long he has been, and how he happened to become a "staunch member of the Socialist party." That he is entirely ignorant of the philosophy of Socialism may not be to his discredit, but that a "staunch member" has not even read the platform of his party not only admits of no excuse, but takes the "staunchness" all out of him, punctures and discredits his foolish and fanatical criticism and leaves him naked and exposed to ridicule and contempt.

The Elgin writer has all the eminent and well recognized qualifications necessary to oppose negro equality. His criticism and the spirit that prompts it harmonize delightfully with his assumed superiority.

That he may understand that he claims to be a "staunch member" of a party he knows nothing about I here incorporate the "Negro Resolutions" adopted by our last national convention, which constitute a vital part of the national platform of the Socialist party and clearly defined its attitude toward the negro:

NEGRO RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom, occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

Whereas, The capitalist class seeks to preserve this peculiar condition, and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

Whereas, Both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions alike betray the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class. Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That we, the Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world. Be it further

Resolved, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor. And be it further

Resolved, That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro

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to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world.

But even without this specific declaration, the position of the the party is so clear that no member and no other person of ordinary intelligence can fail to comprehend it.

The Socialist party is the congealed, tangible expression of the Socialist movement, and the Socialist movement is based upon the modern class struggle in which all workers of all countries, regardless of race, nationality, creed or sex, are called upon to unite against the capitalist class, their common exploiter and oppressor. In this great class struggle the economic equality of all workers is a foregone conclusion, and he who does not recognize and subscribe to it as one of the basic principles of the Socialist philosophy is not a Socialist, and if a party member must have been admitted through misunderstanding or false pretense, and should be speedily set adrift, that he may return to the capitalist parties with their social and economic strata from the "white trash" and "buck nigger" *down* to the syphilitic snob and harlot heiress who barters virtue for title in the matrimonial market.

I did not say that the race prejudice in the South was more intense than in the North. No such comparison was made and my critic's denial is therefore unnecessary upon this point. Whether the prejudice of the South differs from that of the North is quite another question and entirely aside from the one at issue, nor is it of sufficient interest to consider at this time.

The Elgin writer says that we shall "jeopardize the best interests of the Socialist party" if we insist upon the political equality of the Negro. I say that the Socialist party would be false to its historic mission, violate the fundamental principles of Socialism, deny its philosophy and repudiate its own teachings if, on account of race considerations, it sought to exclude any human being from political equality and economic freedom. Then, indeed, would it not only "jeopardize" its best interests, but forfeit its very life, for it would soon be scorned and deserted as a thing unclean, leaving but a stench in the nostrils of honest men.

Political equality is to be denied the negro, according to this writer, because it would lead to social equality, and this would be terrible—especially for those "white" men who are already married to negro women and those "white" women who have long since picked the "buck nigger" in preference to the "white trash" whose social superiority they were unable to distinguish or appreciate.

Of course the negro will "not be satisfied with equality with reservation." Why should he be? Would you?

Suppose you change places with the negro just a year, then let us hear from you—"with reservation."

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What now follows it is difficult to consider with patience: "You get social and political equality for the negro, then let him come and ask the hand of your daughter in marriage."

In the first place *you* don't get equality for the negro—*you* haven't got it yourself. In the present social scale there is no difference between you and the negro—you are on the same level in the labor market, and the capitalist whose agent buys your labor power don't know and don't care if you are white or black, for he deals with you simply as *labor power,* and is uninterested save as to the quality and quantity you can supply. He cares no more about the color of your hide than does Armour about that of the steers he buys in the cattle market.

In the next place the negro will fight for his own political and economic equality. He will take his place in the Socialist party with the workers of all colors and all countries, and all of them will unite in the fight to destroy the capitalist system that now makes common slaves of them all.

Foolish and vain indeed is the workingman who makes the color of his skin the stepping-stone to his imaginary superiority. The trouble is with his head, and if he can get that right he will find that what ails him is not superiority but inferiority, and that he, as well as the negro he despises, is the victim of wage-slavery, which robs him of what he produces and keeps both him and the negro tied down to the dead level of ignorance and degradation.

As for "the negro asking the hand of your daughter in marriage," that is so silly and senseless that the writer is probably after all justified in withholding his name. How about the daughter asking the hand of the negro in marriage? Don't you know that this is happening every day? Then, according to your logic, the inferiority and degeneracy of the white race is established and the negro ought to rise in solemn protest against political equality, lest the white man ask the hand of his daughter in marriage.

"It is impossible," continues our critic, "for the Anglo-Saxon and the African to live upon equal terms. You try it and he will pull you down to his level." Our critic must have tried something that had a downward pull, for surely that is his present tendency.

The fact is that it is impossible for the Anglo-Saxon and the African to live on *unequal* terms. A hundred years of American history culminating in the Civil War proves that. Does our correspondent want a repetition of the barbarous experiment?

How does the Anglo-Saxon get along with the Anglo-Saxon —leaving the negro entirely out of the question? Do they bill and coo and love and caress each other? Is the Anglo-Saxon capitalist so devoted to his Anglo-Saxon wage-slave that he shares his burden and makes him the equal partner of his wealth and

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joy? Are they not as widely separated as the earth and sky, and do they not fight each other to the death? Does not the white capitalist look down with contempt upon the white wage-slave? And don't you know that the plutocrat would feel himself pretty nearly, if not quite as outrageously insulted to have his Anglo-Saxon wage slave ask the hand of his daughter in marriage as if that slave were black instead of white?

Why are you not afraid that some Anglo-Saxon engine-wiper on the New York Central will ask the hand of Vanderbilt's daughter in marriage?

What social distinction is there between a white and a black deck-hand on a Mississippi steamboat? Is it visible even with the aid of a microscope? They are both slaves, work side by side, sometimes a bunch of black slaves under a white "boss" and at other times a herd of white slaves under a black "boss." Not infrequently you have to take a second look to tell them apart—but all are slaves and all are humans and all are robbed by their "superior" white brother who attends church, is an alleged follower of Jesus Christ and has a horror of "social equality." To him "a slave is a slave for a' that"—when he bargains for labor power he is not generally concerned about the color of the package, but if he is, it is to give the black preference because it can be bought at a lower price in the labor market, in which equality always prevails—the equality of intellectual and social debasement. To paraphrase Wordsworth:

"A wage-slave by the river's brim
A simple wage-slave is to him
And he is nothing more."

The man who seeks to arouse race prejudice among workingmen is not their friend. He who advises the white wage-worker to look down upon the black wage-worker is the enemy of both.

The capitalist has some excuse for despising the slave—he lives out of his labor, out of his life, and cannot escape his sense of guilt, and so he looks with contempt upon his victim.

You can forgive the man who robs you, but you can't forgive the man you rob—in his haggard features you read your indictment and this makes his face so repulsive that you must keep it under your heels where you cannot see it.

One need not experiment with "sour dough" nor waste any time on "sour" literature turned into "Leopard Spots" to arrive at sound conclusions upon these points, and the true Socialist delights not only in taking his position and speaking out, but in inviting and accepting without complaint all the consequences of his convictions, be they what they may.

Abraham Lincoln was a noble man, but he was not an aboli-

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tionist, and what he said in reference to the negro was with due regard to his circumscribed environs, and, for the time, was doubtless the quintessence of wisdom, but he was not an oracle who spoke for all coming ages, and we are not bound by what he thought prudent to say in a totally different situation half a century ago.

The Socialist platform has not a word in reference to "social equality." It declares in favor of political and economic equality, and only he who denies this to any other human being is unfit for it.

Socialism will give all men economic freedom, equal opportunity to work, and the full product of their labor. Their "social" relations they will be free to regulate to suit themselves. Like religion, this will be an individual matter and our Elgin negro-hater can consider himself just as "superior" as he chooses, confine his social attentions exclusively to white folks, and enjoy his leisure time in hunting down the black spectre who is bent on asking his daughter's hand in marriage.

What warrant has he to say that the height of the negro's ambition is to marry a white woman? No more than a negro has to say that the height of a white woman's ambition is to marry a negro. The number of such cases is about equally divided and it is so infinitesimally small that any one who can see danger to society in it ought to have his visual organs treated for progressive exaggeration.

The normal negro has ambition to rise. This is to his credit and ought to be encouraged. He is not asking, nor does he need, the white man's social favors. He can regulate his personal associations with entire satisfaction to himself, without Anglo-Saxon concessions.

Socialism will strike the economic fetters from his body and he himself will do the rest.

Suppose another race as much "superior" to the white as the white is to the black should drop from the skies. Would our Illinois correspondent at once fall upon his knees and acknowledge his everlasting inferiority, or would he seek to overcome it and rise to the higher plane of his superiors?

The negro, like the white man, is subject to the laws of physical, mental and moral development. But in his case these laws have been suspended. Socialism simply proposes that the negro shall have full opportunity to develop his mind and soul, and this will in time emacipate the race from animalism, so repulsive to those especially whose fortunes are built up out of it.

The African is here and to stay. How came he to our shores? Ask your grandfathers, Mr. Anonymous, and if they will tell the truth you will or should blush for their crimes.

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The black man was stolen from his native land, from his wife and child, brought to these shores and made a slave. He was chained and whipped and robbed by his "white superior," while the son of his "superior" raped the black child before his eyes. For centuries he was kept in ignorance and debased and debauched by the white man's law.

The rape-fiend? Horrible!

Whence came he! Not by chance. He can be accounted for. Trace him to his source and you will find an Anglo-Saxon at the other end. There are no rape-maniacs in Africa. They are the spawn of civilized lust.

Anglo-Saxon civilization is reaping and will continue to reap what it has sown.

For myself, I want no advantage over my fellow man and if he is weaker than I, all the more is it my duty to help him.

Nor shall my door or my heart be ever closed against any human being on account of the color of his skin.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

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Another Red Spot on the Socialist Map.

MARVELOUS as has been the growth of the Socialist party vote in many of the United States, the most western province in Canada, British Columbia, has by its recent election campaign, taken a foremost place in the American class struggle which has for its goal the capturing of the powers of government by the working class, and through the intelligent use of that power abolishing the wage-system and establishing collective ownership of the means of life, production being for use instead of for profit.

The Socialist party of British Columbia was organized in 1901. Previous to that time there had been branches of the Canadian Socialist League and other Socialist clubs in existence.

The convention of 1901 united the various bodies upon a political platform of a "reform" character—there being nearly a score of "immediate demands" enumerated. In 1902 several revolutionary Socialist bodies were formed, but upon the Socialist party convention deciding to discard its "reform" policy and stand clear for "revolutionary" Socialism all Socialist organizations (with the exception of one S. L. P. section) united and the rapid growth of the party began. The platform of the S. P. of B. C. is probably the shortest and most uncompromising statement of the principles of revolutionary socialism that has ever been drafted in any country.

In 1900 a Socialist candidate for the Legislature secured 684 votes in Vancouver City and in 1902 another cast a vote of 156 in North Nanaimo. On October 3, 1903, a general election took place to choose 42 members of the B. C. Legislature. In the old Legislature there had been a labor member, I. N. Hawthornthwaite, of Nanaimo, who had joined the Socialist Party and he, with ten others (one being an S. L. P.) were nominated as candidates.

To prevent the working class from securing representation in the halls of legislation the capitalist class adopts various schemes. In the United States one of the plans is the requirement of petitions for a place upon the ballot. Once having nominated a state ticket, however, every voter in the state has an opportunity of voting for the candidates for state officers. In Canada all governors, judges, etc., are appointed by the king's minions, and there being no state officers to elect, voters can only vote for the candidates in their own legislative district. This prevents a vote of

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the entire province being taken unless the Socialist party has candidates in every district. And in elections for the Canadian parliament and B. C. Legislature a deposit of $200 is required from each candidate, this being lost if one-half the vote of the winning candidate is not secured. In municipal elections labor is disqualified by property qualification laws in electing mayor and aldermen.

Massachusetts, with 39,065 votes, cast 9.9 per cent of the total vote in 1902. Montana, 3,131 votes or 5.7 per cent; Washington, 5,573 votes or 5.6 per cent, and Colorado, 8,994 votes or 4.8 per cent. The percentages of the socialist votes in the various states in the 1903 elections are not yet compiled, but the following figures show that British Columbia, for a time at least, holds the proud position of leading the socialist movement in America.

There are 34 electoral districts in B. C., electing 42 members. Vancouver City elects 5 members, each voter having 5 votes. Victoria City elects 4, each voter being able to vote for 1, 2, 3 or 4 candidates. Cariboo elects 2 members and voters have a double franchise. In the recent contest the Conservatives nominated 41 candidates; Liberals, 40; Socialist party, 10; Labor party, 4, and Socialist Labor party, 1. In two districts there was no election—Conservatives and Liberals each securing a member by acclamation, the districts being small and without socialist organization. In one district the Liberals withdrew from the field and assisted the Labor party in defeating the Conservatives. Two Liberals, two Socialists and one Socialist Labor party candidate lost their $200 deposits.

The following table shows the total votes cast for the various parties, the S. L. P. vote (284) being counted as socialist:

Party.	*Vote.*	*Per Cent.*
Conservative	26,286	46.3
Liberal	21,316	37.5
Socialist	5,091	8.9
Labor	4,121	7.3

But as the above table includes all the plural votes cast in Vancouver, Victoria and Cariboo, it is manifestly unfair. For instance, the Liberal and Conservative voters having 4 or 5 votes would divide them between 4 or 5 candidates, while socialists would vote only for the socialists and not use their other votes, While there were many voters who split their ballots by voting for several capitalists and one socialist and, consequently, every voter who voted for socialism cannot be counted a socialist, the following table counting only the highest votes for each party in each district comes as near as possible to a fair test of party strength:

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Party.	*Districts.*	*Votes.*	*Per Cent.*
Conservative	33	12,670	43
Liberal	32	11,211	38
Socialist	9	3,852	13
Labor	2	1,724	6

These figures cover the whole province although, as has been pointed out, the election deposit law disfranchised socialist voters in 25 districts. Thus a more favorable showing is made by only counting the highest votes in the 9 districts where socialist voters had an opportunity of exercising their franchise. Here are the figures for these 9 districts, together with the percentages:

District.	*Con.*	*Lib.*	*Soc.*	*Labor.*
Fernie	311	316	225	
Grand Forks	355	175	233	
Greenwood	181	241	231	
Kaslo	289	250	166	
Nanaimo	325	294	486 (elected)	
Newcastle	217	214	289 (elected)	
Revelstoke	248	221	185	
Victoria	1,396	1,860	699	
Vancouver	2,650	1,547	1,338	1,355

Highest votes in 9 districts:

		Per Cent.
Conservatives	5,972	37.
Liberals	5,118	31.6
Socialists	3,852	24.
Labor	1,355	8.4

The Legislature now stands 22 Conservatives, 17 Liberals, 2 Socialists (J. H. Hawthornwaite, Nanaimo, and Parker Williams, Newcastle), and 1 Labor. According to percentage of total vote cast it should be 19 Conservatives, 16 Liberals, 4 Socialists and 3 Labor. Five old party men were elected by less than 200 votes, although it will be seen by the above figures that the lowest Socialist vote was 166 and the highest 1,338. Thirteen were elected by between 200 and 300 votes, five by between 300 and 400, seven by between 400 and 500, and only ten by over 500 votes. It will be seen, therefore, that with only about 40,000 voting citizens of British Columbia, and with 32 of the 42 members elected by less than 500 votes, the Socialist party has only one or two more election campaigns to go through before it secures control of the powers of government. The great work now is education and organization and in these two fields the party is well equipped, it practically owning the Western Clarion, Vancouver, a weekly paper, and having in E. T. Kingsley, Nanaimo, a splendid

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organizer, who, being a member of the S. L. P. for many years, is thoroughly grounded in the principles of revolutionary socialism.

Socialists as a rule belong to the propertyless class and are, therefore, practically disqualified from participating in municipal elections, except for the local school boards, for which every voter, regardless of property ownership, is eligible. In this field there is a splendid opportunity for activity and educational propaganda as is shown by the following figures of party votes in towns in the various districts, in most instances the places named being regularly organized into self-governing municipalities:

	Vote.		
Town.	*Socialist.*	*Conservative.*	*Liberal.*
Nanaimo	486	325	294
Ladysmith	208	187	171
Northfield	46	9	16
Revelstoke	107	18	12
Camborne	18	39	38
Ferguson	66	53	8
Trout Lake	17	35	37
Fernie	85	180	157
Michel	57	19	36
Coal Creek	44	14	10
Greenwood	132	95	104
Boundary Falls	44	15	37
Phœnix	161	74	31

The victory in British Columbia has given inspiration to the socialists in all parts of Canada. In Winnipeg, Manitoba, where the Socialist Party fused with the labor unions in the Legislative elections last June, they are again treading on dangerous ground, their aldermanic nominee having written the "Labor Representation League" stating that all "true socialists" would support labor candidates if they demanded the full product of their toil. In Ontario, however, a proposed fusion with the labor unions has been turned down almost unanimously and a strong pledge, with an anti-fusion clause adopted. They have also taken a clear stand as revolutionary socialists and resolved to nominate a number of candidates for the Canadian Parliament. Even priest-ridden Quebec and far-off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland will soon start the socialist snowball rolling down the mountain side to victory in the valleys beneath.

Canada must, therefore, be reckoned with as a red spot on the socialist map of the world. In May, 1902, the following vote was polled for socialism in 11 districts in Ontario:

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SOCIALIST PARTY.

H. G. Wilshire, West Elgin	425
S. Carter, S. Wellington	413
J. Simpson, E. Toronto	265
J. A. Kelly, W. Toronto	265
J. McMillan, Manitoulin	241
S. Corner, S. Toronto	163
Margaret Haile, N. Toronto	81
Total	1,963

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Gordon, W. Hamilton	375
Rhoadhouse, E. Hamilton	197
James, S. Toronto	100
Hazelgrove, London	97
Wellwood, W. Toronto	84
Kemp, E. Toronto	71
Wade, E. Middlesex	24
Tripp, N. Toronto	23
Total	971

The combined vote of both parties in Canada is, therefore, as follows:

Socialist Party, Ontario, 1902	1,963
Socialist Party, British Columbia, 1903	4,807
Total	6,770
Socialist Labor Party, Ontario, 1902	971
Socialist Labor Party, British Columbia, 1903	284
Total	1,255
Total Socialist vote in Canada	8,025

Reference has been made to the platform of the Socialist Party of British Columbia and its briefness may allow its addition to this record of the victories won since its adoption. It is as follows:

We, the Socialist party of British Columbia, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support the principles and program of the international revolutionary working class.

Labor produces all wealth and to labor it should justly belong. To the owner of the means of wealth production belongs the product of labor. The capitalist system is based upon private or capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production, therefore

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all the products of labor belong to the capitalist. The capitalist is master; the workman is slave.

So long as the capitalists remain in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the state will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits; and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interests of the working class lie in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working class property.

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the powers of government, the capitalist to hold; the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all wage-earners to organize under the banner of the Socialist party of British Columbia, with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation as rapidly as possible of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railways, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

2. Thorough and democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.

3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use in lieu of production for profit.

4. The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist party is absolutely opposed to it.

5. In accordance with this principle the Socialist party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

G. WESTON WRIGLEY.

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Socialists in the Prussian Landtag Elections.

NOVEMBER, 1903, marks a new stage in the elections for the lower house of the Prussian parliament (landtag). For the first time in the history of Prussia, the class-conscious proletariat of this dominating state in the German empire made a general assault on this stronghold of feudal reaction. The significance of this historical event will be appreciated when the genesis and constitution of the present Prussian election system are understood.

Voters under this system are divided into citizens of the first, second and third class, according to the rate of direct taxes paid by them. The members of the first and second class are so outrageously favored by the privilege of plural votes that they wield a political influence ridiculously out of proportion to their numerical strength and importance. The working class, who form the bulk of the third class, are practically disfranchised by this system. *Vorwärts* well describes it as a device for discouraging voting.

The system is the product of the confusion following the revolutionary movement of 1848, by which the German bourgeoisie strove to overthrow the rule of the feudal nobility. It was designed to be at the same time anti-socialist and anti-feudal, to suit the requirements of capitalist development. But when it was tested in the elections, it failed to accomplish the object of the bourgeoisie and helped the feudal nobility back into the saddle, at least for the time being. And when this three-class system finally began to favor the capitalist class and make a feudal majority in the landtag impossible, Bismarck resorted to universal suffrage in the reichstag's elections as a means of playing the working class against the capitalist class, for the benefit of the feudal agrarians.

The three-class election system is not only grossly unjust to the working class, but also full of intricacies and surrounded by petty rules, all of which fall most heavily on the voters of the third class. First of all, each voter must answer a roll call and announce his choice openly. This results in a corruption of public morality and a degradation of manhood, by preventing all government employees from voting for Socialist candidates, on penalty of dismissal. It also leads to the discharge of many a class-conscious worker. Furthermore, representatives for the landtag are not elected by a direct vote of the people, but by a body of electors. The voters only elect these electors. Each party nominates two electors for each district, and the voters must vote for both of them together. An absolute majority is neces-

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sary for the election of the electors as well as of the representatives. In case of an equality of votes, lots are drawn. Now it may happen that none of the contending parties receives an absolute majority of the votes in the first contest. In that case the voting must be repeated until an absolute majority or a draw results. But all the voters of each class must stay at the polling place until an election is secured, no matter how long it may take, on pain of having their vote cancelled. Many of the polling places are too small to admit all of the voters of the third class. These must stay outside in the cold, rain or snow, and await their turn in the roll call. When it is considered that it took 23 hours in certain localities to decide the contest, the reader will get an approximate idea of the endurance required on the part of the voters. Protests against such abuses must not be filed, otherwise the election of the protesting district may be declared illegal.

Another disadvantage for the proletariat is the apportionment of the representatives, which favors the rural districts, where the agrarians carry things with a high hand, at the expense of the city population. And every effort is made to revise the apportionment in such a way that the reactionaries may have a still greater advantage. One clerical organ, for instance, proposed to let the two rural districts around Berlin, known as Teltow and Beeskow-Storkow, with a total poulation of 312,799, elect three representatives, while the suburbs of Berlin, the cities of Charlottenburg, Schoeneberg and Rixdorf, with a total population of 375, 777, were to be granted only one representative, or at best two.

Besides, the police department of all cities above 10,000 inhabitants is not controlled by the city administration, but by the state authorities. That the police terrorizes Socialist voters to the utmost, goes without saying. Even if a municipality is in control of the Socialists, they are powerless against this terrorism. It may not be amiss, in this connection, to mention that the franchise in municipal elections is likewise conditioned on a certain amount of taxes, and the plural voting system in municipal elections is similar to that in the landtag's elections, with public voting and all intricacies. But the municipal representatives so elected are not in control of municipal affairs. They elect a mayor and a sort of a municipal senate, who have exclusive charge of very important matters and whose consent is required for any measure which the municipal representatives may demand. The mayor and senate of cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants cannot, however, take office until the king, or the minister of the interior, have sanctioned their election. And the municipal representatives must continue to elect another mayor and another senate, until they succeed in choosing men whom the government finds acceptable. If no satisfactory choice is made in

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the second election, then the provincial governor appoints men who manage the municipal affairs at the expense of the city, until the municipal representatives have elected the men whom the government accepts. Take furthermore into account that most of the policemen are former "loyal" soldiers, and that the higher election officials are also appointed by the government, and you will agree that even a thoroughly Socialist municipality has nothing to congratulate itself on in either municipal or landtag elections. The statement recently made in many American capitalist and Socialist papers that Berlin is in the control of Socialists would, therefore, require considerable modification, even if it were true that the majority of the municipal representatives are Socialists. But as a matter of fact, the recent municipal elections in Berlin only increased the number of Socialist municipal councillors from 28 to 33, which is not yet a majority. At any rate, even the absolute control of the municipal council would be of little use to the Socialists in the landtag's elections.

From the foregoing it will be readily understood why there has always been a strong sentiment in the ranks of the German Socialist Party against any participation in the landtag's elections. While in some of the South German states there was a possibility of success that was worth taking advantage of, Prussia was so well fortified against the rising proletariat that any attempt to dislodge the reaction there seemed absolutely hopeless. And so the comrades in the southern states had already some representatives in local parliaments, while the Prussian comrades were forced to remain inactive. But the growing strength of the Socialist Party in Prussia awakened the desire for an assault on the three-class election system.

In 1888 Max Schippel first suggested the idea of a public protest against this system, but nothing was done. In 1893, shortly before the landtag's elections, Edward Bernstein, who then lived in London, suggested a participation of the Socialists in those elections. But the national convention of the party, held at Cologne in September, 1903, declined any participation. A resolution demanding an energetic agitation for universal and direct suffrage, like that in use for reichstag's elections, was adopted at the same time. The national convention of Hamburg, 1897, revoked the Cologne resolution and left the question of the participation in the Prussian landtag's elections open, and the Stuttgart convention, in 1898, left it to the various local organizations to decide for themselves. In three places—Breslau, Linden and Altona—the comrades took part in the landtag's elections and pressed hard on the capitalist parties, without, however, obtaining any tangible results, mainly because the radical bourgeois parties proved too reactionary to support a Socialist against a Conservative or other capitalist candidate. The reichstag's

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elections of 1898 had shown that there were 47 Prussian landtag's district in which Socialists and Radicals together had an absolute majority. It seemed likely that some of these districts might be wrested from the reactionaries.

In 1900, therefore, the Mayence convention of the Socialist Party decided to make the experiment. It was agreed to nominate Socialist electors wherever there seemed a possibility of success, and to leave it to the discretion of the local organizations how to instruct the electors. That the Socialists would succeed in electing any representatives was anticipated by very few comrades. It was, however, confidently expected by some that a goodly number of mandates might fall into the hands of the Liberals and Radicals if they would agree to support the Socialist candidates where the Socialist Party was strong enough to make itself felt.

The result of the landtag's elections has shown that even this hope was futile. The Radicals, rather than support a Socialist, left the field to the blackest reaction and the Socialists felt justified, under the circumstances, in refusing to support Radical candidates where the Socialist vote would have decided the election against the reaction. So the complexion of the landtag is practically unchanged. One million six hundred thousand Prussian Socialists have not one representative in the landtag.

No official report of the total Socialist vote has appeared so far. But some of the local results show that the Socialists displayed a surprising strength. In Berlin I, for instance, out of 1,209 electors, the Socialists elected 185, the Radicals 850, the Conservatives 174; in Berlin II, out of 1,427 electors, 498 were Socialists, 834 Radicals, 9 Conservatives; in Berlin III, out of 2,761 electors, 919 were Socialists, 1,189 Radicals, 222 Conservatives; in Berlin IV, of 1,525 electors, 488 were Socialists, 867 Radicals and 29 Conservatives. In Rixdorf, all the 118 electors of the third class and 72 out of 125 of the second class were Socialists. Yet these figures do not give any accurate idea of the numerical strength of the parties, on account of the plural vote. In Berlin IV, for instance, the Socialists cast 21,689 votes and elected only 488 electors, while the Radicals, with 1,653 votes, elected 867 electors and the Conservatives, with 27 votes, elected 29 electors.

Nevertheless, the Socialists have no reason to feel discouraged. They did not expect to capture any mandates. They simply desired to hold up to scorn the three-class election system and to agitate for universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. This they accomplished splendidly. Besides, they received a valuable political training and mastered the intricacies of the system so quickly that they frequently beat the capitalist politicians at their

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own game. The participation of the Socialists also had a stimulating effect on the voters of the other parties, forcing them to fulfill their civic duties in greater numbers than ever before.

The opinions of the German comrades as to the practical results of this experiment are widely divergent. But a calmer and soberer view of the situation will probably soon incline the majority toward the following summing up of *Vorwärts*: "The valuable result of this election does not so much consist in the fact that we have almost penetrated to the threshold of victory in such localities as Berlin III, Linden and Altona. Nor is it found in the surprising progress made in other districts. The abundant harvest of our hard labors is represented by the spread of enlightenment, the increased consciousness of the utter shame of the Prussian misery. . . . The brave fight of our comrades is not lost. This election will blaze the wrong into the soul of the working class. The consciousness of this injustice will never fade. The Socialist workingmen have declared war to the knife against Prussian class rule."

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Congratulation *

We have struggled through the ages 'gainst the ignorance of night
Till at last the dawn is rising a millenium of light.
Priests have filled the Earth with terror and the horror of the tomb,
Adding festering damnations and the hells of woe and gloom;
Painting ecstasies celestial for each passing silent wraith,
Man's reward for creed acceptance by the credulous in faith,
Teaching only from the level human feebleness attains,
But persuading ev'ry acolyte the priest alone has brains;
They have forged for our acceptance something quite beyond control,
And have named that airy nothing a deceitful, "human soul."
Now fair Science lights her torches, torches man alone can trust,
Showing everlasting "principles" in every grain of dust;
These explain each act and atom with their uncreated laws,
Neither ending nor beginning, nor an antecedent cause.
Force and matter through the spaces are the sole eternal things,
From the mote within the sunbeam unto Saturn's mighty rings.
It is one eternal sparkle, just a jubilee of joy—
Just a universe of action Nought could make nor Aught destroy!
Death is momentary darkness while the light is life again—
And that "Soul" shall pass forever from the memories of men!

ISAAC A. POOL.

*There can be no law created to govern that which acts in obedience to its own inherent principles—that which is itself complete, being in itself both cause and effect, as when iron and oxygen, obeying their inherent principles, join and become what? Neither oxygen nor iron, but hematite—so remaining until that oxygen obeys the other superior attraction of carbon under heat and sets the iron free for other combinations. So force and matter are forever breaking up combinations to construct new ones, Life and Death forever succeeding each other. This they have done and will do through past and coming, so called eternities.

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Looking Forward.

(A letter from the Strangeland "Capitalia.")

LATE in the autumn of the year ****, I entered the harbor of the city of No-Work, the famous metropolis of the strange land Capitalia.

The first object which greeted my gaze was a colossal statue of a golden calf. Floating about it was a great banner adorned with black stripes on a blue ground.

However, what impressed me most was the peculiar motto attached to the national emblem of Capitalia: "In Gold We Trust." To me it seemed an atrocious blasphemy.

After landing safely, I arrived, as all strangers do who visit Capitalia, at a dismal, dreary, inhospitable place, and entered a dingy building, bearing the queer name Cattle Guardian.

Here I encountered a venerable old man, the Commissioner of Immigration of the State of Capitalia.

"Do you speak our language, the language of 'Capitalia'?" was his first question.

My affirmative reply in fluent Capitalian idiom pleasantly surprised the officer.

"What object in view have you in our country? Our laws forbid categorically immigration from foreign lands."

"It is not my intention to settle in your remarkable country permanently. My only object consists in the study of your political, social-economic and other state institutions, whose fame filled the entire world with awe and admiration," replied I to the commissioner's inquiry.

I then made an attempt to get from the officer some information concerning the strange things I had seen in the harbor of the city of No-Work; the golden calf statue, the strange banner with stripes and no stars, the blasphemous motto "In Gold We Trust," and about the queer name "Cattle Guardian." The Commissioner glanced at me with a quizzical smile and said, somewhat hesitatingly.

"I ought not to give you any information whatever concerning our country and its institutions before you are examined by the Committee of Eternal Vigilance, and admitted into our domains as a temporary visitor. However, you made a favorable impression upon me and I will make an exception in your case.

"Many, many centuries ago the country bearing now the proud name 'Capitalia' was a howling wilderness sparsely settled by barbaric tribes called 'Naives.'

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"A few peculiar people came over from across the ocean in order to enjoy what they pleased to call 'Religious Freedom.' I dare say they had all the religious freedom they wanted among the Naives, but mighty little to eat. The first immigrants were earnest, sturdy people and soon improved their opportunities with marvelous success. This success attracted other earnest and sturdy people from across the ocean and the colonies flourished in a short time. The colonists from across the ocean were what were called at that time pious Christians and civilized people. They wanted religious freedom for themselves. At the same time they insisted upon civilizing and christianizing the barbaric and pagan Naives. The protests of the Naives against their involuntary Christianization and civilization by the colonists from across the ocean proved of no avail. However, Christianity and civilization somehow did not agree with the barbaric aborigines and they soon died out, leaving the entire country to the newcomers. When the colonists arrived from across the ocean their only desire was to secure religious freedom. As years passed by and the colonists prospered nothing short of political independence from their mother country could satisfy them. They fought for their political independence and conquered it. More and more sturdy and earnest immigrants came over from across the ocean and helped to develop the natural resources of the country to unprecedented proportions. Soon a few crafty and unscrupulous people managed to appropriate the lion's share of the wealth of the nation. There arose a sharp line of demarcation between the few immensely rich exploiters of human toil called 'Capitalists' and the broad masses of the exploited toiling proletarians.

"All the means of production and distribution were monopolized by the parasitic class of Capitalists, while the producers were reduced to a state of abject poverty and dependence. Political and religious freedom turned into a snare and delusion as soon as industrial servitude put its iron grip on the broad masses of the people. An era of general dissatisfaction and unrest ensued. Wise and well-meaning people advised the capture of the power of the state by the intelligent use of the ballot and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth in a peaceful way. Wise and well meaning people claimed that the intelligent use of the ballot by the proletarians would lead to the abolition of poverty, class rule and exploitation of men by men. Alas! The proletarians turned a deaf ear to their true friends and followed the advices of false prophets, so-called professional labor leaders, who were hired by the Capitalists to mislead the proletarians. The false prophets who were in the business for profits tried to keep the proletarians out of politics. For a short while so-called trade unions kept the encroachment of Capital upon labor par-

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tially in check by the means of strikes and boycotts. However, the Capitalists gradually organized themselves into one gigantic anti-trade-union combine and with the political power in their hands actually disfranchised all those who were compelled to work for a living. A great uprising of the common people, so-called, against the ruling class followed. However, it proved to be too late for the exploited classes. The proletariat was thoroughly demoralized and divided. One part of the common people was educated and trained by the ruling class in the art of wholesale murder called war under the name of 'The Army.' The other part was unarmed and defenseless. The Capitalists ordered 'the Army' to murder 'the internal enemy' in the interests of 'public safety.' The fratricidal butchery resulted in favor of the ruling class. The industrial revolution was drowned in torrents of proletarian blood and the bullet killed the ballot. Since that time our country appropriated the name 'Capitalia,' removed the stars from the national emblem and replaced the statue of Liberty by the statue of the Golden Calf. Since that time *we trust in Gold* instead of *in God,* and exclude foreigners from our country. We make exceptions in the cases of a few savants like you, who come to study our institutions. The name 'Cattle Guardian' symbolizes our contempt toward foreigners in general."

I thanked the Commissioner for his courtesy and was conducted by him through narrow, well-lighted tunnels into the very heart of the city of No-Work. Here the officer turned me over to the Committee of Eternal Vigilance and then departed.

I was subjected to a most rigid and searching examination as to the state of my mind, convictions, beliefs and sympathies. My brief talk with the Commissioner put me on the right track in respect to the spirit of the culture and civilization of Capitalia.

Here follow some of the questions put to me by the Committee of Eternal Vigilance and the answers I gave. As you will readily see, there seemed to be little system in the sequence of the questions and I am inclined to think that this lack of system was intentional on the part of the examiners in order to catch me in inconsistencies.

Question—What is the main object of human life on earth?

Answer—Success. Nothing succeeds like success.

Q.—What do you mean by success?

A.—For the ruling class success means: The accumulation of as much material wealth as possible and the highest enjoyment of life imaginable. For the lower classes success means: The creation of as much wealth as possible for the valiant possessors of the valuable and satisfaction with the barest necessities of animal life for themselves as a reward for incessant labor.

Q.—What is religion?

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A.—Religion is an institution, by the means of which the unreasoning masses of humanity are hypnotized into cheerful submission to the ruling class.

Q.—Define the terms "right" and "wrong."

A.—Right and wrong are only the attributes of power and weakness—respectively. The strong are always right, the weak always wrong. Might is Right. Weakness is Wrong.

Q.—What do you understand under the term State?

A.—The State is an institution, by means of which one part of the common people compels the other part of the common people to submit to the will of the ruling class.

Q.—What is the difference between an unlimited monarchy and a republic?

A.—Under given economic conditions the difference is more imaginary than real. In a monarchy the people know that they are slaves and the ruling class does not pretend to represent the people. In a republic the unthinking masses imagine themselves to be free and the ruling class tries to keep up that illusion.

Q.—What is the object of science?

A.—To increase and perpetuate the power of the ruling class over the common people.

Q.—What is the object of Art?

A.—To enhance the enjoyment of life by the rich and powerful.

Q.—What is conscience?

A.—A prejudice characteristic of the civilization preceding the enlightened era of Capitalian civilization—a relic of barbarity.

Q.—Does the end justify the means?

A.—Most assuredly in case the end sought for is in the interests of the strong and cunning and against the interests of the weak and simple-minded.

Q.—What ought to be the normal relation between man and man?

A.—The same as between animals of the same species. The strong ought to associate with the strong and preach to the weak individualistic or anarchistic ideas according to the old and well tried maxim: "Divide and rule." (Divide et impera.)

Q.—What is the standard of human value?

A.—The bank account. He who possesses no bank account is of course below consideration. The value of those having bank accounts increases in direct geometrical ratio with the increase of the account. In other words, a man having a bank account of two million dollars has four times the value of one who possesses only one million.

Q.—Is there any difference between those who possess no value whatever?

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A.—Yes, those who are contented with their lot are harmless, while those who are dissatisfied are dangerous.

Q.—What is morality?

A.—The ruling class cannot be immoral as it can do no wrong. A man who has to earn a living may be either moral or immoral according to his conduct toward the ruling class. If a working man is industrious, temperate, obedient to his superiors, he must be considered as moral. However, if he is lazy, shiftless, intemperate and stubborn he may be termed immoral. The ruling class always determines the rules of conduct, the ethical standard for the lower classes.

Q.—What would you consider an ideal state of society?

A.—An ideal state of society would demand the existence of three distinct classes. The highest class would have no useful task to perform, no duties, no obligations toward society. This class would only enjoy life to its fullest capacity, would live like the gods of ancient Greece. The lowest class would be composed of individuals of unlimited capacity for work with no desire except of the most necessary functions of life. The highest ambition of the lowest class would consist in making the life of the highest class as easy and pleasant as possible.

Q.—Do you consider the realization of such an ideal of a working class possible?

A.—Yes, by means of careful sexual artificial selection and systematic training from childhood. This, as well as all social functions demanding high intellectual attainments, will be in the hands of a middle class of highly specialized brain-workers.

Q.—What is charity?

A.—Charity is a cheap substitute for justice and a very convenient institution for the ruling class. It furnishes the opportunity for keeping the lower classes in a proper state of dependence, humility and demoralization. Besides this it saves them the annoyance of professional beggary. Organized charity allows beggars to be treated like criminals, without appearing heartless. Charity helps the benevolent rich in winning the confidence of the worthy poor, by throwing them a few crumbs from the overladen table.

Q.—What is the distinction between the "worthy" and "unworthy" poor?

A.—The reserve army of unemployed is necessary in order to keep in check the employed workingmen. Charity helps to keep this reserve army on the brink of semi-starvation and in constant readiness to break a strike or destroy a trade-union. Those poor who are so far demoralized as to be entirely unreliable in case of such an emergency we class as "unworthy" of charitable support.

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Tramps, for instance, are "unworthy" poor. We cannot turn them into profit.

Most of my replies were declared satisfactory by the Committee of Eternal Vigilance. Before I was admitted into the interior of Capitalia I had to undergo another ordeal. I had to pass an examination by means of a mind-reading apparatus. It was a very ingenious and delicate instrument, recording automatically, in the shape of a curve, the vibration of the thought waves of the human brain. The appearance of the apparatus, with the helm adjusted to the human head and a net of electric wires, seemed to me formidable enough. What concerned me most was the apprehension that the real state of my mind would be revealed by the instrument and close for me forever the gates of Capitalia.

I was as nervous when the helm of the apparatus was adjusted to my head as if I were going to be electrocuted. In consequence of this nervousness my mind at that moment was a perfect blank and the instrument recorded a straight line, signifying something very near a zero of thought wave motion.

"This is the best record we had for years," explained the chief of the committee to me, benevolently.

Before I was admitted to Capitalia, I had to prove my respectability by depositing a sum of at least one million dollars in Capitalian coin with the treasurer of the committee. This did not trouble me much. It just happened that I had about two and a half million dollars in my pocketbook and made the deposition of the required sum. This unostentatious display of substantial respectability produced a magical effect on the members of the committee. Every one of them shook my hand cordially and invited me to dine.

I was supplied with a special guide and allowed to stay wherever I pleased and do whatever I might choose within the borders of Capitalia.

What I have seen, heard and learned there I shall reveal in my future correspondence. Yours respectfully,

I. LADOFF.

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History of German Trade Unionism.*

CHAPTER FIRST.—BEGINNINGS. (1848-1868.)

EVEN in the middle of the nineteenth century Germany was principally an agricultural nation. More than two-thirds of the population lived in the country; in Prussia at least three-fourths. Agricultural products formed the greater part of the exports.

In urban industry, the small business, the artisanship of the Middle Ages still existed, with its guild organization. Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg had established, it is true, a very limited industrial liberty, and Westphalia lived under the French law. Everywhere else the old regime, with its spirit, remained. In 1850 the locksmiths and carpenters of Frankfort were still quarreling over their respective privileges, just as in the fifteenth century.

The laborers within the workshops no longer had any hope of becoming masters. It was becoming more and more difficult for them to maintain even their standard of life as laborers. The associations of apprentices, that counterpoise which was every day more necessary to the ever more exclusive guilds, were forbidden and hunted out. (Resolution of the Diet Dec. 3, 1840.) All that remained were a few societies for assistance in sickness or traveling. The right of coalition did not exist (law of 1845 in Prussia and of 1847 in Hanover). Strikers were rebels. The laborers who lived with their masters and under their surveillance were driven out of the city by the police when the masters discharged them and were still struggling for the right "to have a key to the house." A very few of them were affiliated with the little communist groups of Weitling.

Such was Germany in 1840, "below the level of history," as Marx has said. All that could be said was that the establishment of the customs' union, the first railroads and the increasing population were quietly preparing its industrial destiny, and that

*The series of articles, of which this is the first, are a translation of *"Le Syndicalisme Allemand,"* by Albert Thomas, which is one of a series of booklets issued by the *Société Nouvelle de Librarie et d'Edition* of Paris. My particular reason for translating it is to be found in the fact that there is not as yet in the English language any work giving a brief yet comprehensive survey of the German trade union movement.

None of the German works which have come within my observation are as compact and satisfactory in their treatment as this work. It is of especial interest to American socialists at this time when the trade union movement is occupying so much attention. Very many of the same problems that are now occupying the minds of American socialists were discussed some years ago in Germany and settled satisfactorily, and their experience should throw great light on the analagous problems in this country. The whole book will appear in three installments, of which this is the first.—TRANSLATOR.

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a few great industries had begun what was felt to be a crushing competition with the artisans. Two regions alone were pushing forward into the future: Saxony and Silesia, upon the one side, with their exploitation of the workers in their homes, and the Westphalian-Rhine country on the other, where factories were beginning to appear. Here and there capitalism was rising and with it a proletariat—an unarmed, miserable proletariat, as is always the case in the period of the genesis of capitalism, and moved by hunger alone to wild fruitless uprisings. It was during one of these in June, 1844 that the weavers of Peterwaldan plundered the house of the Zwanzigers, their "executioners."

Suddenly the French revolution of 1848 broke out. We cannot here relate the political and national movement which followed in Germany, nor the vicissitudes of these revolutions. But the workers played their role in those days and their political activity tended to become transformed into a movement for social emancipation.

The congress of artisans, which met at Hamburg on the 2d of June, 1848, and which attempted to revive the guilds as the only remedy for capitalist competition, was opposed by a congress of laborers (*gesellen*). And if the latter were not able to completely divest themselves of the mediaeval guild thought, at least their idea of a guild comprising all the workshops and recognizing equal rights to all producers, however vague it might have been, was new.

The first important step in the history of trade unionism was the formation of the *League of Laborers,* by Stephan Born, a typesetter, educated in the Marxist group of Brussels. Born attempted in Berlin, after the days of March, to form an organization of the working class. He founded a political organization whose end was the capture of power in the State, but this organization had a trade union foundation. Unions were established in each locality for each industry; their delegates organized to represent local labor and the general assembly of delegates met to represent the working class before the authorities. This new organization was established throughout a large part of Germany, in Leipsic, Hamburg, Heidelberg and Nuremberg, with a total of 250 unions. Its political activity was remarkable. What principally interests us is that through its journal "The Brotherhood" *(Die Verbruederung)* and by direct assistance it supported numerous struggles for better wages. Some federated unions even resulted from these struggles, for instance, among the cigarmakers.

Finally, about the same time that the *Arbeiterbund* was formed (June, 1848) the printers founded a National association. To be sure, this included, according to tradition, both laborers and masters, the first enthusiastically, the latter under com-

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pulsion. But like the modern union it proposed to stop the hardships due to the substitution of the machine for the hand press, which had thrown out the workers, and it established definite rules for arbitration, the payment of wages and apprenticeship.

The brutal reaction of the years that followed 1850 easily swept all this away. It was impossible for labor organizations to become deeply rooted in the poor soil offered by the stage of industry then existing. What is worthy of note is that the idea and plan of total emancipation had arisen in the minds of some workers to await the economic moment when trade unions might be established and live. The workers of 1848 were conscious proletaires and it was this consciousness which forced them to unite in trade organizations, even before the great industry had made them feel the necessity of societies for defense. Here they differ profoundly from the English trade unions, and this feature stamps the whole German movement from its first appearance, whatever form it takes.

* * *

Years of political reaction followed.

The liberal ambitions of the bourgeoisie were destroyed and sidetracked. Economic activities absorbed all its energies. Capital came out of hiding; corporations, founded at first by the banks, multiplied. From 1846 to 1861 the importance of spinning doubled; the number of mechanical workshops in weaving quadrupled. An equal progress took place in the metallurgic industry. Railroads grew from 469 kilometers in 1840 to 11,088 in 1860, and this development continued with only a little less rapidity until 1870.

Under this impulse the old social forms began to burst. From 1860 to 1866 all the German States which still maintained the old guild organizations, one by one established freedom, and the industrial code of the North German Federation in 1869 confirmed this revolution. On the other hand, the law forbidding coalition was repealed and the right to strike recognized. It was in Saxony that this important event was first accomplished (law of 1861); then in Prussia in 1865, and in the North German Federation in 1867. Here the workers themselves had struggled to secure recognition of their right and had forced liberal deputies to give it to them.

It was in the midst of these revolutions that the growing proletariat became conscious of its needs. We shall soon have to notice its political activity, and it will subordinate to this action even its economic efforts. But here it is only worth while to note the existence of this effort during the years 1866 to 1868.

From 1865 strikes were very numerous. These were for the increase of wages, decrease of the hours of labor, and the suppression of the old guild fetters. In the spring of 1865 the

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strike of the typesetters of Leipsic attracted attention. During the same year wage struggles disturbed nearly all the trades of Hamburg. During 1866 and 1867 the political crisis, due to the Austro-Prussian war, temporarily retarded this movement. But the "International" again attracted public attention by taking a prominent part in the strike of the Parisian bronze workers, which had a triumphant end. In 1868 the movement, as a whole, revived.

These strikes rendered organization necessary, and the laborers drew together everywhere, especially in local unions. The monographs, which began to be written on union development in different trades and different cities, revealed little by little the intensity of this first movement. It was confused enough without doubt, since much of the old guild spirit often arose, but the features of modern unionism were slowly appearing. Even central unions were founded; that of the cigarmakers in 1865, of the printers in 1866, and the tailors in 1867. These scattered and ephemeral, but definite efforts at organization filled all that long early period in the history of German unionism, during which the English trade unions were being conceived and established. Because these facts have been overlooked it has been erroneously stated that the German unions were born one beautiful afternoon out of the political turmoil of 1868.

* * *

The birth of the great industry had forced the workers to found unions. These differed from the English unions of the eighteenth century in that they did not confine themselves to attempts to defend their wages against the effects of free competition. The more intelligent of the proletarians of that time, that is to say, those who founded the unions, had already come to understand through their educational societies, or the communist groups, not only the *evils* but also the fundamental *injustice* of the capitalist regime. They desired to *free themselves* and it was principally in political action that they sought to accomplish this end.

In 1868 the German workers, so far as the political field was concerned, were divided into two great groups; on the one side the old Lassallian party, the General Association of German Workers, founded in 1863 and at this time directed by Schweitzer: one the other hand, those workers belonging to the Progressiveist party, forming the Union of Laborers' Educational Societies. But dissensions began to appear here also. The turner, Bebel, was beginning to learn that the doctrines of Schulze Delitsch did not completely satisfy the aspirations of the workers.

From 1865 to 1869 frequent discussions upon commercial freedom and the right to coalition occupied public attention: struggles concerning wages and union development absorbed the two parties. At first it was the Lasallians who had founded a

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few of the first trade organizations. Fritsche, among others, had organized the cigarmakers. But up to 1867 the officials of the party held, in agreement with the Lassallian doctrines, that strikes were useless and that nothing availed save to awake here and there the class consciousness of the proletariat. Some successful struggles, however, and a strong labor movement in Berlin modified Schweizer's opinion at the beginning of 1868. He was then brought to think that strikes freed the workers from the guardianship of the police-state and of capital, and that they were the necessary prelude of a strong Socialist movement within the masses, and that for this reason they ought to be systematically carried on. Thus, at the beginning the idea arose within the ranks of the Socialists that union organizations ought only to sustain and reinforce the political organization.

The Liberals, in their turn, had at first taken a false road. Schulze and his friends thought that the trade character of the English trade unions was only a survival of the past, and that modern groups ought to include laborers of all trades. It was the trade movement of 1868 which deceived them also. Dr. Max Hirsch went to England to study trade union methods on the spot.

About August, 1868, things came to a crisis. In the first place there were the articles of Max Hirsch on trade unions in the *Volks Zeitung* of the 7th, 11th and 12th of August. Whether they hastened the decision of Schweitzer or not it is impossible to say. But it cannot be said that they formulated the union question for him.

On the 23d of August the Lassallian party held its general convention at Hamburg. Fritsche, after having explained the attitude of the party toward strikes, wished to instruct the president of the convention to call a general congress for the purpose of establishing unions. The assemblage opposed him. Fritsche and Schweitzer declared that they would call the congress on their own account as delegates. After a lively discusion the assemblage gave its consent. On the 1st of September they issued a call. They called attention to the right of coalition recently granted and the necessity of organization for effective strikes. They described the irresistible force of an organization that stopped work simultaneously throughout an entire industry. They called upon the workers of each trade to unite in the unions for battle.

The success of this manifesto was tremendous. Numerous meetings discussed the project and organizations were founded.

Simultaneously, on the 5th of September, the fifth congress of the Union of Workers' Educational Societies, under influence of Liebknecht and Bebel, broke with the Liberal party and adopted the programme of the *International* by a vote of 69 to 46. They

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rejected the proposition of the democrat Sonnemann to call upon the State to establish institutions for workingmen's insurance. They decided that the trade unions were alone able to establish these, and that the workers ought to organize centralized international unions.

Events were pressing upon the Liberals; the congress of Schweitzer was to meet again on September 26. Max Hirsch returned in haste from England. From the 21st to the 23d the Liberal party, supported mainly by the machinists of Berlin, attempted to arouse the working class against Schweitzer and place in opposition to his project "that of a healthy organization of laborers according to the English model," created by the laborers, not "handed down from above."

On the 26th the Congress met again under the presidency of Schweitzer. There were 206 delegates present, representing 142,008 laborers from 110 cities, besides some which were sent by unions already organized. These figures are sufficient to show the depth of the movement among the German masses. The appearance of Hirsch at the congress precipitated a violent tumult. A resolution of exclusion was voted against those who came "in the interest of the capitalists to sow war and disorder in the midst of the laborers." He was thrown out of the door. The plans of Schweitzer were then adopted. He had in advance divided the trades into 32 groups (*Arbeiterschaften*), industrial unions, as it were, of which ten were formed before the meeting dissolved. This was a grave defect. By the division thus formed he antagonized the spontaneous movement towards unionization in each trade. These great unions were to form a league of German unions planned by Schweitzer, trade unions having the three members.

On the 27th of September Hirsch, who was excluded from the congress, had rallied the Liberal workers of Berlin. A meeting held on the 28th and presided over by the printer Franz Duncker, a deputy, decided to establish the pure and simple English system, and placed in opposition to the class struggle, industrial unions lanned by Schweitzer, trade unions having the harmony of labor and capital and a prospective physical amelioration of the future of the workers as the foundation of their activity. Hirsch cleverly formed a commission of seventy members of Berlin industries, who were charged with working out a plan of organization. After the publication of this plan, on the 1st of November, 1868, a central commission took up an active propaganda throughout Germany for the founding of these unions. A knowledge of these details is indispensable for a clear understanding of that which is to follow. The German unions were not born of the political struggles of September, 1868. A vigorous effort at organization had existed for several years be-

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fore. It changed under the influence of political ideas, but it is necessary to understand the nature of these ideas and of these changes.

We have already noted the error in the idea which led Schweitzer to centralize each and all trades in a league of unions. There was plenty of laughter for the little groups of four and five Marxists who in a village of Saxony or Westphalia bravely called themselves an international union of weavers or of tailors, and everybody has repeated the liberal praise which Hirsch merited because of his sane ideas.

To be sure the Liberals cheerfully took up their struggle against fortune. When they commenced their union propaganda they had behind them only four or five hundred laborers in Berlin and Dantzig. The masses turned towards Schweitzer, Bebel and Liebknecht, towards those who advocated an organization of the entire proletariat. Thenceforth the character of the movement of 1868 showed its true nature. It was not the individual ideas of a few politicians which then misled the German workers. The proletarians, already preoccupied with the idea of total emancipation, instinctively attempted to create at the very beginning the vast single organization which they felt to be necessary.

The English trade unions, too, in spite of their strength, in spite of an experience which the German groups of 1868 had not had, have experienced a similar movement in their history when about 1830 the English workers awoke to political life. The movement of the *Grand National Consolidated Trade Union*, founded under the influence of Owen in January, 1834, makes intelligible the mistakes of September, 1868, in Germany.

At the close of this year the German unions, only just born or in process of birth, found themselves divided into three great rival groups, dominated by certain political prejudices.

CHAPTER II.

THE BARREN PERIOD.—1868-1878.

During the first of these years competition had its advantages. Outlines were complete; it now remained to fill it. The propagandists set themselves to work. The Central Commission, presided over by Hirsch, founded strong local unions in Berlin, Dantzig and Magdeburg, which it began to unite into industrial unions extending throughout Germany. By Pentecost in 1869 there were eight of these, composed of two hundred local groups. The congress which was then held at Berlin gathered these together in one Union (*Verband der deutschen Gewerkvereine.*) A central council composed of the representatives of the various unions was to control this central union. A Councillor (*Verbandsanwalt*) was to assist it. Hirsch, who at that time was

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elected to this position, still fills it. A journal (*Der Gewerkverein*) was issued. By the end of 1869 the union had 30,000 members. Their principles may be summarized as follows: Peace and the longest possible agreements with the employers; they and their councillor have maintained these up to the present day.

During the same time Schweitzer also made a great effort, and within one year his league of unions included more than 35,000 members. It also had a journal, *The New Social Democrat*, and had conducted a great struggle for better wages in the building industry of Berlin.

The Marxists also had not forgotten the resolutions of September, 1868, and the weavers followed the example of the printers, and in March, 1869, formed a union. The woodworkers, the metallurgists and the shoemakers held international congresses. At the Socialist Party Congress of Eisenach, August 7 and 9, 1869, York, a woodworker from Harbourg, submitted a complete plan of organization and declared that unions should be created by the working class and not imposed upon them by a dictator.

Swiftly and surely this movement diminished in strength. German industry had not reached the point where it could give rise to a strong union movement. As long as the workers were not yet gathered together in battalions in the great workshops the union spirit could develop only with great difficulty. At this time the small business and domestic production still dominated in Germany. In other and more direct ways circumstances were unfavorable. To be sure, the years 1869 and 1870 were filled with strikes, a few successful and many vigorously conducted. But, in these struggles the poorly equipped unions, without resources, could accomplish little. Even the Hirsch-Duncker unions, those "apostles of harmony," became involved in one of the worst of these class struggles, when 7,000 Silesian miners in Waldenbourg went out for eight weekes, only to be at last compelled to bend their necks anew beneath the yoke of a patriarchal tyranny. It was during this struggle that the employers locked up the fountains from which the strikers' families were accustomed to draw water.

It seemed at this time (during the latter part of 1869 and 1870) that the German laboring class, which a year previously had shown such a clear insight, now drew back discouraged. The Hirsch-Dunckers, decimated by defeat, devoted themselves almost exclusively to their benefit features. Nearly every one of the *Gewerkvereine* organized their sick benefit funds and a general disability fund was established by July 1, 1869.

In both wings of the Socialists there was confusion of ideas. In the beginning of January, 1870, Schweitzer, undoubtedly hoping to secure more financial aid in time of strike, and perhaps

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also for political reasons, proposed a dissolution of all the separate trade unions and the merging of their members into a "General Union of Assistance" of German laborers. A minority energetically opposed him. Many advised him to go slowly "in order not to rouse the old guild prejudices which the workers still retain." Thus the Lassallians repeated in their turn the old error of Schulze.

It is curious to note that the Congress of Stuttgart, held in June, 1870, showed that the same ideas existed in the ranks of the Marxists. Even there the question of using the *General Society for Laborers' Insurance* into a general fund for the sick was spoken of. To the honor of the party it must be told that York defended the trade organizations and gave a good exposition of their function. But his better understanding in this respect did not prevent him from falling into another error, that of recommending the establishment of protective associations.

The Franco-German war completed the collapse. The Hirsch-Duncker membership fell to 6,000 members, and on the 25th of May, 1871, the Union for Mutual Assistance of the Lasallians had only 4,257 left, though there had been more than 20,000 members the year before. The Eisenacher statistics, although lacking, would but have aggravated this showing. The passage of two years had left only this remnant as the result of the enthusiastic wave of organization of 1868.

* * *

In the very midst of this hopeless depression, the working class were caught by the sudden burst of capitalist prosperity of 1871 and 1872. Every one is familiar with the boom of capitalist industry which seized upon Germany when the torrent of millions was poured in by the French indemnity. From 1851 to July, 1870, 295 corporations, with a capital of $575,000,000, were formed. From July, 1870, to 1874, 857 were organized with a capital $826,000,000. During such a period of hitherto unequalled upward sweep in prices, and rents, strikes and unions were certain to increase. Nevertheless, German unions grew but slowly during 1871 and 1874.

Although during these "years of beginnings" and of great industrial activity the German unions were frequently compelled to take part in strikes, they seldom accomplished much. The 8,000 organized machinists of Chemnitz in November, 1871, the 3,000 metal workers in Nuremburg, the 16,000 miners in the valley of the Ruhr, and many others, injured themselves in bold attempts, which brought no other results than blacklists, counter organizations and legal persecutions.

Above all, this prosperity, which brought only oppression to the working class, was of too short duration to permit even of that organization which springs up in the midst of battle. Finally,

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in 1873 and 1874, a crisis put an end to this prosperous period. The country was plunged into misery. The low tariff permitted English iron and French metals to swamp the German market until blast furnaces were extinguished *en masse*. Even in 1890 Germany had scarcely recovered its industrial equilibrium, and acquired the elements for a steady healthful industrial development. Naturally the union movement could scarcely be expected to revive during such a time.

In the second place the unions suffered during these early stages from their precarious legal condition. Since some phases of this condition remain unchanged even at the present time they may be definitely stated now once for all.

Paragraph 152 of the industrial Code of 1869 declared abolished "all prohibitions and penal regulations against artisans, industrial laborers, apprentices or factory workers concerning meetings and unions, having as their object the attainment of better conditions of wages and work and especially in relation to the means of suspending labor." And the same paragraph declared that any member of an organization had the right to withdraw whenever he wished. The enumeration contained in the first paragraph could be extended to other wageworkers only when endorsed by special legislation. For domestic workers, for example, shipbuilders and agricultural workers (Prussian law of 1854), this right is not yet recognized.

But there were still many restrictions. Paragraph 153 punished with a maximum of three months' imprisonment the use of corporal restraint, threats, outrages or boycotting, to force any one or seeking to force any one into the unions designated by paragraph 151, or to prevent them from withdrawing from such unions.

Given a complaisant police and judges (and they were not lacking in these matters), and the celebrated saying of Brentano is justified, where he summed up the German law concerning trade unions as follows: "Art. 1. The right of coalition is recognized in Germany. Art. 2. The exercise of this right is a crime."

The right of trade organization, the indispensable corollary of any such law, is even yet not assured to the German worker. There is nowhere in Germany a law comparable to the French law of 1884. The unions are subject to the general legislation on associations. Now, since this legislation is nowhere defined in an imperial law, they are subject to the special laws of association of each state and most of these laws date from the reactionary period of 1850.

In just what condition a union finds itself in regard to these laws may be shown by the example of Prussia. In Prussia the unions have been considered, according to the circumstances, as: first, societies concerned with public affairs; second, political so-

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cieties; third, insurance companies. The following are the specifications of the laws of 1850 to 1853 in each of these three cases: In the first case the rules and list of members must be deposited with the police, and the police, whenever occasion demanded, gave these to the employers. In the second case (that of political societies) two very onerous conditions are put upon the union movement which have only been removed in very late years (1899-1900); they are forbidden to admit women to their membership or to unite with other societies. But what constitutes a political society? The courts have never agreed on this point. The police, armed with their contradictory decisions, have solved the question very simply. A suspected union is a political society.

In the third case of an insurance society (and a sick benefit fund is enough to classify a union as such) it is necessary to obtain the authorization of the government.

In all three cases it is the police or the administration which decides upon the rights of the laborers to associate. Careful consideration then becomes very necessary.

Now the acts of the workers who have organized proves that they did not consider matters carefully. Aside from the Hirsch-Dunckers the unions have generally fallen victims to the chicanery of the police as soon as they were born. Motteler showed the unions of Saxony in 1872 how with a little cleverness it was possible to bring them under some of the paragraphs of the law. The proceedings in Prussia were much the same. When in 1874, in the Tessendorf era, the Prussian government began to drive out the socialists, many of the unions, especially the Lassallians, were dissolved. It was then that Hasenclever, the successor of Schweitzer, decided to suppress the mutual benefit association, which was making little progress.

Finally, as if all the difficulties must accumulate during these bad years, political discussion divided the economic organizations. He must be well informed, indeed, who would state exactly the different attitudes of the Lasallians and the Marxists towards the union movement. Both sides were very vague and very changeable. Formulas abounded, which it is necessary to carefully examine if they are to be understood. At one time the Lasallians had a very famous one. The unions, they said, are an evil, but an evil which it is necessary to encourage, lest they be taken advantage of by the progressivists or the Eisenachers. This much is certain, that both, even when they recognized the existence of the organizations, attempted to utilize for their own propaganda the union aspirations which steadily persisted in manifesting themselves. Even up to 1875 this was still a great cause of disorder.

Under the influences of these difficulties and deceptions a new tendency appeared of considerable importance. The German

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workers sought for immediate advantages in their organizations. The great national federations had done nothing; the vague union of Schweitzer had collapsed; the strong local unions of the great cities were sending away money and making sacrifices that appeared to them profitless.

They concluded it would be better to carefully watch their pennies even of the three hundred dues payers with a well guarded treasury than of ten thousand scattered throughout Germany with no possible control. There was a further advantage that the law of association no longer applied. Having no definite external connections, it was possible when occasion demanded to vigorously engage in political activity. The localists preached isolation with success and the organizations were split and the union spirit shriveled up.

* * *

In the midst of this disorder there were some far-sighted individuals. In both the Lasallian and Marxist parties there were men who dreamed of an organization, independent of political parties, but devoted to the struggle for the amelioration of the lot of the workers; of an organization by trades but with a central control capable of simultaneously co-ordinating its efforts; of an organization prepared to strike, but furnishing the other services of insurance and employment agencies, and thus offering immediate advantages. There were many phrases which sound familiar today. In 1873 the president of the printers union said: "Officially we belong to no party, but at heart we belong to the Socialist party." During the same year the articles of Carl Hillman, a typesetter, in the *Volkstaat*, pointed out the necessity of separating the two movements, and showed the exact role thenceforth reserved to the unions. Finally, and most important of all, the woodworker York, who had become the secretary of the Eisenach party, true forerunner of the modern movement, actually set about creating a purely economic organization centralized like the political party, but independent of it.

He attained but very small results. At the two congresses which he called, at Urfurt in 1872 and Magdebourg in 1874, the fear of a dictator and the already powerful localist tendency forced him to alter his centralizing plans. At his premature death in January, 1875, he had been able to organize only a nominal union and that powerless and useless.

Slowly, however, from 1875 to 1878, it became evident that the movement had gained an assured place and was beginning to grow. Even if the ideas of York had not always been exactly understood or adequately appreciated, many of the laborers at least felt with him the necessity of the union. They had responded to the number of 11,358 to his appeal at Urfurt. Then came the union of the two Socialist parties at Gotha in 1875, brought

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about by the attack upon them and the trials which they both had undergone. A conference was held after the congress at which the delegates from the unions of both factions also decided to unite by trades. This union was accomplished in many places and even where it was not accomplished the discussions led, nevertheless, to mutual acquaintance, esteem and aid. But many continued to wish something still more, and from 1875 to 1878 the question of the central organization occupied attention. At the second convention of Gotha in 1878 a complete plan was elaborated for submission to the congress. On the other hand, following the example of the Hirsch-Dunckers, more attention was paid to the work of establishing strong benefit features appropriate to each group. This method met with success. It was almost wholly due to the sick and disabled benefit funds that the Hirsch-Duncker membership increased from 6,000 in 1870 to 19,000 in 1872 and 22,000 in 1874. The Socialist unions also set to work, and in spite of the difficulties of a crisis period and in spite of police annoyances, they founded their benefit funds.

From this point of view the law of April, 1876, was an important event. It stands as a point of departure for modern workingmen's insurance in Germany. This legislation was of importance to the unions whose benefit features attracted and held their membership. It is certain, for example, that a large part of the strength of the English trade unions is due to their benefit features. According to the industrial code of 1869 the local authorities could compel the laborers to joint a benefit association; but if they belonged to a free legal association (that is, one approved by the state), they were excused from belonging to a compulsory association. Did this apply to the benefit associations of the free union? On this point the courts and administrative authorities disagreed. This question was of paramount importance to the unions, especially to the Hirsch-Dunckers. The law of April 8, 1876, accorded to their benefit funds the right of acquiring as "registered funds" judicial personality, but it required in this case that the administration of the funds be separated from that of the union. This regulation might have injured the latter by destroying their unity of action; as a matter of fact, the administrations were generally the same in both organizations, and their development met few obstacles except in industrial conditions.

A few statistics will give a sufficiently exact idea of the extent of the movement during 1877 and 1878. The Hirsch-Duncker unions, with 49,055 members, twenty-five central unions, and five local unions had increased from 357 in 1874 to 365. On the other side, the work by Geib, of Hamburg, enumerates thirty socialist unions, with 49,055 members, twenty-five central unions ,and five local societies. Including the hatters, who had not responded, he would have counted twenty-six unions with 50,000 members;

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eighteen of these unions, with 22,145 members, paid monthly dues of 10 cents a member, and eight others, including two-fifths of the united organizations paid at least 15 cents. The principal expenses were assistance in case of strikes, traveling expenses (in seventeen unions) and death benefits. Then, in the second place, came the expenses for unemployment, sickness, disability and the expenditures for the press, amounting to sixteen journals. The most powerful unions were those of the printers and carpenters, who included between them more than half of all the members; then came the tobacco workers, the oldest union, and finally the mass of young unions, all dating from the fusion of 1875 and 1876. The figures gathered by Geib showed an excess of receipts of $1,600 a month, of which the largest sum, $740, came from the printers.

Sixteen benefit funds had been founded and the statistician declared that with skill and perseverance these funds were destined to become "the supporting columns of the union movement." The difficulties were undoubtedly great. During the bad condition of industry it was impossible to raise the dues and the lowering of traveling expenses could not be considered.

These were small results. Counting the Hirsch-Dunckers along with the others, after nine years of effort upon 3,000,000 German workers only 75,000 were organized, or about 2½ per cent. But when the vicissitudes of industry, the legal difficulties and trickery of the police, internal dissension and mistakes are recalled, the German laborers could look upon their work with hope.

Then it was that a great tempest swept over them.

ALBERT THOMAS.

Translated by A. M. SIMONS.

(To be continued.)

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EDITORIAL

Circus Politics.

Brag and bluster are often said to be peculiarly American characteristics. A little closer investigation shows them really to be capitalistic traits; and since capitalism is more highly developed here than anywhere else in the world these features are most strikingly manifested here.

Capitalism produces goods to *sell*. The selling, and not the making or the using being the main object, advertising becomes more important than craftsmanship, or knowledge of human needs. The consequence is that very little attention is paid to the character of the goods to be delivered and very much to the manner of getting rid of them. Sometimes, indeed, confidence men of different kinds, from gold brick and green goods dealers to trust promoters, push this idea to its logical conclusion, and sell nothing but the advertising.

Unfortunately, this same tendency seems to have invaded the socialist movement. The idea is abroad that if you only shout loud enough and use plenty of printer's ink and smooth phrases, you are preaching socialism. Consequently, we have the phenomena of schools, correspondence and otherwise, for the special purpose of developing socialist agitators "while you wait." No idea of fundamentals is necessary, no deep study into social relations and laws of social development, no thorough examination of the industrial facts around us is required. Just commit to memory a parcel of phrases to use in case of "questions from the audience," then rehearse "the speech of 1904" and you are ready to go out and advertise your goods.

These half-taught students of poorly informed teachers have naturally no genuine goods to sell. But they have learned the great American lesson of advertising. And from soap-box and van and halls their little piece is repeated. Then borrowing a leaf from that incarnation of the same methods in the realm of religion, the Salvation Army, they see to it that the ox is not muzzled, although he has been treading nothing but chaff. The meeting is followed by a system of begging which reminds one of the "five cents more to make a dollar" cry that accompanies the street corner methods of the aforesaid religious propagandists. The whole thing is naturally disgusting to any intelligent workingman who simply sees "another set of grafters" turned loose upon him, whom he is unable to distinguish from many others who have preyed upon him in the past. If

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these blind leaders of the blind do not fall together into the ditch of confusion, it will simply be because they are already wallowing there.

To a considerable degree the same tendency has invaded our literature and we have examples of papers where nearly all the energy and brains connected with the publication are expended in "hustling for subs" and working up an "army" while the contents of the paper are left to hustle for themselves, until they degenerate into meaningless platitudes and ridiculously exaggerated and ill-digested "statistics." It is the old story of the steamboat whistle so large it took all the steam away from the engine to blow it. Perhaps the big whistle may be necessary to attract attention amid the commercial uproar of capitalism. But if so let us add to the boiler capacity by better training of our editors, writers and speakers, and to push the figure a little further, this cannot be done by turning the whole affair into a "hot air" plant and making even the education itself a sham.

It is unfortunate that in a way socialism lends itself to this sort of work. Like the doctrine of evolution, or indeed any other great philosophical interpretation of facts, a few phrases are certain to be seized upon by those who are too lazy to make the effort necessary to grasp fundamentals. These phrases torn from their context and separated from the facts on which they are based, are misapplied and misunderstood until the result is one of those pseudo-sciences which always spring up alongside of every true science. With no subject is thorough study more necessary than with socialism. The facts with which it deals are so complex, the problems which it solves so interrelated, the literature of the subject so extensive and the forces which it must meet so powerful, that no one who attempts to teach it should neglect to avail himself of all possible opportunities to gain a thorough understanding of the subject. In the field of social phenomena personal observation, on which so much stress is often laid by the half-baked philosopher, is much worse than useless. The number of facts which come within the field of observation of any one individual are so small in proportion to the great mass of which they are but a part, that any general conclusions based on those facts stand almost exactly the chance of infinity to one of being erroneous.

At the same time, we would be the very last to claim that a literary education alone, especially if obtained in one of the great capitalist universities, is in itself sufficient to prepare a man to speak with authority on socialism. No one can have a greater contempt for the college diploma than we have, for we have seen how frequently it is but a certificate of misinformation and a testimonial that the owner was so thoroughly impregnated with capitalist psychology as to be absolutely incapable of ever understanding any philosophy not based on that psychology. All too frequently, we have seen men of whom we have had the greatest hopes that they might become active workers in the cause of the proletariat, become absolutely confused by university instruction. The experience of the Socialist Party all over the world with "intellectuals" but confirms this point of view. What is demanded is not "intellectual" leaders of the proletariat, but educated *proletarian* teachers, workers and speakers. Here again we do not wish to be understood as going to the other extreme and

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condemning at wholesale the capitalistically educated intellectual. Of this, however, enough has been said elsewhere, so that a mere note of the exception will suffice. Neither do we wish to be understood in any way as condemning the "soap-box orator." We have filled that position too often ourselves and expect to do so too frequently in the future to deny it an important share in the work of socialist propaganda. So long as the socialist movement is a proletarian movement, and it never can be anything else, because when it loses its proletarian character, it ceases to be socialist, just so long we must use the open air for halls and call upon our audiences to help pay for the propaganda which we are making in their interest.

What is demanded is that those who fill these places should add to the instinctive revolt which membership in the working class has aroused in them, an intelligent consciousness of the reasons for that revolt which are furnished by the literature of socialism. This is asking no more than is possible to any man who can read the English language and is not too lazy to use his brains. He cannot do it in a minute, however, nor in three months, and especially if, during those three months, he ignores the fundamental classics and contents himself with popularizations of those writers, which may be all right as an introduction to socialism, but are wholly incapable of training any one as a speaker or interpreter of socialist thought.

Let us by all means retain the "soap-box" as a forum for socialist agitation, and give it even greater value in the future than it has had in the past by seeing to it that it does not become an auction block, from which fakirs can hawk socialistic "green goods."

One of the worst features of this whole matter is that the socialist movement as a whole, and the Socialist Party in particular, must bear the responsibility for those who often only serve to make the philosophy of socialism ridiculous. The problem of the "free lance speaker" seems to be peculiar to the United States. In no other country in the world, so far as we know, is there any considerable body of men who demand the right to speak in the name of and for the Socialist Party, but over whom that party has no control. Such a condition is abnormal and must not continue. Some arrangement must be found at the next National Convention, if not sooner, by which the speakers for socialism, at least so far as they speak for party organizations, shall be directly under the control of State and National organizations. The situation which has recently been presented in some states of men going into a State in the name of socialism and the Socialist Party to assist forces which are disrupting that party, cannot continue. Any talk about freedom of speech is pure claptrap. The majority of the party must decide through their regularly organized channels who shall represent them in presenting their doctrines to the public, at least so far as they are presented under the auspices of party organizations. The withdrawal of such endorsement from any person, does not in any way prevent him from talking whatever he pleases. It does not even prevent him from labeling his talk socialism, but it does free the Socialist Party from responsbility for him and his actions.

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Two things then are necessary if we are to rid the movement of "circus politics" in the field of speaking: First, demand that before a man goes out as a representative of the Socialist Party he shall have taken the pains to familiarize himself with the classics of socialism, so that he shall, at least, not be ignorant. In the second place, for all locals to refuse to accept as a speaker any one not authorized by the State organization. This latter will, of course, include keeping watch of the State organization to see that it does not abuse this power. It will also include, as a corollary, the education of the membership in each State up to the point where they can distinguish between genuine and spurious socialism, for the responsibility for agitation will then be placed where it belongs in a socialist organization—with the rank and file of the membership.

A Correction.

To the Editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Through an unfortunate typographical error I am made to say in the article entitled, "Ascending Stage of Socialism," which appeared in the September number of the REVIEW, that "Anarchist Communism is * * * the best and highest stage of political and economic progress." A writer in the December number of the REVIEW rather indignantly takes me to task for this and demands to know how I can, as a socialist, make such a statement. Under the circumstances I trust that you will grant me the space to explain that for the word "best" my MS. read "last." Thus, "Anarchist Communism is the last and highest stage of political and economic progress."

Fraternally,

RAPHAEL BUCK.

Our Next Issue.

The February number will contain an article by Jean Longuet, on "The Idealism of Marxism," that is bound to attract interest throughout the whole international socialist movement. Andrew M. Anderson, whose recent withdrawal from the Labor Party of Australia and announcement of his determination to uphold the class struggle position is stirring the political circles of that country, contributes an article on "The Backwardness of Socialism in Australia," which contains more condensed information on conditions in that country than anything hitherto published. The second installment of "The History of German Trade Unionism" will cover the period of the "laws of exception," a period always of intense interest. The articles by Hitch on "Recent Developments in Corporation Law" and Edgar on the Negro Problem, crowded out of this issue, will also appear. These are but a few of the things already assured that will make this number of exceptional interest and value.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Just what has been gained by the A. F. of L. officials in withdrawing the charter from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is difficult to explain. The society is a truly international organization, having local unions in America, Europe, Australia and South Africa. It has about 100,000 members and close to $2,000,000 in the treasury. The Federation officials claim the A. S. of E., which includes machinists, blacksmiths, patternmakers and kindred craftsmen, is an industrial and dual organization, and that it comes in conflict with the national unions of machinists, patternmakers and blacksmiths. But probably if the truth is known there were other reasons why the A. S. of E. was expelled. When General Secretary George Barnes, whose headquarters are in London, visited this country about a year ago he had an interview with President Gompers relative to the withdrawal of the charter. According to Mr. Barnes' statement before the Brooklyn branch of the society shortly after, Mr. Gompers did not appear to fear much trouble on the score of probable jurisdiction clashes between the unions, but objected to the "socialistic tendencies" in the A. S. of E. and to the "rasping tongue" of its American organizer, Mr. Isaac Cowen. During the past year Mr. Barnes' statement has been passed along the line in the A. S. of E., with the result that considerable feeling has been aroused and renewed efforts have been put forth to increase the membership. Despite the fact that the dues in the society are about as heavy in one week as are paid into other unions in a month, owing to the elaborate beneficial system that obtains, the gain in new members in the United States has been nearly fifty per cent, which is considered a fine showing for a high-dues organization, and one, especially, that loses few of its members during industrial depressions when low-dues unions become more or less demoralized. Now comes the sequel. By a referendum vote of fully five to one the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has decided to join the American Labor Union this month, and its officers frankly admit that they will advance the interests of the western federation wherever possible in the east. They confidently assert that there are several national unions connected with the A. F. of L. that may secede and join the A. L. U. in the very near future. One of those is the United Metal Workers' Union, which is being plucked to pieces by half a dozen other nationals, and whose charter is to be revoked by the A. F. of L. The United Brewery Workers declare they will not be dismembered by yielding jurisdiction over engineers and firemen in brewery plants, and it is believed if their charter is withdrawn next month they will join the A. L. U. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters are also declaring with emphasis that they will not surrender jurisdiction over mill workers to the Amalgamated Woodworkers, and influential members freely predict that if A. F. of L. officials force the issue, into the A. L. U. they will go. Then there are the Carriageworkers, who are called upon to give up the painters in their union, and if they obey the command they will lose a large part of their membership. Later on, officers declare, the woodworkers,

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blacksmiths and other crafts would demand some of their members, and so the organization would be killed. Officers of the bakers say they will not yield jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers to the teamsters, in accordance with the wishes of the "autonomists" in control of the A. F. of L., and there are several other national unions that would probably cut loose if extreme methods are resorted to to force them to yield jurisdiction over members they now claim. In this connection it is worth noting that while the "autonomists" seemed to have control of the Boston convention, and the carpenters, brewers, carriageworkers, bakers and several other organizations were given their orders, President Mitchell announced, upon the floor, that under no circumstances would the miners yield jurisdiction over engineers, firemen, teamsters, or any other workers in or about the mines. It is probably unnecessary to add that Mr. Gompers and his followers did not attempt to force the miners to live up to the same conditions as the "socialistic" brewers. Perhaps the "autonomists" have decided that it is a good scheme to first break the backs of some of the smaller organizations before ripping the miners to pieces. There is no use denying it, a crisis is rapidly approaching, and the very people who have been loudest in denouncing the formation of the American Labor Union are doing the most to strengthen that organization. History teaches one long, monotonous lesson that where a reign of tyranny begins there is no limit to its scope, and it looks as though industrialism, which "spells socialism," is to be wiped out—that socialists, who "think" they are trade unionists, are to be told in so many words that they are not wanted in the A. F. of L. And no doubt our famous leader (?) will also soon begin to tell us who the "disruptionists" are!

In writing to a friend in the West, President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., in speaking of the debate on socialism in the Boston convention, says that "the emphatic disavowal and repudiation of any connection with them" (the socialists) has not only encouraged the workers everywhere, but such action has also "largely disarmed our opponents and clarified the air of the prejudice of public opinion which was leveled against us last year, and it will undoubtedly take away much of the sting of antagonism directed against our movement by Mr. Parry and those who follow him." It should be stated that in the Boston debate the anti-socialists played hard upon the alleged fact that the close vote upon socialism in the New Orleans convention, a year ago, had aroused unnecessary antagonism of capitalists and had increased the difficulties of officials to secure agreements for higher wages, shorter hours and other concessions. But no sooner was socialism repudiated when our fellow workers everywhere are encouraged, the capitalists are largely disarmed and even Parry's sting of antagonism is withdrawn. If the spirits of our fellow workers were drooping because their leaders in the convention of 1902 voted in favor of socialistic resolutions the reports of their national officers to the A. F. of L. did not indicate that much, for Mr. Gompers pointed with pride, in his annual address, to the great increase in membership and the concessions that were won in the reductions of hours of labor and increases of wages. In fact, the year that elapsed between the New Orleans and Boston conventions was the most prosperous in the history of American trades unionism, despite "the prejudice of public opinion" and capitalism's "sting of antagonism." But no sooner are the socialists, who "think" they are trade unionists, "repudiated," our fellow workers "encouraged," and our opponents "largely disarmed," when our dear capitalistic brethren prove to their apologists and defenders in the trade union movement that their disarmament is much like that of Russia's, after an international peace pow-wow. All the plutocratic newspapers, of course, are greatly pleased at the "smashing of socialism" in the Boston convention and many are the encomiums of praise that are heaped upon Brother Gompers—compliments that cost nothing and that may be compared to the fleeting zephyrs of an Indian sum-

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mer which precede a chilling frost or a howling blizzard. Even while our socialist-smashing president is penning his lines of exultation, Parry unsheaths his trusty "stinger" and jars our nerves with this statement: "The A. F. of L. voted down the socialism that aims for peace through means of the ballot, but it did not vote down the socialism that President Gompers stands for—mob force socialism. It is this mob force socialism that we have to combat as much as the other." Nor are the great captains of industry reassured. In fact, having been served with notice that the socialists and their political policies (except the old begging business) were repudiated, that they had nothing to fear from an organized attack upon their privileges and exploitation at the ballot box, and that the workers would remain docile and submissive and continue to support the parties of Mark Hanna and Grover Cleveland, the other leaders of the Civic Federation, when the aforesaid captains are seized with a veritable craze to hammer down wages, conduct "open shops," force strikes and lay off thousands of men. Hardly was the Boston convention adjourned when it is definitely decided that more than a hundred thousand textile workers, North and South, must accept a 10 per cent cut in wages and many are laid off; 150,000 iron and steel workers are compelled to accept reductions of wages ranging from 5 to 50 per cent; the Parry people meet and outline plans to attack labor, politically and industrially; the building contractors of the leading cities meet in Chicago, form a national organization and declare their intention of enforcing the "open shop;" the bituminous coal operators hold a secret conference in Cleveland and agree to demand that 200,000 miners accept a 20 per cent reduction; prominent vessel owners announce that over 100,000 marine workers must accept lower wages the coming season; the war of extermination is pushed against the bridge and structural iron workers, tailors and type founders; thousands of railway workers have their wages reduced, and other thousands are laid off indefinitely; rumors come of an attack upon the machinists all along the line; local strikes and lockouts are bitterly contested in all of the principal industrial centers, and there seems to be a regular mania growing to lay off myriads of workers everywhere. Doubtless President Gompers and his followers will now accuse the socialists of being pleased with this condition of affairs, but that position is absolutely untenable and false, for the reason that socialists are, unfortunately, compelled to suffer as much and, in some cases more, than the great mass of working people. The socialists are not responsible for the industrial depression, the reduction of wages, the disemployment of men and women, and the increase of labor's burdens, but the capitalists are, and their defenders and apologists in the trade union movement, and there were some in the Boston convention who are not entirely blameless, either. The intelligent thinking trade unionists of this country will compare the conditions that "encouraged" them after the New Orleans and Boston conventions and place the responsibility where it belongs. There will be plenty of time in which to think during the next ten months.

Several months ago the International Association of Machinists, composed of men who are rapidly gaining a clear understanding of social conditions, sent out for a referendum vote of their membership on three questions. First proposition was whether the membership indorsed industrials as opposed to autonomous organization. Second, whether they favored the A. F. of L. indorsing socialism, and lastly, whether it was desirable that the present incumbent, Mr. Gompers, should remain president of the A. F. of L. The returns have been published in the Machinists' Monthly Journal for December, and this is how they read: For industrial organization, 4,544 votes; against, 1,650; majority in favor, 2,895. That the A. F. of L. shall indorse socialism: For, 4,403; against, 1,963; majority, 2,440. Whether Gompers shall retain office: For, 2,705; against, 3,603; majority against, 898. These returns came in before November 9, the day

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the A. F. of L. Boston convention met, and now some of the locals want to know why their delegates paid no attention to the instructions they received through the referendum. At their last national convention the machinists adopted a socialistic declaration, and their officers pleaded that the matter of instructing them be sent to referendum. Not only did they vote against socialism, but one of their number renominated Gompers. They likewise voted against industrialism, and yet they are now trying to absorb the allied metal mechanics. There will be some warm times in the I. A. of M. in the near future.

The "sting of antagonism" in the capitalist class doesn't seem to be withdrawn in the least, in spite of the assurances of organized labor's greatest leader, Samuel Gompers. The Citizens' Industrial Association of America, of which the irrepressible Parry is the head, continues to grow in size and influence. At present upward of two hundred local, state and national associations are affiliated with this capitalistic federation, and the country is being thoroughly organized, according to their newspapers and riding delegates. The shibboleth of the association seems to be, "Down with organized labor in any form and long live scabism!" The C. I. A. bosses have given notice that they intend to not only attack trade unions and wipe out boycotts, the sympathy strike, etc., but they intend to enter politics and kill the union label laws, eight-hour bills and any other measures that may have benefited the trade unions. They are also encouraging assaults upon union treasuries through the courts. At the present writing damage suits, aggregating nearly a million dollars, have been filed against organized labor in the various states, and every decision so far has favored the capitalistic conspirators. Up to the present no hint has come from labor's chosen leaders as to how the attacks are to be met. Quite likely, after the horse is stolen, there will be a loud outcry to lock the barn door, but the robber will be allowed to wander at large. The socialists have their own views relating to these burning questions, but just at present the socialists and their "speculations" are highly unpopular among labor's great officials, and the latter cannot complain of not having full swing to put their plans in operation, if they have any. Let us hope that the salaries of none of our very conservative leaders will be endangered by garnishees or withheld if treasuries are confiscated by the capitalists and their courts.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Belgium.

In a recent article in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* on "The Present Situation of the *Parti Ouvrier Belge*," Emile Vandervelde points out that the reaction which followed the unsatisfactory result of the general strike in April, 1902, has now passed away and that the Socialists have resumed their previous rate of increase. Already the movement for universal suffrage is, on the whole, under way and this time is moving with even greater momentum than before. The co-operatives are growing at a more rapid rate than at any time in their previous history, and to quote directly from the above article: "For the first time the Belgian Socialist co-operators in place of attacking the small capitalists are able to attack the great industry."

"The daily circulation of Socialist papers is now in excess of 100,000 for a total population of 6,000,000. Since the beginning of 1903 the Co-operative *Germinal* located in Brussels is centralizing all leaflet propaganda. It prints publications in Socialist printing houses, established in various localities of the country, and particularly in the central printing house, which constitutes one of the most successful of the recent Socialist activities in Ghent. Nearly every fortnight a new pamphlet is issued with a circulation varying from 10,000 to 100,000, and its distribution is assured through the secretaries of the district federations and the newspapers of the party. * * *

"There is no locality of any importance without its *Maison du Peuple*, Everywhere we see arising groups of students, popular universities, laborers' libraries, and when the day of universal suffrage shall come it will find a class-conscious, organized, clear-cut Socialist proletariat ready to take full possession of the political powers and knowing how to use them for its own advantage when it shall have gained that victory for which it has fought so hard and waited so long."

The capitalist press of America have been rejoicing over an alleged Socialist reverse in the Belgian municipal elections held October 18, and those puppy dogs of the Socialist press which have recently appeared in charge of renegade Socialists in Massachusetts have been yelping in concert at their master's bidding.

When the facts are examined, however, it is discovered that this, like most Socialist reverses, is of such a character that a few more would abolish the capitalist rulers of Belgium. Quoting from Jules Destree in *Le Mouvement Socialiste:* "It is necessary first to explain the outlandish complication of our Communal electoral regulations which are wholly different from those prevailing in legislative elections. An elector must be 30 years of age, a long residence is demanded, and three and even four votes are given to certain classes of electors. Proportional representation is utilized but only in case no party has obtained an absolute majority. There are secondary counselors in the great industrial centers, some of whom are chosen by the employers, and some by the workers. Finally the

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elections are conducted on the basis of electoral lists prepared a long time in advance and whose fairness is not always absolute. Then every attempt is made to push local issues to the front and make the elections apparently non-partisan."

Victor Ernest, in the same publication, has an article on "Statistics and Results," in which he says:

"When we come to closely examine the results, it is apparent that the Socialist Party has increased to a considerable degree its already numerous body of municipal officials and its electoral power. It has penetrated into a large number of new municipal councils, and especially in the agricultural regions. It becomes apparent that in the Flemish agricultural regions where hitherto the working class have reigned supreme, they have today received a check and Socialists have been elected. It is a curious thing that we have received our only important setbacks in industrial regions.

"It appears that the reason for this is to be found principally in the interference of the employers. Seldom has intimidation been so open. In some communes the officers of the factories have been deserted during the week preceding the election. The clerks and the small bosses have been turned into electioneering agents. Threats of discharge have been made to socialist workers, or those who are suspected of being such. It is not difficult to find the reason for this interference. Socialist administrators instead of increasing the taxes paid by the great body of consumers have substituted industrial taxes, or have increased those already existing. This is an important move for the factories, coal mines, etc. In one year, for example, in the single district of Charleroi, the annual product of industrial taxes has reached 225,000 francs, or double its previous amounts.

"The elections of the 18th of October have constituted a striking manifestation of the strength of our party. It took part in the electoral struggle and presented candidates in more than 800 municipalities. In 1895 it took part in only 507 municipal elections."

Summing up the results of the elections, it is seen that whereas four years ago the party found itself with 480 members in not less than 200 different councils, this year there are 1,247 socialist councilmen elected in 368 different city councils.

Servia.

The Socialist Party in Servia took part in the elections for the first time a few months ago and received 2,548 votes. Since the party was only organized for a few weeks this is considered a very satisfactory result. The larger part of the vote was obtained in the city of Belgrade. Only a very limited suffrage prevails; at least 150,000 citizens being disfranchised by their inability to pay the poll tax which is required for suffrage. One Socialist was elected to parliament. An active struggle is being carried on for complete universal suffrage.

Sweden.

The following item is taken from Miss Agnes Wakefield's bulletin to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party:

In Eskilstuna, Sweden, October 15, in spite of the unjust system of municipal suffrage which gives a rich citizen 100 votes or less, the Socialist candidate, Comrade C. A. Flodin, organizer of the Iron and Metal Workers' Federation, was elected city councilman. He received 8,218 votes from 906 persons, the opposing candidate who came nearest to him had 4,602 votes from 104 persons, and a third candidate got 2,892 votes from 52 persons.

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The Socialist press of Sweden gains constantly in circulation. "*Social-Demokraten,*" which is published in Stockholm, now has 15,000 subscribers; "*Arbetet,*" in Malmö, 12,000, and "*Ny Tid,*" in Göteborg, 6,000; there three papers are daily. The following five papers are issued three times a week: "*Smallands Folkblad*" in Joenkoeping, with 4,000 subscribers; "*Aurora,*" in Ystad, with 4,000; "*Arbetarebladet,*" in Gefle, with 3,500; "*Oerebrokuriren,*" with 3,000, and "*Landskrona Kuriren,*" with 1,800 subscribers. The following three papers are issued twice a week: "*Nya Samhället,*" in Sundsvall, with 3,000 subscribers; "*Lysekil Kuriren,*" with 2,500, and "*Arbetaren,*" in Motala, with 2,000 subscribers. A weekly paper, "*Folkbladet,*" with a circulation of 5,400 copies is published in Stockholm. The 12 Socialist papers already named have 62,000 subscribers in all. Besides these, the young Socialist organizations publish two periodicals, "*Grand*" and "*Fram,*" each having a circulation of 3,000 copies. The Christmas issue of the Socialist paper "*Julfacklan*" has a circulation of 45,000 copies and the humorous paper "*Karbassen*" is published weekly with a circulation of 15,000 copies.

Switzerland

The Socialists of Switzerland held their convention on October 30. The confused nature of the Swiss movement was shown once more in the fact that while a general resolution in favor of universal peace was adopted the Socialist members of the legislative bodies were authorized to vote for a military budget and the congress admitted "that it may be necessary to employ troops to do police service in case of strikes and boycotts." The majority of the Socialist papers of Europe criticised the Swiss comrades very strongly for this action.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Trust Finance. A Study of the Genesis, Organization and Management of Industrial Combinations. By Edwin Sherwood Meade. D. Appleton & Co. (Cloth, 387 pp., $1.25.)

We have no hesitancy in saying that this is by far the most valuable work that has yet appeared on the trust question. It expounds fewer theories and sets forth more new facts and original points of view than any previous work. The essential thing about the trust is its method of organization as distinguished from other industrial businesses. A study of the trust then should be primarily a study in "high finance," yet the great majority of writers on this subject have given this phase but little attention. Three brief introductory chapters give an historical survey from "The Regime of Competition" through the "pool" and "other temporary forms of consolidation" to the "holding company" organized under the corporation act of 1889 of the state of New Jersey. "Under the provisions of this act," the author informs us, "a body of men may form a corporation under the laws of New Jersey which, among other manifold privileges, may purchase and own the stocks, or other property of any corporation engaged in any kind of business in any state. * * * For momentous consequences this statute of New Jersey is hardly to be equaled in the annals of legislation. Sixteen sovereign states had passed searching and stringent laws in prohibition of any attempt to restrict competition; laws whose detailed minuteness of specification could hardly be improved upon; which had been proved effective against the only permanent form of competition regulation yet attempted, and which undoubtedly represented the conviction of a majority of the people of the United States—a conviction finding more general and authoritative expression in the Sherman anti-trust law, and strengthened by the anti-monopoly provisions of the common law; a well nigh unanimous sentiment opposed to any form of trust or pool, and the little state of New Jersey, containing two per cent of the population and one and three-tenths per cent of the wealth of the United States, by the simple act of amending its corporation law, nullified the anti-trust laws of every state which had passed them."

The legal foundation having been laid "the time was ripe for the universal application of the trust principle to manufacturing industries. On the one hand the manufacturer was weary of competition and anxious either to combine or sell. On the other hand stood the public, deeply impressed with the profits of the trust and anxious to buy the shares of industrial combinations if opportunity were given. Into this situation stepped the promoter, to whom a more promising opportunity to sell stocks had never been presented." The true industrial function of the promoter in the field of industrial finance is then described, first in relation to the original owners of the property which it is proposed to combine, second as an organizer and correlator of these various industries, and then, most important of all, in a capitalist society, as a seller of the "goods" thus created, to wit, the stocks and bonds of the new consolidated corporation. As a conse-

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quence the two chapters on "The Sale of the Stock" are among the most interesting in the book. Two classes of possible purchasers are in the field whom he designates as "investors" and "speculators," respectively, although the latter term is something of a euphemism for what in the slang of Wall street would be called a "lamb," and of the Bowery an "easy mark." The question arises as to which of these classes are the more probable buyers of the trust stock. This leads to an analysis of industry and a classification into "investment" and "speculative" enterprises. This classification is one of the most valuable things to be found in the book, and while the author discusses it at considerable length there are two important and fundamental phases of the subject that he largely overlooks. He does not seem to see (save in a few points), first, that these are to a large degree but names for historical stages through which a large portion of incorporated industries have passed, so that the very railroads, for example, which he instances as typical "investment" industries were as highly speculative as any trusts discussed by him; and second, that the classification is also, and fundamentally, based on the source from which the owners of the securities (the great capitalists) expect to draw their incomes, i. e., in the case of "speculative" securities these incomes come from exploiting, by more or less of swindling methods, the little capitalists, while in the case of "investment" securities, the dividends come from the "surplus value" exploited from the wage laborers in the industries. Nevertheless, while criticising the author for not carrying out more fully the corrolaries of his classification, yet we have need to thank him for making it as clearly as he has. His examination of the trust stocks shows that they belong in the "speculative" class, since the probability of an immediate return from "surplus value" of wage slaves (of course he uses no such phrases) sufficient to pay dividends on the amount and class of securities which are offered to the public is altogether too uncertain to tempt those accustomed to dealing in stocks and bonds. A most interesting study in popular psychology is then given, showing how the "speculative" spirit is roused, fostered and spread among the class of hoped for purchasers. "The speculator is by instinct a promoter. He is zealous in advocacy of this project to which he has committed his money. He urges upon his friends the merits of the new scheme. His enthusiasm is infectious. Others are drawn into the net by his representations, and they in turn compass sea and land to make one proselyte. In this way the wave of speculation is set going and sweeps through all classes of society, turning the accumulations of years of effort into the treasuries of the new companies."

The remainder of the work is largely given up to a discussion of the internal details of financing individual trusts, and while this portion contains some of the most valuable portions of the book the facts and theories stated are too detailed to permit of any satisfactory summing up in the space of a book review. Unfortunately the author has not sufficiently escaped from the conventional small capitalist idea that concentration and monopoly is something abnormal and pathological to prevent him from tacking on two chapters at the end discussing "remedies." Yet even here his treatment has none of the hysterical utopian stuff that is usually found at the end of books on trusts. He largely concerns himself with the necessity of placing trust securities on an "investment" basis for the benefit of the small investor, who will thereby, if history is any guide, be simply assisted in saving up money for the next generation of "promoters" to take away from him.

The Yellow Van. By Richard Whiteing. The Century Company. Cloth, 400 pp., $1.50.

The reader of this book will find himself continually comparing it with the author's previous work, "Number Five John Street," to which it is in many ways a companion volume, since Mr. Whiteing aims in this later work

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to do for the country what his earlier novel did for the city. It is a study of social conditions, relations and movements in a typical English country district. The Duke of Allonby, who rules over a great estate, marries an American "school marm," and she, filled with philanthropic ideas, sets about trying to help "her people." Everywhere her efforts miscarry and she finds herself helpless in the midst of the social conventions and economic antagonisms of which she is a part. The picture drawn of the abject misery and servility of the laboring population on the great estate and the way in which that misery and servility forms an integral part of the whole economic organization is a strong and vivid one. "The Yellow Van" is the traveling home of some socialist agitators, but it really plays such an unimportant part in the story as to scarcely justify the prominence it gains by being taken as the title of the book. Among the incidental points which serve to give completeness to the picture is the way in which the "American invasion" is depicted as pushing aside the native capitalist and crowding out the old landed nobility. As a whole the book covers a phase of contemporary life hitherto neglected, and it must be read by anyone who wishes a vivid picture of English rural society, and that largely from the Socialist point of view. As a novel the characters are strongly drawn and well worked out. The plot moves a little slowly at times, but interest never lags.

The Sale of an Appetite. By Paul La Fargue. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 57 pp., 50 cents.

One scarce knows which feature of this book to choose as the central one for a review—its keen satirical argument for socialism, its literary composition or the mechanical excellence with which it is printed, bound and illustrated. It is the story of a poor, starving wretch who was standing one evening outside a restaurant looking in at the delicacies displayed in the window, and the picture which the artist, Dorothy Dean, who illustrates the book, has made of this scene will haunt you for hours after you have laid the book aside. While this vision of plenty is adding to the torments of his hungry stomach he is approached by a bloated and dyspeptic capitalist, who proposes to buy his appetite for 2,000 francs a month. The bargain is struck and Emile Destouches, as the hero is called, takes up the work of digesting the gluttonous meals which the purchased appetite enables the capitalist to consume. For a time he congratulates himself on his good fortune, but soon his task palls on him, then becomes a terrible burden, which he seeks to escape, but the attorney who has drawn the contract rebukes him as follows: "You complain because you have become reduced to nothing but a digestive apparatus; but all who earn their living by working are lodged at the same sign. * * * Imprint this truth on your memory: the poor man no longer exists for himself in our civilized societies, but for the capitalist, who sets him to work at his fancy or according to his needs, with such or such of his organs." Many will read this who would draw back from prejudice before an ordinary propaganda book or shirk the labor reading a treatise on economics.

Two more volumes from the Société Nouvelle de Libraire et d'Edition come this month, both of which are of great value to the socialist movement. The first consists of an extract from the works of Proudhon with a short biographical sketch and portrait, consisting of 100 pages, and selling at half a franc. Another, a similar compilation from the works of Fourier, is 200 pages in length, and sells at one franc. Both are compiled by Hubert Bourgin, and for those of our readers who are familiar with French they will form an excellent and handy means of obtaining a knowledge of the works of these great forerunners of socialism.

The steady outpour of propaganda pamphlets continues. Some of those which are significant as showing interesting tendencies in the socialist move-

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ment are noticed. Two on the farmer question show the growth of this phase of socialism. William C. Green writes on "Some Reasons Why Farmers Should Be Socialists," published by the Appeal to Reason, 12 pp., 5 cents. This is a direct appeal to the farmers to join the Socialist Party, and should do good work in the immediate field of propaganda.

E. A. Byrne, of Corsicana, Texas, is the author and publisher of another pamphlet on the same subject, entitled "A Farmer's Glimpse into Utopia," which will be interesting as showing how the influence of present environment affects a person's ideas of a future society. We feel that very few persons will agree with him as to the conditions under future society, but the views are at least interesting.

The Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association publishes at 5 cents "Che Cosa e il Socialismo," by Silvio Origo. This is interesting as showing the demand for pamphlets in the Italian language. The pamphlet itself is written on the conventional style of which we have so many in the English language that have done such good service in propaganda work. It begins with a survey of historical evolution, followed by an analysis of capitalism, the movement of concentration, the class struggle, and the socialist solution of the questions arising from this evolution and a special plea for the Socialist Party.

"Political Presidents and Socialists," by Celia B. Whitehead, published by "The Alliance," Denver, Colo., 55 pp., 10 cents, is a very good example of the result of a very slight understanding of socialism. The writer has evidently obtained a few ideas of Utopian Socialism and seems to think that the cause of socialism would be somewhat advanced by "moving to abolish" the office of president and refusing to make nominations for that position.

"Socialism Is Coming," written and published by T. J. Crump, Meridian, Mississippi, 67 pp., 10 cents, derives its main interest from the locality in which it is written and published as showing a waking up of the South. There is little new in the book and we feel like saying of that, as of a great many others, that had the author waited another year before writing it and spent his leisure during that time in gaining a thorough understanding of socialism, he would really have accomplished much more than by publishing at once.

"Panics, a Social Analysis," by John Mackenzie, Spokane, Wash., 39 pp., 10 cents, is a fairly good statement of the socialist doctrine of panics, but offers little new. It is valuable, however, as showing a tendency on the part of socialist writers to take some specific subject for discussion instead of seeking to cover the entire field of socialist philosophy in every pamphlet.

Books Received to be Reviewed Later.

American History and Its Geographic Conditions. By Ellen Churchill Semple. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cloth, 466 pp., $3.

Geographic Influences in American History. By Albert Perry Brigham. The Chautauqua Press. Cloth, 285 pp., $1.25.

The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company. By James H. Bridge. Aldine Book Company. Cloth, 369 pp., $2.

Life of Albert R. Parsons. By Lucy E. Parsons. Published by the author. Cloth, 310 pp., $1.50.

The Psychology of Child Development. By Irving King. University of Chicago Press. Cloth, 265 pp., $1.

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Organized Labor. By John Mitchell. American Book & Bible House. Cloth, 436 pp., $2.

Zurechnungsfähigkeit oder Zweckmässigkeit. By Dr. M. Brichta. Franz Deuticke: Leipzig. Paper, 129 pp.

Nouveau Programme de Sociologie. By Eugene de Roberty. Felix Alcan: Paris. Paper, 268 pp., 5 francs.

Le Peuple Roi. By Th. Darel. Felix Alcan: Paris. Paper, 188 pp., 3 francs .50.

The Organization and Control of Industrial Corporations. By Frank E. Horack. C. F. Taylor: Philadelphia. Paper, 207 pp., 25 cents.

Die Positive Kriminalistische Schule in Italien. By Enrico Ferri. Translated from the Italian by E. Müller-Roder. Neuer Frankfurter Verlag. Paper, 64 pp., 1.20 mark.

Histoire d'une Trahison. By Urban Gohier. Societé Parisienne. Paper, 242 pp.

The Travels of John Wryland. Anonymous. Equitable Publishing Cobpany. Cloth, 236 pp.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

SPECIAL MEETING OF STOCKHOLDERS.

In last month's INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW it was announced that the question of increasing the authorized capital stock of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Co. from ten thousand to fifty thousand dollars would be voted upon at the annual meeting of the stockholders to be held January 15. Since the announcement was made, however, our attention has been called to the fact that the Illinois statute governing the increase of the capital stock of a company is so worded as to leave some doubt whether the action can be taken legally at a regular meeting. To save any possible danger of legal complications it has, therefore, been thought best to call a special meeting to be held on February 4 for the transaction of this business. As no opposition from any one to the proposed increase has appeared up to the time of going to press, and as most of the stockholders have already sent on their proxies to be voted in favor of the plan, it may safely be assumed that it will be adopted on the fourth day of February.

But the mere authorizing of the stock adds nothing whatever to the strength of the company nor to its possibilities for effective work. The new shares that will have been authorized are yet to be subscribed, and the number of them that will be subscribed during the year 1904 depends mainly on the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

We shall not take space here to explain the plan of organization of the company, nor the terms on which stock is sold. Most of our readers are already familiar with these, and new readers will find them fully explained on pages 30 to 32 of "What to Read on Socialism," a copy of which will be mailed to any one requesting it.

WHY SOCIALISTS SHOULD SUBSCRIBE FOR STOCK.

We have already given reasons why any socialist local or individual can get more of the best socialist literature for circulation by taking advantage of our co-operative plan than can be obtained for the same money in any other way. We wish this month to point out how important the work of this company is to the socialist movement, and how desirable it is that it should be strengthened by subscriptions to its capital stock.

The object of this company is to circulate the literature of international socialism, the literature that will make not merely socialist voters but intelligent socialists. It is a rather easy but not a very useful thing to stir up a local excitement in behalf of socialism and to poll a large proportion of the vote at a single election. The trouble is that at the next election one of the old parties may put up a "good man" who is a "friend of labor," and the votes so easily gained are as easily lost. If votes are all we want, then no literature is needed, but the flimsiest appeals to the emotions, with rose-colored pictures of what "government ownership" and the referendum have accomplished in backward countries beyond the circle of capitalism.

But the real contest is not far away. Socialists will soon be obliged all over the United States, as already in Massachusetts, to defend their position against the ablest and the most unscrupulous attacks that the agents of capitalism can devise. The votes of those who do not under-

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stand socialism will be won back from us, and the arguments of those who talk socialism without understanding it will be used against us by able opponents.

There is only one way to meet this situation, and that is by circulating literature that will make intelligent socialists, who can give good reasons for their enthusiasm, and who can not be diverted from their purpose by any side issues whatever.

Now, it happens that such literature requires study and application, and that the average laborer under capitalism prefers reading matter that requires little mental effort. Now, from a "business" point of view, the profitableness of any given publishing venture depends on the number of copies that can be sold at a given price with a given amount of advertising. So, if the publication of socialist books is to be left wholly to private initiative, the tendency will be to the circulation of such works as "Civilization Civilized" and "Looking Backward" rather than "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" and "The Social Revolution."

Some may agree with what has been said up to this point, but urge that the publishing ought to be done by the party organization, so that the "profit" could go into the treasury of the party instead of to "individuals." This view, however, is usually expressed by those who know nothing whatever of the conditions under which books are published, and who imagine that the publication of every book is profitable, whereas the fact is that every publishing house, socialist or capitalist, loses on more than half its books, and has to make up this loss from the profits on the successful ones. Moreover, to carry on such an enterprise successfully requires special training that can not be extemporized on demand, and a committee chosen by the usual party methods to carry on a special work of this kind would almost certainly have a deficit rather than a surplus to report at the end of each year.

Moreover, to publish the standard works of socialism requires not a little capital, but a great deal of it. Our co-operative company has made a small beginning in this needed work, and the cost has been over twenty thousand dollars. This investment, together with the organization that has been developed, puts our company in a position where every dollar of new capital can be used more effectively in the spread of socialist literature than it could be possibly used through any other channels.

To obtain an idea of what our co-operative publishing house has already accomplished in the way of circulating the genuine literature of socialism, it is only necessary to compare our latest catalogue with that of any other American socialist publisher, or even with our own catalogue of three years ago. To realize what we have done in cheapening the cost to buyers of the best socialist books, compare our prices with the prices charged by capitalist publishing houses for books on economics and sociology. It will be found that our retail prices are from a half to a third lower, while to our co-operative stockholders we allow a discount of one-half from our retail prices. Sometimes the difference is even greater. Compare, for example, Seligman's "Economic Interpretation of History," 166 pages, published by Macmillan & Co. at $1.50, with Simons' "The American Farmer," 214 pages, cloth binding, published by our co-operative house at fifty cents, with the special rate to our stockholders of thirty cents, mailed, or twenty-five cents when sent at the expense of the purchaser. This book is one of the Standard Socialist Series, eight volumes of which have thus far been published, uniform in style and price. Ladoff's "American Pauperism," money for the publication of which is now being raised, will be a notable addition to this series, and we aim to add new volumes by the strongest socialist writers of Europe and America, as fast as the necessary capital can be raised.

Equally important with the publication of new books is the work of introducing the literature of socialism to new readers, especially to those

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whose attention has been arrested by propaganda leaflets and newspapers, and who are ready for more solid reading on the subject. To reach such readers we propose, as soon as the necessary capital can be secured, to advertise extensively in socialist propaganda weeklies. Such advertising does not immediately pay for itself in direct sales, but it gradually enlarges the circle of our readers, and makes it easier to find a sale for each new socialist book that is issued from time to time.

STILL LOWER PRICES IN FUTURE.

We have already shown that our present prices are far lower than the prices made by capitalist publishing houses on sociological works. Some comrades, unfamiliar with the process of book publishing, are inclined to complain because our prices are still higher than those made on non-copyrighted novels, such as are sold by the hundred thousand. They do not realize that the cost of each copy of a book is inversely proportioned to the number of copies that can be marketed.

For example, "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," 246 pages, is a book which a capitalist publishing house would probably issue at $1.50, if, indeed, it could be induced to publish so "dangerous" a work at all, which is not probable. We publish it at $1, with a special discount to our stockholders of forty per cent where we pay postage or fifty per cent where the book is sent at purchaser's expense. But it is impossible to deny that a book of more pages, entitled "Her Fatal Secret; or, the Villain Still Pursued Her"—we may not be quoting the title quite accurately—can be purchased at almost any book store for considerably less money. One reason for this is that the electrotype plates of each of the two books cost about two hundred dollars, but this expense on Labriola's essays is divided among only one thousand books, making twenty cents for each, while in the case of "Her Fatal Secret" the same cost is divided among a hundred thousand books, making a fifth of a cent for each. When there are enough socialists to buy our literature in editions of a hundred thousand, they will get their books far cheaper. Meanwhile every new subscription for a share of stock from a buyer of socialist books, and especially from a local of the Socalist Party, will bring us so much the nearer to the point where socialist books can be sold at lower figures; first, by increasing the number of the customers we can count upon; second, by providing capital enough so that we can print a year's supply of each title at one time, thus getting lower prices on the printing than would be made on smaller editions, and third, by relieving us of having to pay interest on borrowed capital, and thus to that extent reducing the cost of doing business.

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No dividends to stockholders have been declared, and while it is within the power of a majority of the stockholders to vote dividends in future, such action is extremely unlikely, since it would be in opposition to the almost unanimous wish of the 790 socialists who are now stockholders. The largest salaries paid any one are seventy-five dollars a month each to A. M. Simons and Charles H. Kerr. After providing for the ordinary running expenses, every dollar received, either from the sale of stock, the sale of books, or from subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, will be used to pay off the debt and to increase the variety of socialist literature published and to push its circulation.

Are you a stockholder? If not, send on ten dollars for a share, and help the work along. If you are, see that you use your privilege of buying socialist books at cost, and cover your neighborhood with the kind of socialist literature that makes intelligent socialists. But also help us to find the four thousand new stockholders that are needed to ensure the complete success of our co-operative publishing house.

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ORATORY ITS REQUIREMENTS AND ITS REWARDS

BY JOHN P. ALTGELD

There have been many books written on the subject of oratory, but few of them have been written by orators.

John P. Altgeld, Ex-Governor of Illinois, was one of the greatest orators in the United States.

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It would take many pages to quote all the complimentary notices that were printed by some of the greatest papers throughout the United States regarding this wonderful little book, but we quote herewith a few brief extracts culled at random therefrom. The New York Journal thought the book of such importance that it printed a full page article, quoting from the book. Many others papers gave it a column or more.

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Labriola's Essays

ON THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

By ANTONIO LABRIOLA, Professor in the University of Rome. Translated from the latest Paris Edition by Charles H. Kerr.

Cloth, 246 Pages, : : : : Price, $1.00

IT is not too much to say that this book is the most important contribution to the literature of international socialism since Marx's "Capital." The first part, "In Memory of the Manifesto," is a clear, concise and original study of the historical causes which made possible the writing and publishing of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, as well as the economic conditions which made the spread of its ideas slow for the first twenty-five years and extremely rapid thereafter. This essay will serve to make the Communist Manifesto readily intelligible to twentieth century readers who could not otherwise understand it without doing an immense amount of historical reading.

The second and longer portion of the book consists of an essay entitled "Historical Materialism." This is the brief and convenient name given by Frederick Engels to the central principle of socialism which is so concisely stated in the Communist Manifesto, and which is also stated in an extremely condensed form in Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific." Both of these classic statements of the principle are from their very brevity and from the far-reaching consequences of the principle, extremely difficult for the untrained reader. The world of human relations in which the principle of historical materialism is to be applied is so complex that the path is full of pitfalls for the beginner, and nothing is easier than to make the principle ridiculous in the eyes of our intended converts by lack of judgment in its application. In this essay Labriola has explained historical materialism with a fullness of detail and a wealth of illustration that will give every student who masters his work an indispensable equipment for grappling with the concrete questions that will come up for solution in these transition years from capitalism to socialism.

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV FEBRUARY, 1904 NO. 8

Marxian Idealism.

IT is told of Marx that once when he found himself among a group of French Socialists one of them asked of him, "To what school would you belong if you lived in France?"

"I do not know," was the reply; "but in any case I would not be a Marxist."

We give the story for what it is worth, but true or false, it characterizes very vividly the transformation or rather the deformation undergone by Marxism in passing the frontier and undergoing the dangerous trial of translations, resumes, and literary or oratorical adaptations.

The same thing has happened to Darwin and in a certain way to all great initiators. From the mass of penetrating observations and careful yet daring deductions their popularizers and the public after them, have retained only fag-ends of phrases and fragments of ideas.

Darwin carried on his investigations during nearly half a century. He wrote "The Origin of Species" and "The Descent of Man." He revolutionized the natural sciences, and through the natural sciences our conception of the universe; but for the immense majority his doctrine reduces itself to two things: "Man is descended from the monkey"—since the Darwinian hypothesis includes a common ancestor for man: "the struggle for life is a factor of progress," which is used to justify the crushing of the feeble by the strong, although Darwin repeatedly insisted upon the advantages of association in the struggle for existence.

Karl Marx gave such a masterly exposition of the socialist thought that he temporarily eclipsed his more illustrious predecessors. He created a new politic. He transformed historical methods. He set forth a definite critique of the capitalist regime. After such an effort what was there left for the great mass of pamphleteers and journalists? A few formulas such as "Labor is

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the source of all value," "The class struggle determines the course of history," or better still, "The mode of production of material existence determines in a general way the social, political and intellectual process of life."

Note that these quotations are not incorrect, but they are separated from their context. They have been given an absolute value and they have been abstracted from the corollaries or the modifications that originally accompanied them. So it has happened that through a series of impoverishments and condensations we have nothing left but a scheme, a skeleton of a doctrine which bears very little resemblance to the real doctrine of Marx.

For many people, for example, the materialistic conception of history, that corner stone of Marxism, denies any efficacy to the ideal. Morality, law, religion or philosophy are epiphenomena, reflections, with neither warmth nor strength, the products or subproducts of economic activity. As for socialism it is nothing more than a process of dispossession of the capitalists. It should have nothing to do with any problem that does not concern directly or indirectly the production and distribution of wealth. Those who seek to extend it to embrace other questions such as ethical progress, anti-clericalism or governmental institutions are dreamers and followers of side issues. What do we care about Dreyfus or Mercier, a Ministry or the Congregations, Republic or Monarchy: "get ready for the social revolution, everything else will come with that."

It is unnecessary to say that from this point of view historical materialism offers small welcome to those who come to socialism or are drawn towards it by sentimental reasons. Our friend Paul Lafargue, who loves nothing so much as terrifying the timid by exaggerated paradoxes, has lately stated in a very beautiful manner that Justice, Liberty, Fraternity, Progress are false Gods, manufactured by the Bourgeoisie as a substitute for the Christian Gods in order to maintain the slavery of the people.[1]

They continue to think that ideas are forces, that justice is not a word, that law, politics and religion may perhaps find their final explanation in the "Underlying economic factor," but do not exercise any considerable influence upon social evolution. In fact, if Marxism denied this influence, if it assumed, as is too often taught, to reduce the social question to a stomach question, and to imprison socialism within the field of material interests, it would be the worse from Marxism. The socialist conscience would never submit to such a contraction of its ideal. It would never consent to deliver over the whole domain of spiritual activity to the old religions and philosophies.

But let us hasten to say that those who thus interpret the doc-

(1) See for examples Lefargue's Idéalisme et matérialisme in *L'Ere Nouvelle*, Jul. 1, 1898, pages 50 et seq.

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trine of Marx only show that they understand it very poorly. It is a case of repeating the statement of Laubardamont. Show me a line of a man's hand and I will find enough in it to hang him.

In as complex a work as those of Marx and Renan, nothing is easier than to pick out certain texts for the purpose of making their authors say nearly anything that is desired. But it is the entire work in its genesis and its development which must be studied if we are to understand the real thought of the author.

If this simply honest method is applied to the intellectual products of Marx it becomes easy to explain the wholly apparent harshness of his materialism; the systematic affectation of never having recourse to sentimental arguments in a work which is from beginning to end a sharp and burning appeal to the sentiment of justice. All this is plainly only a very natural reaction against the habits of thought and language which prevailed around him.

Let us return in mind to the years which immediately preceded the revolution of 1848. Sentimentalism reigned supreme. Utopian socialism stood opposed to bourgeois idealism. Social philosophy, according to the words of the Communist Manifesto, "concealed its lack of ideas under a robe of speculative cobwebs embroidered with flowers of rhetoric and steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment." In Germany the Hegelian Right was sunk in complete mysticism. In France and England nearly all the followers of Fourier, St. Simon and Owen were exhausting themselves in fanciful appeals to the good will of the bourgeoisie rather than work with the laborers. In short the majority of the socialists, like the great majority of their adversaries, agreed in making confession to a sort of sociological spiritualism. Ideas according to them moved in a higher plane under the cover of meagre suggestions of material interest, but in a state of what was thought to be absolute independence of the objective conditions of social life.

It is at this moment that Marx appeared in an environment created by a group of numerous forerunners.

Replying to Proudhon, who had sought to create *"la Philosophie de la Misere,"* he published *"la Misere de la Philosophie."* Stating definitely a conception the germ of which is to be found in many of his previous works, he wrote that celebrated passage which reappeared continuously in his work as a *leit motiv*, the theme that economic necessity dominates all the spiritual life of humanity. "Social relations are closely united to the productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces, men change their mode of production. In changing the mode of production, the manner of gaining their livelihood, they change all their social relations. The hand mill gave a society with the lord of the manor; the steam mill, a society with industrial capitalists. The

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same men who establish social relations in conformity with their system of material production, also bring forth the principles, the ideas, the categories, conformable to their social relations. Thus, these ideas, these categories are just as little eternal as the relations they express. They are historic and transitory products." [1]

Such in a condensed form, but substantially correct as far as it goes, is the main idea of Marxism. Is it necessary for us to emphasize the revolutionary import of this point of view?

This idea is that in the order of social things progress gives way to the unchanging, realism supplants ideology. According to the very words of Marx, the dialectic of Hegel which went on its head is set upon its feet. History ceases to be literature or metaphysics. Capitalism no longer appears as a definite regime, but as an historic product which bears within itself a new regime. Socialism escapes the makers of systems to enter definitely into the scientific phase. Certainly it becomes the socialists even less than any one else to attribute to a single man the merit of this salutary revolution. This would be to devote to his profit, as individual property, a collective product.

We may leave to the St. Simonians, if any remain, the religion of a new Messiah. We know that the materialistic conception of history does not belong exclusively to Marx, any more than evolution to Darwin, or the "Essay on the Wealth of Nations" to Adam Smith. And we know also—it is the old story of Christopher Columbus' egg—that many of the Marxist ideas appear so self-evident to-day that all originality is denied to those who first brought them to light. Everybody now talks historic materialism just as M. Jourdain talked prose.

When the coal beds were discovered in the Campino Limbourgeoise, the bishop of Liege concluded that socialism would soon be born in that region.

When the English made war on the Transvaal in order to maintain the right of the Uitlanders no one doubted that the individual interests of the proprietors of the gold mines and the commercial interests of the Empire constituted the true motives of their intervention.

Even those who fight most fiercely the theories of Marx recognize the necessity of economic interpretations of history.

"Historic materialism," writes Professor Masaryk, "or better expressed, the more exact appreciation of the importance of the economic factors and the reduction to their true value of ideological influences upon the life and development of society must, henceforth, make a part of the undisputed inheritance of sociology, history and politics." [2]

(1) L. Marx—Misère de la Philosophie, Reponse à la Philosophie de la Misère, de M. Proudhon, 1847—page 151 de l'Edit Giard et Brière, Paris, 1896.

(2) Masaryk—Die philosophischen und sociologischen Grundlagen den Marxismus. Page 167, Wien-Kronegen, 1899.

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But if the adversaries of Marx finally accept the fundamentals of his thesis, it is only to speak with all the more bad humor of the Marxian exclusiveness and to hurl the double reproach upon historic materialism of ignoring the importance of the natural agents which determine the economic organization of society, and of denying, on the other hand, the very apparent influence of the moral and intellectual factors.

The folly of these reproaches has been shown many times. We think, nevertheless, that it may be useful to again review them since we see them continuously repeated by the pens of anti-socialist writers.

In the first place, it is very necessary for us to recognize that the economic structure of society is not a primitive fact; that it is the result of the relations that have risen between the population and its environment. That, as a consequence, it is necessary to take account in the explanation of social phenomena of race, climate, natural productivity of the soil, and geographic situation.

All this is evident, but where do we find that such premises have been denied by the founders of historic materialism?

If it is necessary to quote texts in order to prove the contrary, we might cite among others the characteristic passage in the third volume of Capital. After having called attention to the dependence and subordination of political forms to their economic base, Marx adds: "This does not mean that the same economic base, at least in its essential features, may not present in reality the most infinite variations, due to innumerable economic circumstances and natural conditions, relations of races, historic influences, &c., variations which can be understood only by an analysis of the existing circumstances." [1]

It is therefore incorrect to attribute to historic materialism the absurd pretension of explaining the economic structure of society without taking account of the natural circumstances which determine that structure.

Marx and Engels did not need the light of M. Fouillee or M. Masaryk to enable them to see that the negroes scattered through the forests of equatorial Africa would necessarily have a different political and social economy from that of the Aryans inhabiting the islands of the Aegean Sea, or the Semites living upon the banks of the Yellow river. But while they realized the tremendous importance of natural environment and racial characteristics from the static point of view, they insisted, on the other hand, that from the dynamic point of view, their importance was *nil.*

In reality, according to them, it is not the spontaneous variations in natural conditions which produce the continuous modifications of the social structure. Climate, race, geographical situa-

(1) Marx—Das Kapital III., page 325. Hambourg-Meissner, 1894. Traduc. Franc., page 387. Paris, Girard et Brière, 1902.

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tion and fertility of the soil are in themselves but passive elements and unvarying factors; the only active element, the revolutionary factor *par excellence* is human industry, economic conditions, the changes which take place in the method of production of the necessities of life.

If the climate of France is no longer identical with what it was in the time of Caesar, it is because changes in methods of cultivation have modified the water supply, or distribution of forests. If the ethnical characteristics of the population have undergone great alterations since the Roman epoch, it is because the essentials of the social order have provoked a barbarian invasion. If the basin of the Mediterranean is no longer the center of civilization, it is because the development of the means of transportation have displaced the old commercial routes. If natural resources are to-day capable of satisfying infinitely more needs, it is because science and art have found methods of utilizing them, and so far as the products of the soil are concerned, of increasing them. In short, nature does not change of itself—it is man who changes nature.

Such is the thesis. It certainly contains a large amount of truth. Nevertheless, we cannot accept it without making certain reservations.

To be sure, instances may be cited where changes produced in the social structure depend exclusively on spontaneous variations in natural conditions. The industrial and commercial decadence of Bruges, for example, cannot be explained without taking into consideration the circumstances which brought about the filling up of the Zwijn and deprived the citizens of Bruges of their communication with the ocean.

To take a still more general example it is not possible to write sociology without investigating the influences of the progress achieved by the population in all manifestations of social life.

Let us observe, however, that progress in a rudimentary state of culture and industry is inflexibly confined within narrow limits. That, on the other hand, the spontaneous variations of physical environment may generally be considered as secondary factors in regard to the artificial variations resulting from the work of man.

Taking these things as a whole, and the conditions of environment alone during the short duration of an historic period, it is certainly human activity which contributes most efficiently to modify the face of the globe. And naturally its incessant transformations are not confined to natural conditions. It constitutes the principal motive force of history; it determines primarily political and religious revolutions. But it does not follow, and the Marxists in no way claim that intellectual and moral factors play no role in social evolution.

Nevertheless, this opinion is continually ascribed to them.

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During last year, for example, at the French Philosophical Society, Halevey maintained in opposition to Sorel that the reaction of the spiritual upon the material, of the ideal upon the real is an impossibility according to Marx; that the essential of historic materialism is just the affirmation of this impossibility.[1]

It should always be recognized that, in order to interpret Marxism in this manner, it is necessary to refer not alone to the writings of Frederick Engels, but to those of Marx himself, and this where the latter instead of speaking as part of a systematic philosophy, was writing off hand as chief journalist of a party.

As for us, we do not admit the justice of such necessarily arbitrary quotations from a work every part of which is reciprocally complementary and explanatory. Moreover, it is not alone in the political pamphlets, or in the circulars of the International, that Marx attaches great importance to the action of ideas. His thesis on Feuerbach, written at Brussels in 1845, also states very clearly that philosophy ought not be confined to the contemplation of things, without also being the means of acting upon things.[2]

On the other hand, we can only understand Marxism by taking account of the alterations in its interpretation and developments that have been given it in perfect accord with Marx by his intellectual Siamese Twin, Frederic Engels. Indeed, the letters written in 1890-95 are known in which Engels declares in express terms that the "political, juridical, philosophical and religious evolutions have for a base economic evolution, but that they react upon each other and upon the economic base." We think, then, that we are right in concluding that when the Hegelian dialectic was set upon its feet, Marxism did not cut off its head.

Moreover, may it not be claimed that in their effort to react against the excessive contrary tendency the founders of historic materialism have *undervalued* the importance of the ideological factors?[3]

But in our opinion it is more correct to say that they have only *understated,* because notwithstanding appearances, their entire work is animated with the powerful breath of idealism.

In order to criticise capitalism, they have recourse to the most abstract forms of logic, but in the last analysis this logic is founded upon a postulate of the moral order: justice demands that each laborer receive the entire product of his labor.

(1) Bulletin de la Societe Francaise de Philosophie, Mai, 1902. Libr. Colin, Paris.

(2) Engels—Ludwig Feuerbach und der Aufgang de Klassischen deutschen philosophie mit Anhang. Karl Marx über Feuerbach vom Jahr, 1845. Stuttgart: Dietz, 1903.

Engels—Feuerbach, The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy. Tr. by Austin Lewis. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, 1903.

(3) "In our replies to our adversaries in proof of the essential principle (the economic side) which was denied by them, we have not always had the time, the facility and the opportunity of dwelling sufficiently upon the other factors which participate in the reciprocal action." Fr. Engels.

Letters of 1890, published in the *Socialistische Akademiker,* October, 1895.

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To secure the triumph of socialism, they reckon upon the action of economic forces, but they reckon equally upon the action of moral and intellectual forces. The whole Communist Manifesto is an urgent appeal to the conscience of the proletariat, its energy, its initiative, and its sentiment of solidarity.

Furthermore, and this point cannot be insisted upon too strongly, the action of the economic forces themselves necessarily presuppose the continued intervention of the human mind.

It is said, and it is right to say it, that the construction of a railroad, the establishment of a factory, the discovery of a coal bed, the invention of a new machine influence, politics or religion, much more than any writings or speeches. But what are inventions, discoveries, or technical revolutions but the result of intelligence working on matter?

"Historic materialism," says Karl Kautsky, "far from denying the motive power of the human mind in society, only gives a special explanation different from previous explanations of the action of this force. Mind directs society not as the master of economic conditions but as their servant. It is they that dictate to-day the problems that it must solve, and they furnish the means for the solution. The immediate end that the human mind follows in solving these problems may be an end foreseen and desired. But each of the solutions must have consequences which it cannot foresee, and which frequently run counter to these expectations.[1]

We would like to be able to quote more fully from the complete and interesting study from which we borrow this passage.

This would be the best means of showing the injustice of the reproaches which are ordinarily laid to those who are called, very incorrectly, the orthodox Marxists. Like Marx himself, these people are reacting from their defense against the mystics. For them, as for everybody, an act of production or exchange is necessarily a psycho-physical act. An economic organism, the same as any other social structure, is a creation of intelligence brought in contact with reality. This which they call, improperly by the way, *historic materialism,* might as well be called *idealism,* since they admit that every social phenomenon is at the same time an intellectual phenomenon. It is unnecessary to say, however, that this Marxist idealism is essentially different from that idealism which is ordinarily expressed by the word.

Instead of seeing in Politics, Morals, Religion and Philosophy, formations which are totally or partially independent of the economic environment, it declares, on the contrary, that the economic structure of society is the actual basis by means of which all the superstructure of religious, philosophical or other

(1) Kautsky—Was will und kann die Materialistische Geschichtauffassung leisten? Neue Zeit, 1896-1897, page 231.

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institutions for each determined period, *in the last instance,* find their explanation.[1]

And here it appears to us that we may express doubts, state reserves, or at least insert interrogation points. Certainly we recognize fully the preponderance of economic phenomena which are at the same time the most simple and the most general. *Primo vivere deinde philosophari.* We have always recognized the revolutionary influence of industrial transformations; Auguste Comte himself insisted upon this point in the sixth volume of his *Positive Philosophy.* Finally, we admit the impossibility of a rational interpretation of the history of law, morality or of religions, without taking count of the changes occurring in the methods of production of the material life.

But is it necessary to go farther; is it necessary to admit, as Marx has done, or at least appears to do at certain times, that the mode of production of material life is the determining cause of the social, political and spiritual *processus* of life? Like the conception which tends to see in the ideologies only the simple products, direct or indirect, of economic conditions, it is exposed to the same difficulties as philosophic materialism which declares that matter creates man, and that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile.

It is true that we cannot conceive the nature of pure mind; we cannot separate thought from the material substratum. But instead of seeking to prove either an essential difference or a relation of cause and effect between mind and matter, monism considers the one and the other as two aspects of a single substance. In the same way we do not think that the morality, philosophy and religion of an epoch are independent of the economic conditions present or past. We cannot disentangle the social-psychic from the social-physic. But because the evolution of ideas is indissolubly united to material evolution, it does not follow that one is the cause of the other.

To speak plainly we can scarcely understand what is meant when people say, as they sometimes do, that the symphonies of Beethoven or Mozart, the metaphysics of Kant or Spinoza, the religion of Mohammed or Christ are products of the social environment amid which they were born. This is much the same as if we were to say that the plants are products of the soil because their seeds require soil for germination. In the same way that plants could not grow without the sun, so the works of art, religion or philosophy would not exist without the economic structure, without social conditions which render their appearance possible; but it is equally true that they would not exist without the human mind.

(1) Engels—Herrn Eugen Duehring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft, p. 12. Stuttgart, Dietz, 1894.

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As a consequence, unless we are to fall into absurdities, it is necessary to say that ideologies are the product, not of the economic environment, but of the relations which arise between the human mind and the economic environment. Even this last expression appears to us to be too narrow. The diversity of economic or social conditions—this terrestrial germ of religions or philosophies—may furnish an explanation of the differences which they present, but it does not give us the reason of their resemblance, of their general common ideas. Whatever may actually be the economic structure of a society, whether it is composed of Chaldean shepherds or 20th century proletarians, man is led by the force of events to seek solutions, or to receive solutions ready made, for a series of problems having no direct relation with the modes of production of material life: such, for example, as the existence or non-existence of God; free will or determinism, the mortality or immortality of the individual soul. And physical or religious conceptions also are themselves the reflections, or rather the representations of idealizations of complete reality, not simply of economic reality.

But if their permanent characteristics correspond to the unchanging in nature, then the history of their variations, or of their details, is only possible when we study at the same time the details which exist and the transformations which are produced in the social economy.

What is true of the history of religions, or philosophies, is still more true of the history of law or political institutions.

Historic materialism—since it is necessary to use this name sanctified by custom[1]—appears to us then primarily as a method, as a means, of explaining the superficial manifestations of the collective life by the less evident but more effective phenomena which arise in the economic sub-soil of society.

When a historic event is studied that which is apparent are the avowed motives proclaimed by the principles.

Thus when the United States declared war with Spain, it was done, we are told, in order to assist the Cuban revolutionists, and to secure the independence of the Colonies which were scandalously exploited by the Home Government, and to grant assistance to the *reconcentrados* who were being starved by General Weyler.

And to be sure these liberal and humanitarian reasons were not without effect in impressing public opinion, rousing allegiance and exciting enthusiasm; but if we are to know the other

(1) Benedetto Croce says correctly, as we think, "* * * I regret that the word materialism has been chosen, since it has no specific justification and gives rise to so many misunderstandings which are made use of by its adversaries. So far as history is concerned, I prefer the name 'realistic conception of history,' which better indicates its character of opposition to all teleologies, and to all metaphysics in the domain of history. Materialisme de l'Histoire et Economie Marxiste, trad. par. A. Bonnet, Paris, Girard et Brière, 1901.

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motives of the war—those which the people interested would scarcely avow—those which on the contrary they took the greatest pains to conceal—it is indispensable to have recourse to the materialistic interpretation of history; it is in the economic undercurrent, beneath the triple layer of moral, political or religious protestations that careful investigation ends by these discoveries: that American capitalists have long sought the conquest of Cuba; they have between thirty and fifty million dollars invested in the sugar refineries: insurrections were always in progress; commercial relations suffered from these insurrections; the intolerable fiscal policy of Spain hindered trade; the United States in the midst of a crisis due to over-production, was compelled at any cost to extend its market and secure a footing in the extreme Orient and establish itself in the Pacific; and for the success of this imperialist conception the disappearance of the Spanish colonies was essential. Hence we have *"Vive Cuba libre,"* "Down upon the monks in the Philippines."

To overlook these concealed motives would be to ignore the prime importance of economic phenomena in social life and would be either for the historian, or statesman, to condemn one's self to a radical misunderstanding of social evolution.

But, on the other hand, we may repeat that a no less dangerous misunderstanding arises from an exclusive attention to concealed motives and trying to explain everything by the direct action of economic causes, while rejecting the influence of the ideas and sentiments, and of the political, moral or religious influences on the progress of events.

It is by taking this false point of view that certain socialists, wrongly calling themselves Marxists, despise or even condemn certain forms of activity which may render valuable service to the proletariat.

Some, like C. Cornelissen, who is a disciple of Marx and Bakunine at the same time, do not wish to consider political action at all and place all their hopes in the autonomous organization of the working class.[2]

Others profess the most complete contempt for all moral action. Under the excuse, for example, that alcoholism has economic causes, they obstinately refuse to do what is possible within the present society to check this scourge. Others finally see in the struggle against the Church only a simple derivative and declare that the religious question must be solved by the social revolution and that it is wholly useless, even hurtful, to occupy ourselves with it at present.

But these various opinions which, as we believe, rest upon

(1) Beer—Die Vereinigten Staaten im Jahre, 1898. Neue Zeit, 1898-1899, page 676-708.

(2) C. Cornelissen—*En marche vers la societe nouvelle.*

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a theoretical error, find less and less approval among the working class.

Everywhere, indeed, and notably in England, pure and simple trade unionism is on the decline. The working class see the advantages which the possession of the public powers give to the bourgeoisie and strive to conquer those powers.

On the other hand, moral questions hitherto neglected, now appear upon the programmes of all socialist congresses; in Belgium, in Switzerland, in Austria, thanks to the work of Marxists, such as Otto Lange or Victor Adler, the Socialist Anti-alcoholic propaganda is beginning to pass beyond the stage of wordy resolutions and platonic affirmations. Perhaps the objection will be raised that our German comrades still smile, with their very large smile, when one speaks to them of the struggle against alcohol; but we might reply that these same indulgent and superior smiles formerly welcomed us when we praised the benefits of socialist co-operation.

As to the religious question we have only to consider the actual political situation of Europe in order to convince ourselves that the immense majority of labor parties are inclined to exaggerate rather than underestimate the very real importance of the struggle against clericalism.

Moreover, the conscious socialists will have failed in their most elementary duty if, by a continuous return to their fundamental principles, they do not utilize all their energy to retain or to restore the proletariat to the basis of the class struggle.

Such is primarily the practical import of the celebrated declaration inscribed in the program of the social-democracy by the congress at Erfurt: *"Erklarung der Religion zur Privatsache."*

Religion is a private affair; that expresses the fact that socialism as a political party appeals to all laborers to struggle against capitalism without paying any attention to the philosophical or religious opinions that they may profess; that expresses the fact also that in societies where antagonisms of faiths reflects the antagonisms of material interests, the separation of the Church and the State and the secularization of all public services appears to be the only generally acceptable solution. With this interpretation and to this degree we fully agree with the Erfurt formula. It signifies, taken as a whole, freedom of conscience and independence of the civil power.

But it is necessary to observe that this formula contains grave defects; it leads to equivocations; it is full of misunderstandings. It may be understood and many have so understood it as limiting socialism to political and economic questions alone: "Let us concern ourselves with the things of earth; leave heaven to angels and the monks."

Those who speak in this manner do not appreciate the pro-

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found reaction exercised upon social physics by religious metaphysics. As we have said, religions are both cosmologies and sociologies. Catholicism, for example, does not confine itself to offering an explanation of the world. It does not treat of faith alone, but also of morals. In the name of a revelation, in which the majority of the wealthy no longer believe, it seeks to impose a social morality, whose precepts are in direct antagonism with the temporal interests of the poor. The day that this double proof is made, and the poor understand that the rich do not believe because such belief is scientifically impossible for them, and that, on the other hand, they conceal their incredulity because they are interested in the credulity of others, that day the hour of Catholicism will have sounded. But it must not be forgotten that we can only destroy when we replace. If the overthrow of the old faith is to be complete, socialism must raise itself above the ground of immediate concerns.

It is necessary that to that conception of the Church which embraces the entire man, socialism oppose a no less integral conception of law, morals, society and of the world. And to carry such a work to a successful end no effort should be spared to cement that fruitful alliance of the thinkers and the proletarians which Marx announced in these words in the *Annales Franco-Prussian* of 1844: "The movement of emancipation has philosophy for its head, the proletariat for its heart. The ideal of philosophy cannot be realized without the uplifting of the proletariat. The proletariat cannot rise without the realization of the philosophical ideal. But when all the internal conditions of this moment have been fulfilled we expect to announce the resurrection of Germany by the crowing of the Gallic cock." Nearly sixty years have passed since these lines were written. A long time was necessary, much longer than Marx thought, before his prediction began to be fiulfilled.

The 19th century was at the same time the century of the workers and the century of the scientists. But, even in these last years science and democracy tended separately towards the same end, like the waters of those rivers which flow together without mixing. Henceforth, however, this union is made or is on the point of being made.

Such institutions as the *Universite Nouvelle,* the *Universite populaire,* and the University extension work form contacts and facilitate the union. The scientists go to the people, the people go to the scientists. Little by little the distrust disappears. The obstacles are being removed. Theory and practice are being reconciled. In the dawn of the 20th century the Gallic cock is making himself heard. On the other side of the Rhine the workers are rising and throughout the whole world mens' voices repeat the words of Marx: "Workers of the world, unite!"

Translated by A. M. Simons. EMILE VANDERVELDE.

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A Study of Race Prejudice.

THE skillful physician, seeking to make a cure, studies the causes of the disease. The Socialist party of the South is up against the problem of race prejudice. Everything which sheds light on the morbid history of that problem —that diseased condition of the popular mind—for which Socialism must find a solution, or remedy, is of value. I read with interest the three articles on the subject in the November issue of the REVIEW, but it seemed to me that there was a very important feature of the case which was not fully considered.

It would take too much space to sketch what the South suffered in the Era of Reconstruction. Had the spirit of forgiveness shown at Appomattox ruled in the halls of Congress, there would be no race prejudice today. That is almost a truism in the South. But the poor, ignorant, power-intoxicated negro, so late a slave, now empowered to legislate for his late masters, and fully exploited by the carpet baggers,

> "Cut such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
> As made the angels weep."

Finally, the prostrate South was roused to action and, by a determined effort, accompanied by much bloodshed and intimidation of the negro vote, threw off the hated domination of the Negro and the Carpetbagger. Her prosperity dates from that hour of agonized, determined struggle. Aiding, morally, in the supreme effort then made was that quite a large body of immigrants from the North who, to this day, vote for Democratic State and municipal tickets and give their suffrages to the Republican Presidential ticket. More Southern voters were children then, but they imbibed the bitterness of the hour from their parents.

Today the negroes feel, as one expressed it in a public meeting in this city (Jacksonville, Fla.), that they have paid off their debt to the Republican party. Yet the Democratic party, not needing their votes, does not woo them. It would, with many a wry face, perhaps, if it was deemed necessary to do so. They have, as a race, almost retired from political activity, here in Florida. They gained nothing by that activity in the days of Reconstruction; except the increased ill-will of their former masters. They dimly perceive this now. They were exploited by the Republicans as the capitalists exploit them now.

The Southerners seem to have, in a large measure, forgiven

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those carpetbaggers who remained among them; but, it may be unconsciously, they still cherish animosity toward the poor instruments of the oppression of those days. Yet the habitual attitude of the better class of Southern men toward the negro is indulgent—except in politics. It is human nature to be unforgiving to those who have been made use of to our injury while condoning the offense of the real injurer.

My friend, Dr. Cuzner, speaks of the degeneracy of the negro. Said a former slave to me, one day, while watching a gang of negroes I was overseeing, "This younger generation of negroes is thoroughly bad, they throng the police courts. You very seldom hear of an old slave being arrested. The negro was better off under slavery. It wasn't for his benefit, anyhow, that he was set free. The negro would not be a menace to good order at any time, except by petty offenses, if white men would leave him alone. When you hear of negroes rioting, you'll find some white man egging them on if you look deep enough. Why, do you suppose these black men would follow me if I tried to lead them into some devilment? Not for a minute. They'd say, 'G'way from here, nigger.' They won't even deal at stores kept by men of their race, if there is one kept by a white man almost as near. And white men can lead 'em every time."

Here is the opinion of a tolerably well educated ex-slave on his own race. Rather pessimistic, but based on a closer view than a white man can get. Here are exposed to view the roots of that contempt which, grafted into hereditary hatred, produces that foul growth race prejudice. A man of full moral status should be able to hold his head well above the reach of either. Yet men of Northern birth will express race prejudice, unconscious of the source of the infection.

Other elements, such as labor competition, etc., have weight, but my observation, confirmed by that of others, inclines me to the view here expressed.

There should be no difficulty in organizing negro locals, and he will work best in organizations of his own; despite his tendency to follow white leadership. He has a turn for organization, as his many benevolent societies ("The Seven Stars of Consolidation," "Heroines of Jericho," "Knights of Archery," and others of outlandish name) show. Probably a love for regalia and ritual have much to do with this. Colored workingmen seem to be easily united in trades unions of their own color and are, apparently, as loyal to their unions as their white brethren.

But they are not to be moved by the same arguments, in the same degree as the whites, it seems to me. It takes so little wealth to satisfy the average Southern negro. He is easily contented. But he feels his political isolation strongly and could with

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little difficulty be won over to join the Socialist party if he could be made to feel that the party did not aim at his political exploitation, merely to desert him in the end, as he claims the Republican party has done. This indicates the direction his education in Socialism must take when it is begun. Once he understands the mission of the party, the ends and purposes of the movement, he will lose this childish distrust, of course.

The negro is conscious enough of race antagonism—he is constantly meeting with it. It is more difficult to arouse him to the feeling that he and the white workingman have one common interest and that great enough to swallow up any other based on race or color, if all workers would but study the actual relations in which they stand to the employing class.

More might be said of the characteristics of the negro, his emotional nature, his slim powers of reasoning, his imitativeness, his childlikeness (speaking of the race and not of individuals), but this is a study of the mental attitude of the average white man toward him, not of his race.

Once the Southerner becomes a thoroughly class-conscious Socialist his race prejudice drops from him. He perceives in his black brother another victim of capitalist exploitation; one who has a common interest with him in the struggle for the supremacy of the working class and that to leave him out in the cold would be an act of supreme folly; nay, will be impossible when the day for the reconstruction of society on a basis of true civilization comes. Some favor the segregation of the black race, but they will see in time that the proposition is impracticable and illogical.

But race prejudice must be counted on in trying to extend the Socialist propaganda among those whites who are not yet fully class-conscious, and especially among those ignorant ones Comrade Debs describes, when it is made plain to them that Socialism knows no racial limitations.

The conviction here expressed, that the feeling engendered by Reconstruction has much more to do with race prejudice than the mere fact that the negro was once a chattel, has forced itself on my mind during some years of residence in the far South. To fully appreciate the intensity of the resentment felt by the exploited whites in that period, one must live in the South awhile and talk over those dark days with white men who suffered and who took part in the final overthrow of negro domination. And some of these, to do them justice, recognize that the negro tools of the carpetbaggers were victims, in that day, of the ambition and greed of the men who used them, as they are today of their their employers and the many usurers who fatten off them.

How to overcome this race prejudice is a problem to which I

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am not prepared to offer a solution. There seems to be no necessity of forcing an issue. It will come soon enough, and then our speakers must be prepared to meet it and meet it frankly and courageously. My object in this paper is merely to present the situation as clearly as I am able as it appears to a dispassionate observer, and to offer some considerations to those who are better able to think out a solution. OSCAR EDGAR.

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The Backwardness of Socialism in Australia.

AN active, vigorous and intelligent proletariat is the first requisite for a socialist movement. Such a class does not as yet exist in Australia. The reason why all movements here have been simply reform movements can thus be readily understood. Economic conditions were not ripe for the formation of a class-conscious revolutionary party and it may even now be doubted whether industrial development is sufficiently advanced for the successful formation of an avowedly socialist political party.

I have thought it necessary for the thorough understanding of the position taken up, that a sketch of the economic development of Australia be given.

Australia was first settled in 1788 as a penal settlement. This early settlement is perhaps as good an example of state-socialism as history affords. Coghlan & Ewing in their book "The Progress of Australasia in the Century," p. 310, say: "The spirit of the Government was that of paternal interference in every concern of social life. For the individual, especially the laborer, everything was regulated. The Governor fixed the price and determined the quality of the provisions consumed in the settlement; he made grants of land, and, in order to beautify his metropolis, required those who received grants within its boundaries to build substantial and handsome houses thereon; he erected markets, and framed by-laws for their governance; he served out lands, cattle and provisions to his subjects like a tradesman purveying general merchandise." The convicts supplied the labor; they raised the crops, formed the roads, built the dwellings and in return received their food and the lash. Free immigrants were at first discouraged from settling in the colony. The Government was thus the sole employer of labor. Very soon, however, some of the military officers sought labor and they were supplied with a number of prisoners (the Government carrying their paternalism so far as to provide these laborers with food and clothing). When the sentences of some of the convicts expired there existed a class of free laborers whose numbers were augmented by retired soldiers and a few free immigrants who found their way to the colony. To provide regulations for this class a set of rules as stringent as the English Statute of Laborers was adopted. The governors for some time did not consider persons possessing less than £250 eligible for grants of land. When this disqualification was removed most of the free laborers then obtained

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grants of land and a cry arose for additional labor. To meet this cry in 1831 a minimum price of 5 shillings an acre was charged for the land and the money thus raised was exclusively devoted to the purpose of supplying cheap free labor by means of immigration. The convicts still continued to be farmed out but the settlers complained of the inefficiency of this bond labor. The system of state-aided immigration was not successful in supplying free labor, as the cheapness of land defeated its purpose. A colonist named Wakefield, in a book published in 1829, complains bitterly of the hardships of the man of leisure in the colonies. "You cannot long have free servants in this country," he writes, "for, if a free man arrives in the colony, though he may for a short time work for you as a servant, yet he is sure to save a little money, and as land is here so excessively cheap, he at once becomes a landed proprietor. Thus, the colony is an excellent place for the poor man, but it is a wretched abode for the man of means and culture" (because of the impossibility of living by exploitation). Wakefield proposed to found in Australia another colony which should be better adapted "to those who had fortunes sufficient to maintain them and yet desired to emigrate. His scheme for effecting this comprised the fixing of a high price for the land. South Australia was founded under this scheme; there the price of land was fixed at £1 an acre. This scheme, of course, ended in dismal failure; but the advocates of the Wakefield scheme were powerful enough in 1843 to have the price of land throughout Australia raised to £1 an acre.

The system of state-aided immigration was recklessly pursued but the squatters and the farmers were unable to provide work for all the labor thus procured. The raising of the price of land and the oversupply of cheap labor made the farmer and the squatter economically the predominant factor. Conditions now existed which were creating a class of wage-workers who were entirely dependent on the squatter and the farmer for a livelihood. The lot of the worker was becoming so bad that time-expired convicts were paying their own passage to England at the same time that free laborers were being helped here. As yet, however, there was but little industrial development. Sheep and cattle-breeding, farming and timber-getting were the main occupations. In 1848, the industrial class numbered altogether 1,800 hands; there were 479 industrial establishments, of which 223 were flour mills, 62 tanneries and 51 breweries.

The discovery of gold at Bathurst and Ballarat in 1851 postponed for a while the economic dependence of the Australian worker. Marvelous tales of rich finds of gold reached the coastal settlements; everyone who could, set out with the idea

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of making his fortune. Every branch of industry quickly became undermanned and some industries had to be altogether abandoned. Wages increased enormously but even then workmen could not be found. The wages in shillings for a few trades are given just prior to the gold-rush and when it was at its height.*

	1851.	*1854.*
Bricklayers	6s. 0d.	25s. to 30s.
Blacksmiths	6s. 8d.	20s. to 25s.
Carpenters	6s. 5d.	15s. to 20s.
Stovemakers	6s. 0d.	14s. to 22s.

The squatters became so alarmed at the scarcity of labor that they asked the Government to proclaim martial law and to prohibit all gold-digging in order that the industrial pursuits of the country should not be interfered with. As a partial concession to the squatters a license fee of 30 shillings a month was required from a person before he was allowed to seek for gold. The economic center of gravity, however, had now shifted. In 1853, £4,500,000 of gold was obtained and the gold-diggers held the key of the situation. The "squatocracy" of Victoria failed to realize this and at the instigation of this class the diggers' fee in that state was raised to £3 a month. The opposition to the imposition of this fee was so violent that a return was quickly made to the original sum. Even this in turn was, after the Eureka stockade, abolished and a yearly fee of 20 shillings charged for a miner's right.

This epoch was a very important one in the history of Australia and it has had lasting effects on the Australian workman. In 1861 the land laws were altered so as to allow the free selection of land and a system of deferred payments was introduced. This period of gold-rushes fostered a spirit of independence amongst the miners for, as most of the gold was alluvial or obtained at a slight depth below the surface, this class was not dependent on the caprices of a capitalist class. During this period the workers were enabled to obtain a larger number of the comforts of life than formerly fell to their lot. This fact has had a permanent effect in raising the standard of living of the workers.

The tales of fabulous riches to be acquired with little exertion brought a great influx of population to Australia. Numbers of these persons, unable to endure the hardships of a digger's life, returned to the coastal towns and in 1858 large numbers of unemployed existed both in Melbourne and Sydney. Although the land-laws were altered with the avowed purpose

*These figures are taken from "The Progress of Australasia in the Century," p. 367.

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of giving facilities for all persons to go on the land, it affected the unemployed but little. A series of bad seasons followed the alteration of the land-laws and made it impossible for the non-capitalist farmer to succeed. Floods and droughts, alternated with vexatious regularity during this period. The flocks and herds of the squatters were visited with disease. Wages fell with a jump. In 1864, carpenters' wages ranged from 8s. to 9s; smiths', wheelwrights' and bricklayers' from 9s. to 10s. and masons were paid 10s.

Railway communication proceeded very slowly; only 1,135 miles were open for traffic in 1871. This was due, in part, to the difficulty the colonial treasurers had in obtaining money and also to the fact that the initial cost of construction was very great owing to the coastal range having to be crossed. This latter fact explains why private companies were not anxious to build railways.

In 1872 there was a revival in mining; communication was being extended by means of railways, bridges and roads. Agriculture expanded and cattle and sheep breeding prospered. All the available labor was employed; the unemployed disappeared and wages rose while provisions remained cheap. A vigorous immigration policy was pursued in order to keep the labor market supplied with material. In spite of this, however, carpenters' wages rose to 11s., bricklayers' to 12s. 6d., stone-masons' to 11s. 6d. and laborers' and navies' to 8s. The public works absorbed a large amount of labor and in 1885 New South Wales alone spent £5,242,807 on public works. An extensive system of public borrowing grew up and was necessitated by the fact that the states reserved to themselves the right to construct railways and similar undertakings. Private enterprise was not, at that time, anxious to construct railways as immediate profits were unlikely. The state undertook the work and as a result the public debt of Australia increased from £30,139,880 in 1871 to £155,177,773 in 1891. The interest on this amount seems a fairly high figure to pay for this measure of state socialism. A great boom was on; everything bore an inflated value. Speculation was rife and the gambling spirit vainly imagined it was creating wealth.

From 1886 the tide began to turn; the unemployed again made themselves prominent and wages began to fall. The change was gradual but certain; public borrowing ceased. Public works were stopped and in 1891 there was a great decline in the wages of unskilled labor. In 1893 the inevitable crisis occurred and an all round fall in wages was the result. In 1895, another drop in wages took place; the skilled workman receiving 22 per cent less than the wages of 1892 and unskilled labor 17½ per cent less.

When wages began to fall in 1886, the trades-unions made

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vigorous efforts to arrest this tendency. The Newcastle miners struck in 1886 and 1887; the year 1890 is memorable as the year of the great shearers' strike and the seamen's strike, while the miners of Broken Hill were engaged in industrial warfare in 1892. The failure of these strikes taught the workers that, no matter how well organized labor is, it is powerless against organized capital. The recognition of this fact led to the formation of a parliamentary labor party who should aim at securing for the wage-earner a better return for his labor. In New South Wales the Labor Party contested the elections of 1891 and obtained 35 seats. Their manifesto contained electoral reform, a land tax, an eight-hour day, a factory act and other similar demands. Labor then entered an era of "practical politics"; socialism was rigidly excluded from the platform and the movement was thus rendered meaningless. It was eminently a class-movement but any class-conciousness which existed then has been successfully stifled by the leaders. In Queensland, however, about the same time, originated a movement which was both revolutionary and class-conscious. It was built up chiefly on sentimentalism and depended very little on economic knowledge. The reorganization of society was to be commenced at once and pursued uninterruptedly until social justice is fully secured to each and every citizen. It is hardly to be wondered at that a Labor Party, which was called into being by the sentimentalism of the early nineties, and was led by men entirely ignorant of the nature of the capitalist state, should have gradually degenerated into a mere reform party whose main desire is to attain office. In the July number of *The Social-Democrat* of London Comrade Eyre deals more fully with the labor movements of Australia and clearly points out their utter futility.

The reason for these failures is, without a doubt, the absence of a large industrial proletariat. In 1895 there were but 8,247 manufacturing establishments with 133,631 hands. Since then more attention has been given to manufacture and in 1901 there were 10,559 manufacturing establishments with 193,037 hands.

The following figures (taken from Coghlan's "Seven Colonies of Australasia") will give some idea of the state of economic development existing here in 1901. The figures here given, as elsewhere in this article, are exclusive of New Zealand:

Class of Industry—	*Amount of Production.*
Agriculture	£23,835,000
Pastoral	27,150,000
Dairying, poultry raising and bee farming	9,740,000
Mining	22,016,000
Forestry and fisheries	2,772,000
Manufactories	27,191,000
Total production	£112,704,000

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Although Victoria was the first state to display activity in manufacture, New South Wales has, of late years, made the most progress in this direction. It is worthy of note that during the ten years (1891-1901) in New South Wales labor's share in the value added during the process of manufacture has decreased from 52 per cent to 49 per cent. In that state there has been an increase of 69.05 per cent in the value of the material used; in the value of the fuel 15.08 per cent; in the value of wages 15.69 per cent and in the value added during the process of manufacture there has been an increase of 22.9 per cent. The value of profits, interests and rents has thus increased 30.7 per cent. The exact figures as given by Coghlan may prove interesting.

	1891.	*1901.*
Value of materials treated	£ 8,172,383	£13,815,000
Value of fuel used	431,543	496,615
Value of wages paid	4,272,704	4,943,079
Value of total output	16,807,132	24,393,471
Value added during process of manufacture	8,203,206	10,081,756

From this it can be seen that capital's share increased from £3,930,502 in 1891 to £5,138,677 in 1901.

These figures point to a development in the manufactures of New South Wales which is due to the more extensive use of machinery and the employment of machinery of a better class.

The figures for Australia as a whole are given for 1901, although the data appears to be insufficient.

Materials treated	£35,888,000
Fuel used	1,177,000
Wages paid	14,706,000
Profits, rent, insurance, etc	12,485,000
Total value	£64,256,000

This would give the rate of surplus value for Australia as a whole at 85 per cent, but it is very probable that a great increase will take place shortly. The inter-state tariffs have had something to do with hampering the extension of manufacture. The advent of federation has broken down these barriers and manufacturing firms are beginning to concentrate in the most suitable places.

The division of the bread-winners of Australia into the three classes of employers, those engaged on their own account and other workers (i. e., employes) is instructive.

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The following figures refer to the year 1891 (the figures for 1901 on this point not being obtainable). These figures are exclusive of Queensland:

Class—	*Male.*	*Female.*	*Total.*
Employers	116,205	7,283	123,488
Engaged on their own account	127,929	32,698	160,627
Other workers	693,124	183,568	876,692

Of late years the great mad rush for wealth has abandoned the speculative mania for the more steady and certain method of developing the resources of the country. Australia can already boast of big undertakings. The Coolgardie Water Supply Scheme is one of the largest ventures of its kind. Water is brought to Coolgardie from a reservoir on the Helena River (325 miles distant) and a daily supply of 5,000,000 gallons of fresh water is insured. Schemes of a similar nature are necessities in a dry and riverless territory like the interior of Australia. Colossal pumps with a capacity of 114,000 gallons per hour are now manufactured in Melbourne. There were 1,263 Ferrier's lever wool-presses made and disposed of in Australia during 1901. Worthington pumps, new dry air ammonia refrigerating machinery and patent steel windmills are now being manufactured locally.

The opening up of the coal and iron deposits of Australia will give a great impetus to local manufacture. For some time past it has been known that workable iron ore in large quantities exists in close proximity to coal deposits. It has been alleged that pig-iron can be produced much more cheaply here than in America or England. Federal legislation is intending to aid the development of the iron industry either by granting bonuses to private producers or by encouraging the states to work them on their own initiative. Attempts are also being made to introduce the manufacture of rubber and the growing of cotton into Queensland.

It will thus be seen that the near future holds great possibilities of rapid economic development. These changes will be the means of forming a proletariat who will become the backbone of the Australian revolutionary movement.

The waste of competition has already been recognized and the effects of this evil have been minimized by combination and concentration. The coastal steamship companies have entered into an agreement not to cut the fares and freights. The Traders' Association of Brisbane are making an effort to prevent traders from selling below cost price. The timber merchants are combining to regulate the price of timber.

The process of concentration is noticeable in Queensland sugar mills:

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Year.	Number of Miles.	Tons of Sugar produced.	Gallons of Molasses produced.
1884-1885	166	32,010	804,613
1885-1886	166	59,225	1,784,266
1886-1887	100	56,859	1,510,308
1899-1900	58	123,289	3,092,571
1900-1901	58	92,554	3,534,832
1901-1902	52	120,858	3,679,952

(These figures are taken from the Year Book of Australia, 1903; the sugar season begins about July.*) The meat industry also would seem to have eliminated competition from the trade. The Queensland Meat Export & Agency Company, Limited, during the year ending 30th November, 1902, made a net profit of £60,425 on a paid-up capital of £109,519.

Hitherto the strength of the labor movement in Australia has been drawn from the pastoral workers and the miners. From this latter class no support of revolutionary socialism can yet be expected. The existence of alluvial deposits of easily workable reefs give the gold digger a sort of semi-independence. His chief desire is to obtain the right to mine on private property. Shallow reefs and alluvial deposits are beginning to disappear and the miners, like the other classes, are now being forced into the position of economic dependents. In order to ensure employment for his class, he is demanding that the partial closing down of mines, under the exemption clauses of the mining acts, be reduced to a minimum. (A certain number of men must be employed by the holder of a mining lease; the number varies according to the extent of the lease. It is, however, very easy to obtain exemption from these labor conditions.)

The shearer, who, being confined to the interior, is denied the few attractions of his town brothers, is demanding better accommodation while shearing and a little extra pay. The shop assistants are anxious for a shorter working day. The laborers in our sugar districts, dreading unemployment, are anxious to prevent the employment of colored labor. Each section has some one "immediate demand" in which the other sections are not directly interested. Compulsory conciliation and arbitration—the most short-sighted demand of all—receives the support of all sections, and there is every reason to imagine that it will be granted by the next Federal parliament as well as by the individual states who have not yet granted it. Nowhere is there an earnest demand for a real change of conditions. We Anglo-Saxons are too wise for that; we must have something practical. As a result of this the Queensland labor platform has been modified into a contrivance

*The sugar year thus starts in July and ends in the following June.

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for catching votes quickly. The Labor Party, now allied with a number of farmers' representatives, are showing great anxiety to erect storage sheds for wheat and to buy surplus products (as cape-gooseberries and pineapples) and to find a market for them. Some of our friends see in these measures a great victory for socialism.

Labor members of parliament, who, in the early years of the movement, thought it necessary to devote themselves largely to propaganda work, have now become too respectable to perform the duties of an agitator. They are not now a propagandist party (a direct result of the mania for practical politics), but are a mere political party whose avowed object is to get into power. Such an object has of course naturally led to compromise and a sacrifice of principles. Indeed, the guiding principle of most of them is looking after their own interests. The real object of the world-wide labor movement is never alluded to except in obscure places and in vague terms.

Within the last few years there have sprung up in all the state capitals (except Tasmania) socialist parties who have endeavored to permeate the Labor Party with socialistic ideals. With the exception of the two Sydney organizations, these organizations are essentially Fabian and are founded chiefly on sentimentalism. They are thoroughly imbued with the idea of gradually extending the collectivist priciple.

The idea seems to be prevalent that, with the aid of legislation, economic development can be so guided and directed that the misery and suffering attendant on intense development will be avoided. A large amount of time and energy is wasted in trying to hamper and restrict economic development. Utopianism exists to a large extent and a great deal of faith is placed on co-operative colonies.

Hitherto, then, the nature of the class-warfare has been obscured both by the lack of economic development and by the labor movement itself. The prevalence of floods and droughts has also done much in this direction. The sight of the bleached bones of cattle and sheep done to death by the parched and arid state of the country has led the worker to imagine that he was engaged in a struggle with nature.

The nature of the class-struggle is, however, being more clearly seen and signs are not wanting that Australia will shortly add a strong and powerful phalanx to the international armv who are marching to world-conquest.

ANDREW M. ANDERSON.

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"The American Farmer."*

BUILDERS need building material, and it is certainly a socially-useful occupation to make bricks, shape stones, prepare mortar, etc., etc. But the work of the architect, who combines the bricks, stones, etc., into the shape of a noble edifice, is of a higher degree of social usefulness than mere brick making, stone cutting, etc.

In the dominion of thought and knowledge there are hosts of useful workers who diligently engage themselves in ascertaining, collecting, stating and classifying facts, observing phenomena, experimenting—in short, in preparing the building material, the bricks, stones and mortar for the noble edifice of Philosophy and Science.

Now and then a thinker and scientist with an architectonic mind rearranges, shifts and recombines the raw materials of thought and knowledge of his age into a great system, into a grand artistic whole and creates an epoch in the history of the development of the human mind.

Ordinary workers in the field of science, as a rule, are apt to short-sightedness, to exaggeration of the importance of some small special branch of knowledge and to undervaluation of general, broad and deep, truly philosophic conceptions.

Thinkers and scientists of the architectonic mind-type usually meet with the most violent opposition on the part of the ordinary workers of professional science. It takes a long time till the broad generalizations of a master-mind are accepted by the rank and file of professional scientists and the general public. However, the struggle against the acceptance and recognition of a grand idea is preferable to its misconception and dogmatization by uncritical minds of adherers.

Rodbertus, Marx and Lassalle were the architectonic master-minds who shifted, rearranged and recombined the raw materials of social-economic thought and knowledge of their age into a great system of constructive and critical modern Socialism, into a grand philosophy of human life, and created an epoch in the history of the development of the human mind. The ideas and ideals of these master-minds met with the most violent opposition on the part of the professional scientists, the so-called vulgar economists and sociologists of the Spencerian school. This opposition is still very strong because it is backed up by the exclusive interests of the ruling middle class. However, this struggle against the ac-

*The American Farmer, by A. M. Simons, editor of the International Socialist Review, Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Co.

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ceptance and recognition of the grand idea of evolutionary socialism seems to us preferable to its misconception and dogmatization by the uncritical minds of the avowed followers of Marx's and Lassalle's teachings. Where there is life there is strife between conflicting interests, or rather between the representatives of conflicting interests; and where there is a struggle there is hope to win and conquer. But the dogmatization of an idea (or a cycle of ideas) is identical with the ossification of living tissue, with petrification, with spiritual death. Soon after the death of Lassalle and Marx the Socialist movement somehow lost the vivifying vigor of critical thinking. This was a time when the mental equipment of a Socialist of the rank and file consisted in a few ill (if at all) digested and parrot-like repeated shibboleths and maxims, borrowed on credit from some of the fathers and prominent leaders of the movement. These shibboleths and maxims were regarded somewhat in the same light as texts of the Bible by church people. For doubt, criticism and original thought there did not seem to be any demand among socialists. Orthodoxy and dogmatism of the most rigid pattern were considered as essential qualities of a true socialist. Anybody who dared to think for himself and have his own ideas was considered either a fool or a knave, or, more frequently, a fool and knave at once. Intolerance and heresy-hunting were the natural consequences of narrowness of mind. Some of these old-time Socialists were, to use the picturesque slang of David Harum, "so narrer in their views that fourteen of 'em e'n sit, side an' side, in a buggy." It was the golden age of self-appointed small imitators of the great Lassalle, of Socialistic popes, of innumerable arrogant and ignorant bosses who tried to run the whole thing, while the rank and file said "Yes" and "Amen" to any antique capers of their "scientific" leaders. Under such conditions the Socialist movement, instead of progressing, spreading and deepening, was moving backward, getting more and more shallow, was arousing more prejudices against its doctrines. It was a time of petty personal quarrels and mutual abuse in choicest billingsgate among jealous so-called "leaders," a time of useless hair-splitting and flagrant sectarianism.

Fortunately this transitional period is rapidly passing away and rational, truly philosophical evolutionary Socialism is broadening and deepening with every day, sending its roots into the national soil, and spreading its vigorous branches beyond the limits of one small class.

The old-time Socialists refused to take interest in the fate of the man with the hoe, the farmer. The narrow mind of fanatics always moves in abstractions and ignores life and its lessons. To the orthodox socialist a proletarian is not essentially a living human being capable of reasoning, feeling and acting, but a cer-

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tain economic category. The farmer was not considered as belonging to that category once he even only nominally owned a patch of arid soil and a few implements not worth more than scrap-iron. To try to take the farmer into the Socialist movement would be a mortal sin against the fetish of "class-consciousness."

In view of these facts and considerations the appearance of a book like the "American Farmer" from the authoritative pen of the editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Mr. A. M. Simons, ought to be hailed with delight by all those who value human life and its interests higher than dead dogmas and irrational creeds. The book is written in the fluent style of a professional journalist, its language is singularly free from the hackneyed pseudo-scientific brogue peculiar to the literary hash prepared in certain socialistic kitchens, where cheapness is the main consideration and quality does not count. Mr. A. M. Simons succeeded in digesting a great deal of original investigation into a handy volume, representing at once a lucid and comprehensive treatise of the subject.

The book is divided into three parts and sixteen separate chapters. The first part of the book is devoted to the history of the development of the class of farmers in the New England States, in the South, in the middle and far West, and in the arid belt.

The second book discusses with considerable erudition agricultural economics. The movement toward the city; the modern farmer; the transformation of agriculture; the concentration of agriculture, and the farmer and the wage-worker are the main topics treated in that part of the book. The last part argues about the coming change, about the line of future evolution, the Socialist movement, Socialism and the farmer, and steps towards the realization of the ideal state of society.

This enumeration of the subjects treated in the book may give an idea about the scope of Mr. A. M. Simons' work.

The author displays a great deal of wisdom in the guarded conclusions he arrived at. The main points of these conclusions are the following:

I. The small farmer is a permanent factor in the agricultural life of the United States of America and forms the largest uniform division of the producing class.

II. Any movement which seeks to work either with or for the producing class must take cognizance of the farmer class.

III. The isolation and disorganization of the class of farmers makes it impossible for it to take the initiative in any national social-economic movement.

IV. In order to successfully meet the encroachment of the exploiting class, the class of farmers must do it through co-opera-

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tion with the better organized and more homogeneous body of the working class composed of urban wage workers.

The last conclusion is the key of the reviewed treatise and logically follows from the first two conclusions.

"It is only through a close political union of the entire laboring class upon a programme in accord with social evolution that anything lasting and effective can be done to better the condition of the workers either of farm or factory. Until this fact is realized both are destined to remain in a greater or less degree of servitude to those who are the industrial and political rulers of present society," says Mr. A. M. Simons on page 214 of his new book. "If this book shall have added even the slightest degree to the formation of such a political union and ultimate emancipation it will have accomplished its purpose," are the closing words of the work (*ib idem*).

"The manner of exploitation of the industrial wage-worker of the mines and factory and that of the farmer is practically the same. Both stand as a class opposed to the exploiting class, neither owns the essentials of production which are necessary to the class of producers. Under these conditions their position is shoulder to shoulder in a common battle for a common freedom. The farmer must enter the political battle from the point of view of the laborer, not of the capitalist. In the two great armies into which modern society is divided his place is with the creators of wealth in mine and shop and factory" (p. 138).

"These quotations will suffice to show the general trend of the book, representing an eloquent and convincing plea for united political action on the part of all producers against the parasitic classes of society.

Some definitions used by the author deserve especial attention. For instance, the definition of concentration reads as follows:

"A movement tending to give a continually diminishing minority of the persons engaged in any industry a constantly increasing control over the essentials and a continually increasing share of the total value of the returns of the industry."

We would take exception to the analogy between human society and a jelly-fish. Spencer and his school have a distinct purpose in view, when advancing the organic theory of society. They want to intimate that social growth and development is a purely organic, unconscious and slow process. This theory is eminently in the interest of the conservative ruling classes of society. *Socialism is conscious social evolution.* The middle class sociologists preach that society ought to be left alone to work out its salvation in æons of time necessary for *natural organic* development. Spencer approaches society from the static point of view. Socialist thinkers approach society from the dynamic point of view and insist on stimulating and accelerating social develop-

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ment by the infusion of consciousness into the social life and activity. If the organic theory is true Socialists are only wasting their energies when trying to propagate their ideas and ideals. Fortunately the middle-class theory of society cannot stand the test of logic and scientific criticism and Socialists would do well to avoid the organic analogies, which are wrong and confusing to the extreme.

Summing up the impression produced by the *"American Farmer"* we feel like recommending it to every thoughtful student of society. We hope that this work will be followed up by a series of similar treatises, which throw more light on real social-economic problems than a dozen of dogmatic articles on "class-struggle" and similar hackneyed subjects. We may conclude with Goethe's immortal lines: *Grau ist alle Theorie, grün sind des Lebens Zweige.* We socialists need most actual knowledge of existing social-economic conditions. The official reports issued periodically by the various departments of the government of the United States, inadequate and unreliable as they may be in some respects, contain an inexhaustible mine of useful information about the existing social-economic conditions. Socialist writers need only to arrange and combine the raw material of official statistics in the light of modern science and philosophy in order to produce the most effective means of propaganda of the ideas and ideals of conscious social evolution or socialism.

ISADOR LADOFF.

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A History of German Trade Unions.

(Continued from January issue.)

CHAPTER III.

1878—1895.

TRIALS AND PREPARATIONS.

ON the 11th of May, 1878, Hoedel, and on the 2d of June, Noebeling, two cranks, shot at the old Emperor. Bismarck declared that these fools were Socialists, and ended by securing from the Reichstag, especially elected for this purpose, the laws of exception against the Socialists. To the police were given the task of muzzling the press, dissolving organizations and suppressing the right of assemblage (October 21). The propagandists were expelled and the great cities put in a state of siege. The capitalists even took a hand in this work: the employers compelled their laborers to sign a refutation of all subversive ideas and drove the suspects out of the shop.

This alone would have been enough to ruin the unions. Their most active members were removed, banished, or imprisoned. But the law went even further. The police had the duty of forbidding associations of all kinds which by social-democratic, socialist or communistic methods sought to overthrow the state and present society. They did not fail to act. Between the 23rd of October and the 31st of December, 1878, sixteen of the twenty-five unions listed by Geib were dissolved. The others were threatened, and some, like the printers, suppressed themselves. Only four seem to have lived until 1883.

During this white terror even the Hirsch-Duncker unions were anxious. They had carefully protected themselves against the invasion of the Socialists by passing, in 1876, the famous resolution by which each new member was required to take an oath that he did not belong to the Social-Democratic party. Many times their councillor was involved in troubles with the authorities, and their circulars constantly enjoined prudence. It was said that Bismarck intended to crush out all organization of the laborers.

He might as well have attempted to annihilate the whole system of capitalist industry. The formidable machine of the Prussian police was able in three years to reduce the Socialist vote by 100,000; it harassed political propaganda for ten years. Against those who were compelled by necessity to defend their daily bread, it accomplished almost nothing. From 1880 on, when the eco-

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nomic situation became a little better, in spite of everything, the laboring class began again its work of trade organization.

The laws had scarcely been promulgated and the societies dissolved when the laborers began once more to unite. This was first done as subscribers to the same journals; little trade leaflets, without politics, which began to arise. By the end of 1878 the trade journal of the shoemakers reappeared. In 1879 that of the woodworkers, and of the carpenters at Hamburg, and the tobacco workers of Leipsic, etc., were revived. These journals were a means of awakening and of union. In case of strike they received the funds and pointed out the opportunities for employment. They were even able with some caution to discuss the laws—at least, all those of interest to the working class. The spirit of solidarity was maintained, and the ranks remained unbroken.

The free benefit associations, founded under the law of 1876, furnished another opportunity which was not neglected. Some of the central organizations of the sick and death benefit associations founded by the Socialists had been dissolved, but, because they were according to the law itself, independent of the unions, others continued to exist. And the propagandists continued to push out among the workers.

Some of these in the beginning at the time of the worst oppression were very bold. Under the disguise of benefit funds they reorganized their unions. The printers were the first to do this, but their attitude of neutrality and the slightly aggressive attitude towards the Socialist leaders was not sufficient to reassure the government, and they were compelled to dissolve in order to save their funds. In November, 1878, they founded a Society of Mutual Assistance, and, as the Saxon authorities refused their authorization, they located their headquarters at Stuttgart. The hatters, who were dissolved in 1879, cautiously followed their example, and established in May, 1880, as a sub-division of their Central Sick and Death Benefit Fund, a society for mutual assistance, which was nothing more than a trade union. With the same prudence, as the result of a strike in Berlin, the woodcarvers of Germany formed a society for mutual assistance, which flourished in spite of the authorities, who were urged on by the rival Hirsch-Duncker union. Thus it came about that during the two years of the most brutal and thorough application of the Socialist laws, labor organizations were well maintained.

In 1880 German industry, which had languished since the crisis of 1874, revived; only about forty corporations had been founded each year during this period. In 1880 there was a sudden increase to ninety-seven, with a capitalization of $21,850,000; in 1881, 111, with $47,310,000. The natural consequence followed —a widespread strike movement. The woodworkers of Germany

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led the first of these, a rather unimportant one, in the spring of 1880. The close of this same year saw the revival of the isolated trade organizations.

Moreover, the political situation now favored a revival of organization. Bismarck had reported that force alone was not sufficient to detach people from the agitators in whom they had trusted; the working class loyalty which he desired to obtain failed to materialize. The policy of the lash gave way to that of sugar-plums. Violence was replaced with corruption. Bismarck declared that in order to cure the ills of society "it is necessary to better the conditions of the laborers by bona fide gifts." Thereupon came the famous imperial message of November 17, 1881, in which the Prussian government recognized the right of the workers to have work when capable, the right to care when sick, the right to bread when aged or infirm. Again the celebrated insurance legislation against sickness in June, 1883; accident in July, 1884; disability and old age in June, 1889, constituted an administrative work inaugurated, without doubt, wholly for political reasons, but which constituted, nevertheless, a revolutionary step for the trade union and socialist movement.

Even in this hour of first solemn declarations wholly unlooked-for results began to appear in the shape of a free labor movement in full publicity. This could not occur without some outside initiative, and these laws furnished this in a most remarkable manner.

Bismarck needed at least a semblance of working class collaboration with which to play, and he was using all his arts to gain the masses. Pastor Stöcker, the old Court preacher, who had started the Christian Socialist movement in 1877, bolder and freer in every way than the busy politician, was just as certainly following the same plan of conciliation, when in 1881 he attempted to create a certain sort of public opinion within the working class.

But it so happened that on the day on which Bismarck had expected to receive from the lips of the workers their complaints and their vows of allegiance, he found his invitation accepted by the Berlin gilder, Ewald. In March, 1882, Bismarck had called together the heads of the trade associations of Berlin, and a committee of seven members was appointed on which it was skillfully arranged to have two Christian Socialists. Then, in order to discuss the address of the Chancellor, numerous meetings were held, which were generally confused and enthusiastic, but where the Christian Socialist speakers were followed by those old Socialist leaders, Hasenclever and Fröhme. This idyllic condition lasted for some months, during the first part of 1883, and while Stöcker's project of compulsory unions was being discussed. But the workers showed no desire to be controlled with military discipline, according to their pass-books* (*livret*). They said as

*German laborers are required to carry a book endorsed by their last employer and the police, giving various items of personal information.

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much in these new assemblages, where Stöcker was finally hooted, and when Ewald praised Lassalle as the only friend of the workers. Then the police interfered; Ewald was condemned.

But important results had already been accomplished. The government was henceforth unable to so openly confuse Socialism and unionism. Moreover, the trade organizations began to grow. In Berlin alone eighteen responded to the first call of Ewald; and now, by the middle of 1883, these had increased to fifty. The first impulse had been given and the movement continued unchecked.

* * *

During this renaissance diverse tendencies were manifested. This was partly due to the fact that the working class were compelled to make use of many different methods in order to group themselves anew, and it was also partly due to the fact that five years of oppression had not sufficed to completely efface the divergencies and to unify the various ideas concerning the union movement. Finally, it may be generally stated, that those who suffered in the conflict between immediate interests and political convictions necessarily hesitated. In consequence the unions were made to serve either the interests or the convictions, according to circumstances.

In the first place, as a result of some provisions of the law, the benefit funds developed immensely. The law of 1883 on insurance against sickness recognized the benefit side of the unions and exempted their members from the compulsory insurance law. The union benefit funds had several advantages over the compulsory ones established by law; they had the right to self-government without official intervention; they furnished relief directly in cash and did not require the acceptance of the services of any particular physician; they were better organized nationally, thus assuring assistance to their members wherever they might be, and as a consequence the laborers joined them *en masse*. At one congress of these benefit associations (mostly Socialists), held at Gera in 1886, there were 419,159 members represented, of whom 249,741 belonged to twenty-six central associations. The woodworkers alone had 72,000 members, and the metal workers 32,842. But this situation helped the Hirsch-Duncker unions also, who had otherwise grown slowly with their anti-socialist tactics. They confined their activity to institutions for mutual benefit. In addition to their sick benefit fund, they gradually introduced, after 1879, aid for the unemployed. All this attracted members, and between 1878 and 1885 they grew from 16,500 members to 51,000.

But while these funds offered immediate and definite advantages and assisted in drawing the workers together, they were

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still far from satisfactory to those who had the most full and clear comprehension of the union movement. In order to keep up benefit funds with their high dues, good wages are necessary; these can be obtained only through strikes, and successful strikes, and for successful strikes fighting organizations are necessary. But what is a strike but a class struggle? And, although according to the Socialist law, the German Code by its provision of the right of coalition still recognized legal defense as a right, the police were authorized to arm themselves in advance for all such combats.

The workers resorted to loose organizations. In many cities when there was a strike a general assembly of the trade was called, which voted the strike and appointed a committee to direct it. This differed from the union in that it was a temporary organization, continuing only during the strike. Sometimes, however, in order to close up matters and dispose of any money which remained, committees continued to exist after the struggle was over. Naturally, the idea soon arose of permanent committees, to which the general assemblages would give repeated authority for definite purposes. From city to city, as occasions arose, these committees were able to extend. Finally Kressler, an architect, studied out a complete plan of organization founded on these customs.

This was, so to speak, the new form in which reappeared the old localist spirit and the political circumstances gave it this time a remarkable strength. The Socialist party being forcibly disorganized, its propagandists exiled, or imprisoned, its meetings forbidden, the unions, only half tolerated by the government, appeared as suitable organizations for the extension of the Socialist idea, and among the unions, these floating organizations especially, without a fixed treasury, with no permanent connection with each other, took up the political battle, like true guerrillas of the social struggle. At Berlin, in Saxony, the great Socialist center, these organizations multiplied, and even co-operated to some degree by means of confidential agents (*Vertrauensmanner*). The unions actually became, as Schweitzer had wished in 1868, the Socialist school of the laboring class. Nothing is really more educative than a well-conducted, well-explained wage struggle. This is why Liebknecht in 1884 preached the necessity of laborers belonging to the unions, and the necessity of neutrality to the unions.

But, in order to thus take part in the struggle and in order to influence legislation—in short, in order to act politically—it became necessary to turn over the immediate benefits of organization to insurance societies and to renounce the advantage of a fixed treasury in case of strike; since, as we have seen, the po-

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litical societies did not have the right of federation. Some resigned themselves regretfully to dispersed activity. But, in spite of continuous betrayal and the enormous difficulty of maintaining a national union under the existing regime which should be well prepared for strikes and for assistance, nevertheless, when once it was decided that this was the proper road, they set themselves to work.

Under various forms, the printers, carpenters and woodcarvers had already formed national unions, but they lived a very subdued life, in half concealment.

In 1883, under the cover of the mummeries of the Middle Ages, such as banners, military music, "*Hoch,* the Emperor," etc., the carpenter Marzian, a well-known agitator, succeeded for the first time in forming a union of his trade. His position was false; the members of the union were mostly Socialists; the firm purpose of Marzian to dispense with all agitation, avoid strikes and devote all energies to "practical duties" destroyed the hopes that had been secretly held, and led to quarrels and the overthrow of the founder.

Then it was that one bravely dared and attempted something more; as the result of the strike at Stuttgart, the well-known propagandist and avowed Socialist, Kloss, without attempting to conceal his object, organized a true union for striking and mutual assistance; that of the woodworkers at Noel in 1883. He conceded much independence to local groups, but for the whole organization there was a central union having definite authority and with its treasury supported by dues. Statistics of the labor market, traveling assistance, employment agencies, in short, all the instruments required for the union struggle, were fully created.

In spite of embarrassments of all sorts, through which the untiring energy of Kloss was maintained, the union continued to live. This great union established without fear of the anti-Socialist laws, paying no attention to the conditions imposed by the laws of association, and nevertheless tolerated by the Wurtemberg police, was a splendid example. To those who expressed their fears Kloss replied that legally his position was strong; the right of coalition was unassailable, and so also, as a consequence, was a union founded upon that right. Kloss was right. Here was the weak point. The Imperial Government could not very well be always proclaiming its solicitude for the workers and at the same time suppressing their most vital right. It attempted this, however, in 1886."

* * *

Towards the end of 1885 there came a sudden acceleration in economic development. This was characteristic of the years from 1880 to 1890—a general industrial stagnation with here and there

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some transient flashes of prosperity. This time the long, obstinate and energetically conducted strikes which broke out thoroughly demonstrated the progress of organization and union spirit. A clear class-consciousness on the part of the capitalist denounced the Socialist influence, and the police estimated that more than 100,000 of the organized workers in the unions had this tendency. The strikes seemed to them to be a menace to society.

Then it was that the Pommeranian Puttkamer, whom Bismarck had called to the control of internal affairs, pointed out the duties of the police in his decrees of April 11, 1886. He showed how it was possible to distinguish between an economic strike and a revolutionary strike, between an authorized strike and a Socialist strike; the latter must be punished at once as soon as it could be identified as such. The method was not new; the judges of Louis Philippe had formerly distinguished in the same manner republican strikes and ordinary strikes. But the French had at least not pretended to grant the right of coalition.

It might be well to say here just what it was that they sought to suppress; in the majority of the strikes, Socialists were active, and the expressions against the capitalists were frequent and sharp. But the decree stopped nothing; it is even possible that it did good; but the police took to their credit the inevitable failure of a few strikes.

From every point of view, chicanery, persecutions, and discouraging annoyances rendered this period almost unendurable. It was during this time that all the paragraphs of the laws of association were used against the unions; against the great unions the laws concerning political societies were invoked, while the local unions were prosecuted as insurance societies.

Even the benefit funds did not escape persecution. As their competition began to be felt by the governmental associations, these latter entered upon a campaign of legal processes against them founded upon an ambiguous paragraph in the law of 1883, and during the years 1887 to 1890 the judges generally decided in favor of the official societies.

Such measures as these were scarcely calculated to assist in the organization of the workers. Election after election the Socialist vote increased. In 1884 it was 550,000; in 1887, 763,000; in 1890, 1,427,000. All obstacles helped to rouse the spirit of solidarity, and in 1889, when prosperity unexpectedly returned, strikes again broke out everywhere.

One strike in particular, that of the miners, had a tremendous and far-reaching effect. In this trade, which was still deeply religious, and which, owing to an old system of benefit funds (*Knappschaften*), was subject to a sort of guardianship by the employers of the state, the strike grew to enormous proportions

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with the formidable rapidity accompanying the primitive uprising of an oppressed people. The "politicians" were helpless. The purely economic demands were for an increase of from 15 to 25 per cent in wages and an eight-hour day. By the 14th of May 100,000 miners were on strike in Westphalia. In the other valleys, those of the Saar, of Saxony and Silesia, the comrades stopped work by the thousand as individuals.

It was the young Emperor William II. who finally stopped the strike. On the advice of Hinzpeter, his old teacher, he received the delegates of the laborers. He told them of his hatred of the social democracy, but assured them of his desire to render justice to every one. He obtained some concessions from the employers, and work began again. The Westphalian miners thanked the Emperor, and then founded a union which was soon dominated by Socialist ideas.

It now became evident that neither brutality nor trickery were effective against the labor movement. A new policy was therefore necessary. Even during the life of Frederick III., Herrforth had replaced Puttkammer, and was showing himself more tolerant towards the unions. By his February decree William II. formulated the new policy of the state. This included the development of insurance and factory legislation, to which Bismarck had set the most narrow limits, and "the right of laborers to legal equality before the law." In March, 1890, the anti-Socialist law was not renewed. The time of trial had passed.

* * *

What were some of the results of twelve years of Bismarckian policy? The party he sought to crush had grown and acquired solidarity and the spirit of sacrifice by the struggle. The unions he had hoped to annihilate as the altars of the revolution were reorganized more numerous than ever before, and with a knowledge of the laws and tactical skill necessary to baffle all the numerous tricks of the police. The 50,000 workers organized in Socialist unions in 1878 had increased to 350,000 in 1890. Forty-one union journals, with 201,000 subscribers, had replaced the fourteen publications suppressed in 1878.

The Hirsch-Duncker unions had also grown alongside the Socialists. They had increased from 16,500 members in 1878 to 63,000 in 1891, but when it is remembered that their mutual assistance features had been added during this time, and that they had enjoyed uninterrupted peace during these twelve years of insecurity for all others, the result seems very small.

There was one thing, at least, that Bismarck had finally obtained, and that was the henceforth indissoluble union in the minds of the majority of the workers of all effort for labor and the idea of Socialism. Bismarck had finally brought to a realization the old Schweitzerian idea of 1868. Persecution had finally

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united political and union activity, and in 1890 they found themselves firmly connected, even identified.

* * *

This complete amalgamation, however, was not without danger for the growth of the union movement. During the existence of the laws of exception the unions had become the essential means of propaganda and association. Under the pretext of labor legislation, they began to take part in political affairs. In 1890 it once more became possible for the Socialists to have a political life and form political societies. But according to the law of association, political societies were not permitted to federate or unite with each other.

But economic necessities, assistance during strike and the mutual benefit institutions, rendered some sort of union between the various societies absolutely essential. This, then, was the problem, a problem of organization: was it better to form great centralized unions and give up political activity, or to remain isolated, holding no communication even with the party except through confidential agents (*Vertrauensmänne*), and thereby give up the assured advantages of a central union?

This question roused once more the old opposition between Localists and Centralists: one side wished to continue the Socialist propaganda; the others, also confirmed Socialists and devoted members of the political party, looked upon the unions only as a means of developing the economic power, and the capacity for resistance (*Widerstandsfahigkeit*) of the proletariat. It is to the honor of the German working class that from the time of York to the present members of the General Committee, under all circumstances, there have always been militants who have held clear and proper ideas of the relation between trade union work and political activity. From 1890 to 1896, in the midst of an economic crisis and in spite of fierce opposition, they victoriously defended their position, and thereby decided the future of German unionism.

Indeed, the unions had scarcely felt the first breath of freedom before some of them were planning to join their forces in a central organization. A conference of seventy-seven union presidents and secretaries, held at Berlin November 16, 1890, established a general commission, located at Hamburg, having the duty of calling a congress and preparing a plan of central organization, and meanwhile defending the right of coalition, supporting the isolated organizations in their struggle and extending the system of organization among the poorer trades and into the more backward portions of the country. A tax, which was poorly paid, of one pfennig per quarter, was inadequate to permit the complete fulfillment of these great duties, and in order

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to sustain a strike of the tobacco workers of Hamburg it became necessary to borrow nearly $25,000.

The first congress of German unions was held at Halberstadt on March 14, 1892. Two hundred and eight delegates were present, representing 303,519 laborers Kloss, the founder of the woodworkers' union, and Legien, a Hamburg turner, presided.

Here it was that the quarrel broke out when the committee submitted its plan of organization. It proposed to take the unions, now separated according to trade, and group them into great branch organizations, as seemed best adapted to propaganda and union activity. In response to some of the centralists, who wished to economize the cost of administration and to go even further and form vast industrial unions, Legien replied that in the present state of industry, with the enormous differences existing between the branches, this organization by branches was all that was possible. Those irreconcilable opponents, the localists, denounced the *esprit de corps* of the great unions and, insisting upon the economic helplessness of the proletariat, opposed all centralization as impeding political action. After a lively discussion the resolution offered by the workers in wood was adopted, by a vote of 148 to 37, with 11 non-voting, agreeing to the centralization by branches, but recommending that in those industries where it was possible agreements should be formed between the various branches. Within this organization the local societies were only intermediaries. The direction of strikes and the benefit funds were controlled by the Central Union, which thus became the real union.

The congress invited the local societies to affiliate with the centralized unions. These protested and withdrew, thus creating a split in the Socialist union movement, but they onstituted only an insignificant minority. The general committee was retained, but it no longer conducted strikes. It retained as its duties, first, propaganda for organization of the workers; second, gathering the necessary statistics for union activity; third, investigating statistics on strikes; fourth, the publication of a journal; fifth, international relations.

Under the diretion of Legien, who was unanimously elected president, it set itself painfully to work. Conditions were unfavorable. The industrial boom of 1889 had once more proved to be only temporary. This period of depression and moderate activity continued up to 1895. The unions, hindered by the large number of unemployed, frequently persecuted by the police, living always in the same legal insecurity (Hirsch, indeed, had not yet succeeded in securing for them a civil personality—in 1892-3), and finally hindered in their propaganda by the localists, paid their dues poorly and responded poorly as to statistics, but showed themselves all the more exacting. The agitation under-

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taken in eastern Prussia seemed without success. From 1891 to 1893, as a result of some losses sustained in the miners' union, the union movement appeared to be even decreasing. In 1891 there were 277,659 members affiliated with the central unions; in 1892, 237,094; in 1893, 223,530.

While the political party still continued to grow until 1893 it increased by 359,000 votes, it was still a question whether the union movement really had any future in Germany. Bebel thought not in 1893; at the congress of Cologne he attempted to show the helplessness of these societies in opposition to a Krupp or a Stumm and how legislation, such as that on insurance, for example, tended to limit their field of activity in comparison with that of English trade unions.

One question especially occupied the minds of the militants. Since the establishment of the General Committee the efforts of the unions no longer found their only means of unity in the great totality of the Socialist party. The General Committee now formed the central body of the unions. Even within the party the unions had formed a new autonomous organization, and while, without doubt, this was not conducted with the idea of a revolutionary union movement in opposition to parliamentarism, and while the *"Jungen"* who about 1891 developed this position, never received any special support in the great unions, nevertheless, this dualism of management, composed of a party committee and a union commission, very soon complicated by the divergencies and personal quarrels between Legien and Auer was already very disquieting. The fact is that the whole spirit of German Socialism may be summed up in one word, organization.

At the congress of Cologne the quarrel broke out. Bebel accused certain laborers who had sent a delegate to a congress of bourgeois economists of having "gone to Canossa." Nevertheless, the party affirmed its sympathy with the unions, but the commission was discredited. This gave rise to a movement of disaffection and defiance in the union world, and fierce attacks constantly followed. It was necessary that such a condition be ended as soon as possible.

This was the laborious work of the congress held at Berlin March 4, 1896. One hundred and thirty-nine delegates were there present, representing 271,141 members. Legien as the spokesman of the commission defended its work. He dropped the old quarrels, and called attention to the fact that what was said about the indefiniteness of his plans explained the difficulties of his work. His enemies had gone so far as to demand the suppression of this costly organ of administration, and the substitution of a simple correspondent. During six sessions the struggle was warm. Finally a committee was appointed with the printer Döblin as secretary, and the resolution that it pre-

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sented, with the exception of a few details, was adopted. The commission remained, but its income was reduced from five to three pfennig per member quarterly. It was refused the right to form an independent strike fund, and another committee was established alongside of it composed of delegates from the governing boards of the unions having the duty of keeping track of its work.

It continued to live, and its existence proved precisely that the great majority of Socialist unions had decided to carry on alongside of, and apart from, their political activity, the work which properly belonged to them—that properly constituted their work—the preservation and development within the present society of proletarian strength. This was henceforth possible. Their organization was assured, and it began to be unanimously accepted by all. Most important of all, after these years of trial and internal preparation, they had the necessary men. A union *personnelle* had been formed of tried and true minds, business men of the proletariat who joined to financial and tactical skill, firm devotion and energetic hopefulness. Of these, we may notice among others Legien, the president of the General Commission, Von Elm of Hamburg, Martin Secitz of Nuremburg; Timm, at present in Munich, Döblin, typesetter, and Otto Hue, a miner, all fighters from the beginning.

When German industry suddenly leaped forward, the unions were ready.

CHAPTER IV.

THE UPWARD FLIGHT.

1895—1903.

In 1895 money flowed into the German banks. Industries more and more concentrated, had perfected their technical equipment. Reserved forces of men and money were at hand. The slightest start sufficed to set things in motion. It was the application of electricity which gave this start. Motive force, illumination, tramways multipled in every city; then came the factories for their construction; finally, in order to supply these, metal working and mining also prospered. Corporations were once more seeking for capital; 161 were founded in 1895; 182 in 1896; 254 in 1897; 329 in 1898; 364 in 1899, and 261 in 1900. Thanks to these the great industry was able to expand its energies.

Then it was that within the working masses, increased and consolidated, the union organizations grew rapidly in number and in power. The Hirsch-Duncker unions passed from 70,000 members in 1895 to 80,000 in 1897, and the centralized unions (Socialist), which for four years had oscillated between 237,000

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in 1892 to 246,000 members in 1894, passed from 259,175 in 1895, to 329,230 in 1896, and to 412,359 in 1897.

Finally, that portion of the working class population which had not yet been reached by the idea of freedom, experienced the practical necessity of trade organization. The political parties which included these classes in their clientele, such as the Christian Social and Catholic Center party, commenced as a counter movement to concern themselves with these matters.

* * *

During the years from 1894 to 1897 the first Christian unions were founded and the rapidity of their development was astonishing.

To be sure they had their origin in a movement which was already old. In the first period of capitalism, amid a backward proletariat, the clergy inevitably exercise an influence. At this time the belief still rules that charity can alleviate or even cure the strange social evils that are manifesting themselves, and those who preach charity receive attention. The hopes of the laborers, who were organized, directed and restrained by the clergy, served then to reinforce these clerical philanthropies. More especially, in this Germany of the middle of the 19th century, still so profoundly bound to medieval life, the old tradition, which placed mutual associations under the patronage of the Church, lasted for a long time. Accordingly, the movement of social Christianity which commenced in 1860 with the work of Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, a contemporary of Lassalle, and which manifested itself in Bavaria, in Westphalia, and in the Rhine country of Prussia, by the founding of important Catholic Labor Societies, has since the initiative of Stöcker in 1877, and those of the miner Fischer in 1882, at Gelsenkirchen found an imitation in the Lutheran world. The Popular Association for German Catholics and the General Union of Evangelical Laborers' Societies of Germany include, even to-day, nearly 300,000 workers.

Now, about 1891 and 1892 the workers in these societies perceived that it was not sufficient "to awake and develop among their co-religionists the Evangelical or Catholic sentiment" in order to better their condition. They often saw in their various trades the influence exercised by the unions of the detested socialists and the indispensable value of trade organizations became evident to them.

In 1891 one of the leaders of the Catholic Laborers' Societies, Dr. Oberdörffer, in order to meet this need, proposed the creation of trade sections (*Fachabteilungen*) within the societies. Dr. Hitze, another leader, placed this idea in the by-laws, and in 1894 the General Assemblage of the Presidents of Catholic Workers' Societies at Wurtzbourg adopted them. These sections had for

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their objects trade education, knowledge of labor legislation, and "finally an appeal to the employers, authorities, and government for improvement of the condition of the workers." The strike was even contemplated as a last resort.

The idea had little success; very few sections were founded. If trade action was necessary, should it be limited to those faithful to a certain Church? Strong, numerous societies were necessary. But could they unite with the unbelieving liberals, or with the socialists, those organizers of the class struggle? No, certainly not. Nothing was left then but a union of Christians, of those who believed in God, in the present society, and who agreed in hating the "fatherlandless socialists." But the leaders still hesitated about preaching even such a union.

It was the initiative of the workers which decided and the leaders followed. In 1894, when six delegates of a Socialist Union had claimed to represent all the miners of the valley of the Ruhr at an International Congress held in Berlin, a great protesting movement included unanimously all the non-socialists, Catholic or evangelical. On Oct. 28, 1894, under the name of the Union of the Christian miners of Dortmund, there was formed at Essen the first Christian union. It had a clearly trade character; it declared that if necessary it would not reject the strike as a means of carrying through its otherwise moderate demands.

So it was that the question of faith became of secondary importance. The two confessions no longer sought to use the trade unions as a means of propaganda. They wished to "suppress the old quarrels." Henceforth they had only one object, the preservation of the workers from socialist propaganda, and to keep them under their control. Since trade activity alone, of a purely laboring class character, without external control, might perhaps lead to an understanding with the socialists, representatives of the two Churches undertook to conduct the movement together. The formula has been frequently repeated in their brochures and their congresses "the word *Christian* signifies anti-socialist."

These two parties had seen correctly and it was time. Such was the need of organization that the example once given was immediately followed. In 1894 at Treves the railroad workers, in 1895 the brick-makers of Lippe, in 1896 the textile workers of Bavaria, in 1897 the miners and metallurgists of Bonn and the textile workers of Aix-la-Chapelle founded Christian unions. All proclaimed their fidelity to the Emperor and the Empire, their opposition to socialism and their conciliatory intentions.

This was all in vain at least so far as it concerned the employers. Strikes, like those of the miners at Presberg, in 1898 demonstrated their repugnance to treating with their employers, even if they were Christians.

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Socialists or Christians, indeed, made little difference to the employers. But during these years of great undertakings this new increase in labor organizations disquieted and annoyed them.

By the publication of the message of February, 1890, Bueck, a representative of the industrials, had already declared that the German employers would never meet as equals the delegates from labor organizations. Alfred Krupp at the same time proclaimed that he would be master in his own workshop "like a lord within his domain."

Now during these years of prosperity, agreements as to price, cartels, and trusts, so numerous in Germany, came to reinforce this patriarchal, authoritarian spirit. To the labor organizations were opposed employers' organizations which were all the stronger because competition henceforth compelled all the producers in the same industry to stand together. The idea of utilizing this new power to harass the working class naturally occurred to the minds of the most irreconcilable of the employers. The threat of a systematic lockout was held over the German proletariat.

That which made this of still more importance was that in 1897, owing to the influence of a great capitalist, Baron von Stumm, these ideas obtained favor in high places. This was the time when German production commenced to disturb England and America. German pride saw itself master of the world. The imperialist dream began to haunt the brain of the Emperor. Capitalist surplus value was an essential thing for patriotism; the striking workers became traitors to the National cause. English industry, Stumm declared, is suffering from trade unionism. German industry is strong only because of the discipline which still reigns within it. For the glory of Germany it is necessary that discipline be maintained within the army of labor.

The unions experienced a final attack.

On the 17th of June, 1879, Wilhelm II declared that it was necessary to suppress all attempts at uprisings and to punish with the most severe punishment any laborer who should prevent his fellow laborers who wished to work from working.

On the 6th of September the Emperor announced that he would protect the *National* labor and that the law which solemnly promised liberty to those who wished to work would soon be proposed, and that this law would send to the penitentiary "whoever should prevent a German laborer from performing his work."

(To be Continued.)

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EDITORIAL

The Yellow Kid in Politics.

Capitalism generally appears to the working class as a tremendous tragedy, but at times it takes on many of the aspects of *opera bouffe*. This is particularly true in the field of politics. While the whole exploiting system rests on deception, yet it is in politics that the veil is the thinnest and consequently the paint and gewgaws most lavish.

In the presidential boom of W. R. Hearst there are all the features of a first-class farce, with, as usual in present society, many of the elements of a possible tragedy. He is, in a way, the very apotheosis of all that is grotesque in capitalism. The goods he has for sale are mostly composed of his own personality, and he leaps into the public market utilizing to the fullest extent the knowledge which he possesses of advertising. Like a true capitalist, he hires even his thinking, speaking and writing done for him.

If Roosevelt with his preaching of smug capitalist morality, his bombastic but genuine strenuousness, his thoroughly trained but capitalistically molded intellect, his fearless and probably sincere defense of vested tyranny, and his generally blind worship of all the gods of bourgeois civilization, represents the best that monopolized wealth can produce, then Hearst represents all that is most contemptible in that same social organization. Hearst babbles of the same morality, or at least his hired writers do, while the rottenness of his private life is notorious. He seeks by diligent booming of his own personality to convey the same impression of strenuousness without even the slight danger that comes from shooting Spaniards in the back, and while he seeks to pose as a champion of the oppressed, and rails, by proxy, at social evils, he maintains his position as a beneficiary of all those evils and takes care never to strike at a vital spot.

A contest between the two would be a glorious spectacular end to the long tragical farce of bourgeois civilization.

The old line politicians, who recognize that a certain amount of respect and reverence for an institution assists in maintaining its permanence, have always pretended that the presidency and presidential elections were hedged about with a sort of divinity that protected them from being reckoned among the commodities in which traders of the market trafficked. Of course, those who stand behind the scenes to pull the wires that move the

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puppets upon the stage know that all this is a farce, that these elections are but the business affairs of the ruling class, and that the battle of ballots is, while the workers remain unconscious of their true interests, but a part of the stage trappings by which the machinery is concealed.

Hearst in his clown-like antics has pulled down a lot of these trappings, and threatens to give the whole game away. Not for the benefit of the audience, although he screams that this is his motive; not for the purpose of abolishing the commodity character of the transaction, either; on the contrary, he simply seeks to supplant private sale by public auction that he may make a better bargain. He holds his assets in his hand, and has already shouted a first bid of a two million dollar contribution to the campaign fund to be paid on delivery of the goods.

But he cannot hope to be chosen as a satisfactory actor until he has demonstrated his ability to amuse the audience. He needs popularity. This also can be purchased. A number of newspapers and a press bureau to work up public opinion, with an army of paid organizers to manufacture enthusiasm and create a "popular demand," will supply this deficiency. All this is good business and testifies to Mr. Hearst's ability to analyze the capitalist system—or to hire the right man to analyze it for him.

A part of the make-up for a presidential candidate is a set of principles. Here, too, Hearst easily leaves all his competitors far in the rear. Applying up-to-date capitalist methods, he syndicates the preparation and publication of his principles, and with his organized staff of clever writers easily out-competes the individual efforts of other candidates. He delivers most eloquent speeches (in print) at places where "other engagements" prevent him from being physically present. His name is signed to resounding editorials, pleading all kinds of causes, but no one ever saw him writing any of these, although his photograph, taken in the attitude of thinking these great thoughts, has been published several times.

Realizing with true mercantile insight the necessity of a varied line of goods, he has a set of principles to suit all kinds of customers. He is for the destruction of "criminal trusts," but in favor of "legitimate combinations." He proves that he is a democrat by the fact that he has supported both Bryan and Cleveland on diametrically opposite platforms. He is a municipal reformer in Chicago, a Tammany man in New York, while he trains with the labor party in San Francisco. His long suit, however, is his friendship for union labor, although even here he keeps a strong line out to windward by repeatedly affirming his belief in the conservation of business interests. His friendship for union labor is shown largely in the number of broken-down fakirs that he keeps upon his pay rolls.

His able editors, especially Albert Brisbane, who heads the staff and who bears a name that should have remained honorable in the history of social movements, have told him of the rising tide of socialist thought that is sweeping over the capitalist world, and that this movement is an integral part of industrial evolution and is certain of victory. At once Mr. Hearst concludes that he will hitch his chariot on behind, far enough behind to be out of danger, but sufficiently close so that he hopes it can

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bear him on to power. He has caught that portion of the socialist philosophy which declares that labor shall be triumphant, and, mixing with it just enough of a muddled collectivism to make the counterfeit easier to pass, he seeks to pose as the great labor candidate. In this connection he loudly champions labor in general, but keeps away from particular instances of injustice.

So it is that with all of his extensive news staff there are several things that seem to have escaped his attention. At one time he saw something of child labor in the South, and then it occurred to him that Southern democratic politicians had something to do with nominating the president for the Democratic party, and since then he has been content to let the children suffer without his sympathy. If we are to believe him, he prevented a Kischineff massacre, and is the special protector of the Filipinos. He howls praises of universal suffrage up North and advises negro disfranchisement down South. He can gain the slightest details of a Russian massacre, even if he has to send special correspondents to the spot, but up to the present time he has heard nothing of the military outrages in Colorado. At first sight this would seem just the sort of thing that he would revel in. It is certainly sensational enough. The Constitution of the United States and of Colorado have been used as a football; union laborers and their families have been driven from their homes, the militia used as a private police force, and all this by an organization whose avowed object is to crush those for whom Mr. Hearst professes his love, the trade unions. Nevertheless, Colorado might as well have been—and, indeed, far better, so far as the Hearst news gathering force is concerned—located on an island in the midst of the Pacific, with all communications cut off. Of course, the fact that Mr. Hearst is a heavy stockholder in silver mines, in which members of the Western Federation of Miners are working, and that those miners are actually taking his advice and voting for their own interests as a class, may have helped to blind the eyes of his reporters, especially as these votes promise to be given to the Socialist party.

In spite of all his ability as an advertiser and an exploiter of other men's intellects, Hearst would be of little importance were it not for his value as the "circus" portion of the "bread and circus" programme upon which much of the support of capitalism depends. It is probable that even his extraordinary energies at blowing his own horn would have failed to attract attention, had it not been that something of his character was needed just at this time by the ruling class of America. If this "yellow kid" can be dangled before the eyes of the American working class for a few years, it will serve to attract their attention from other matters whose consideration might prove dangerous to their masters. So it is that we begin to see some of the Wall street journals looking with half favor upon the Hearst candidacy and items are now going the rounds of that portion of the press where such items will do the most good to the effect that Hearst is a "safe" candidate, and that "business interests" would not be hindered by his success. It is always dangerous to impute too great a comprehension of social phenomena and too thorough a class

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consciousness to the representatives of capitalism. But it would require no more intelligence than is possessed by the average capitalist journalist to reason out that with a coming industrial depression it might not be a bad idea to foist Hearst to the front and then label him "socialism" and declare that he was responsible for the hard times that accompanied his prominence, and it is this fact alone which makes his boom anything of a serious matter.

Even, in view of all these considerations, we still adhere to the belief expressed some months ago that the Hearst boom will fail to materialize. But it is well to be forewarned from all points, and if this bubble is to be pricked and the true inwardness of the matter to be shown up, it must be done by the only ones who have no interests to conserve by the continuance of the capitalist domination which that boom can but help to prolong. Hence, it is well worth the while of the socialists to devote a little space to it just at this time by pointing out to the worker the farcical character of the whole matter.

Owing to a combination of errors we were led to believe that the MSS. on Marxian Idealism was written by Jean Longuet, but a note from Comrade Longuet informs us that its author is Comrade Emile Vandervelde, and it is so credited in this issue. We feel that, while we cannot agree with many of the positions taken, it is one of the most scholarly presentations of this phase of Socialism ever published.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Australia.

The following from our special correspondent, Andrew M. Anderson, is interesting in view of the fact that some Socialist papers have been hailing the election of fifteen "labor" members in Australia as a Socialist victory:

The first parliament of the Australian Commonwealth has now been dissolved and the work of fooling the Australian people is now being carried on merrily by candidates of various kinds.

The two great parties in the first Federal Parliament were the Protectionists and Free-Traders. These parties were almost numerically equal, but the Labor party, holding the balance of power, gave a general support to the Protectionists, who were thus enabled to control the legislation. The tariff bill occupied a very large portion of the time of the parliament, and a tariff of a somewhat protective nature was evolved. The Labor party gave the government liberal support on this question, with but two exceptions. Seeing, however, an opportunity of making a bid for popularity they combined with the free-traders and abolished the duties on tea and kerosene.

Adult suffrage has been obtained. An immigration restriction bill and a South Sea Islanders' bill (for the purpose of abolishing Kanaka labor on sugar plantations) have been passed. In the Federal public service bill a minimum wage-clause has been inserted, giving all federal employees over 21 a salary of at least £120 per annum. By the same act, the rate of pay given to females is made equal to that paid to male employees. By the postal act mail boats are prohibited from employing colored labor.

For all of these pieces of legislation the Labor party claims chief credit, but it is very probable that most, if not all, of these measures would have become law even if there had been no Labor party in the parliament. The Australian citizen has a taste for pseudo-democratic measures and institutions, and these measures may fairly be regarded as the reward of the agitation which existed in the country during the '90s, and which created the Labor party itself. In proof of this contention, it may be pointed out that the Federal Constitution necessitated the granting of adult suffrage. This constitution was drawn up by a convention at which labor had not a single representative. It is the movement in the country rather than the faction in the house which has accomplished the above results. It is true that all of these questions found a place in the Labor program. The Federal government, anxious to gain support and seeing that no vital principle was involved, have allowed the Labor party to believe that it has coerced them into granting these reforms.

A Federal High Court has been established very similar in constitution to the American one, and no opposition was offered to it by the Labor party.

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Most of these measures have been referred to as "socialistic legislation," both by laborites and their opponents. Indeed, the candidates endorsed by the Employers' Federation (of the Eastern states) have boldly announced their opposition to "socialistic legislation." Their speeches are full of references to socialism, but the labor candidates are generally content to refer to it as a bogey got up to frighten electors. A few of the labor candidates, indeed, have said they are Socialists, but they manage to drop the subject there. Some of them even venture to say that their opponents are socialistic when it suits them. The most lengthy and pronounced reference to socialism yet made by a Labor candidate was full of reference to the postoffice and the extension of public ownership. One cannot help wondering why the Federal High Court is not quoted as an instalment of socialism. No word of the class struggle anywhere escapes from the lips of labor candidates. At present the philosopher's stone, which is going to transform the worker's economic slavery into independence, is compulsory conciliation and arbitration. In New South Wales the Labor candidate for the senate, speaking on this all-absorbing theme, said that in New South Wales "it had proved a greater boon to the fair employer than to any other class."

The Federal Labor leader has not a word to say on Socialism in his address to his electors. He has already announced himself as a hearty supporter of Chamberlain's preferential tariff scheme. Several other members of the party have also expressed their sympathy with it. The following extract from a speech by a Tasmanian Labor candidate is interesting, affording proof of the fact that the Labor party has simply become a vote-catching machine.

"He had worked for three hours to induce his party to keep the duty on potatoes, and if the farmers would support him he would fight to have that duty retained; but if he got no support from the farmers, and was elected by the miners, who were free-traders, he warned the farmers that he would vote to have the duty taken off."

Labor members have, in fact, become professional politicians, and are unwilling to allow their own interests to be sacrificed in any way. At present they are striving to raise the salary of Federal representatives and senators from £400 to £500 per annum.

In New South Wales alone have we class-conscious Socialist candidates. There the Australian Socialist League are putting forward three candidates for the senate. It is hardly to be expected that their efforts will be crowned with success, but the conducting of the campaign will be excellent propaganda work and will serve to show the straight-out Socialist vote of New South Wales.

France.

There seems to be considerable disruption in the Opportunist wing of the French Socialist party. Millerand recently voted against a proposition for universal disarmament, and as a consequence was expelled from the party. Just how much this really means, it is hard to tell. *Le Socialiste*, the organ of the revolutionary Socialists, declares that it is simply an effort to make Millerand a scapegoat upon which can be unloaded all the sins of the Jaures faction after which he can be driven out, while the party will really remain as opportunist as ever. Jaures has left *La Petite Republique* and has founded another paper, *The Twentieth Century*. Gerault-Richard remains with the old paper. Jaures gives as an excuse that the financial management of the paper was engaging in all kinds of speculations of which he did not approve.

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Italy.

Since Ferri has taken charge of the *Avanti* it has doubled its circulation several times, and now issues 55,000 copies daily. It has added several men to its editorial staff and is about to inaugurate extensive mechanical improvements which will enable it to meet its increased demands.

The libel suit against Ferri by the former Minister of Marine, Bettolo, has proved a great opportunity for the Socialists to expose the general rottenness of the government. Ferri has already much more than made good the truth of the charges for which the suit was originally brought.

Japan.

Sen Katayama, the editor of *The Socialist*, is at present in Texas, having arrived in this country a few weeks ago. He proposes to spend some time in the Southwestern states in an endeavor to organize the Japanese into the Socialist party.

The Socialists of Japan held a meeting on October 8, in which a resolution was adopted opposing any war between Japan and Russia, and declaring their adherence to the principles of universal peace.

Russia.

In spite of the fact that the principal workers in the Socialist movement in Russia have been sent to Siberia, their activity still continues, as the following extract from a secret official circular, which has recently been sent to the police officials of Siberia, shows: "We have information that the political exiles are still in direct communication with the laborers and with the members of the revolutionary committees, and are thereby enabled to actively participate in their illegal activity. In this manner the exiling of the persons to Siberia fails of accomplishing its purpose. This matter must be brought to the attention of all the police in order that such persons may be more closely observed, and in all places where political exiles are located, police supervision must be made more strict and daily reports sent in concerning all political exiles. Where a suspicion arises that such people are still active in revolutionary circles, or have relations with them, unexpected searches of their domiciles by the police should at once be undertaken. The houses of the exiles should be visited as often as possible by the police and their whole correspondence must be thoroughly investigated."

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Senator M. A. Hanna, boss of the Republican party and president of the National Civic Federation, has made a statement several times during the past month that is quite surprising, coming, as it does, from such a source. In an interview with Mr. Frank Carpenter, the well-known journalist and syndicate writer, Senator Hanna, in reply to the question, "If labor and capital are to combine, will not the public be ground between the upper and nether mill stones of high wages and high prices?" replied as follows: "The public! What is the public? In our country it is made up of capitalists and laborers. With the exception of a very few, every man in the United States is an employer or an employe. We are all workingmen. Some of us work with our brains and others with our hands, and the employers, as a rule, work the hardest." The salient point in this frank statement is that Hanna is further advanced than some workingmen and union officials, who actually believe, or at least pretend to, that there is a third party, or separate class, called "the public." In the February number of the *National Magazine*, published at Boston, Senator Hanna again declares, in an article contributed to that journal: "It is often asked what is to become of the non-organized consumer if an amicable alliance is made between labor and capital? But every man belongs either to the one or the other group; for that matter, he is likely to belong to both." Probably now that their prophet has admitted that the contentions of the Socialists are correct—viz., that there are no other factors in social production except labor and capital, and that the mysterious third party, "the public," has been harped about for no other purpose than to obscure the class struggle, some so-called labor leaders will also change their views. Quite likely, too, the capitalists and laborites of the Civic Federation, under the leadership of Messrs. Hanna and Gompers, will also be consistent and dump Grover Cleveland, Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Potter and other capitalists or their sympathizers from that organization. Despite the fact that Senator Hanna has made the above important admission for the purpose of aiding his scheme to make organized labor and capital "partners," and to check the spread of Socialism among the workers, his bold declaration is a distinct gain toward dissipating some heavy clouds of confusion, and the Socialists can be ever so much obliged to him.

Industrially the outlook has not improved very much during the past month, and if anything the class struggle between the organized forces of labor and capital is becoming more intensified. Undoubtedly some of our friends who are still singing the song of "harmony," though in a weak voice, will accuse the "wicked" Socialists of being pleased with the situation. But that peevish position does not change the conditions, for which not the Socialists, but their opponents alone, are responsible. Facts are stubborn things and will not down, no matter how much ill-temper is displayed. As if by magic, wage increases and movements to

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shorten hours have almost ceased, and organized labor is now on the defensive, fighting to hold what it has gained during the past few years by hard struggles.

It will be recalled that fully a hundred thousand textile workers of New England were compelled to accept a reduction of 10 per cent in their already scant wages in order to cheapen production and stimulate consumption. But it seems that this wonderful scheme of capitalistic economy does not seem to solve the problem, and so the bosses of New England and the South have selected a committee to work out a plan to close some or all mills from time to time in order to "restrict the output" and maintain prices. Thus the poor wage-slaves of the textile mills are to have their meager earnings still further reduced, and just how the destruction of their purchasing power will help matters the bosses don't pretend to say. And they don't care as long as their profits are forthcoming, even though they are coined out of the muscle and bone of half-starved men, women and children.

The iron and steel workers have accepted their reductions, ranging from 5 to 40 per cent, and it is calculated that the hard-worked magnates (Senator Hanna says most capitalists work harder than laboring men) will "economize" $40,000,000 to $50,000,000 a year in wages alone. But the Morgan-Rockefeller crowd in the United States Steel Corporation is going to clean up a bit of spending money besides the direct wage cut, and the same workers who were flim-flamed with a watered stock scheme last year will be required to take another chance "to get rich quick." Secretary Trimble of the trust has announced that stock will again be sold to employes—this time at $55 per share. Last year some 28,000 men purchased about 40,000 shares of stock, with the expectation of becoming *petite* Morgans, and incidentally to hold their jobs. They paid $82.50 per share, but the price dropped to $49.75, a loss of $32.75 a share, or a total of $1,310,000 was shorn from the bleating lambs. Now, since these same workers have stood for wages reductions and insured dividends for the fat men at the top of the heap, the price has advanced to about $57 per share. Of course, some of those workers with capitalistic minds will be sure to nibble at the bait again—it means that their jobs will be safer than those of the men who refuse to be robbed in such a barefaced manner. Protection has been a great thing for those iron and steel workers. They have had a nice dose of piling up hundreds of million dollars for the Carnegies and Fricks, and now they are going to do the same good turn for the Rockefellers and Morgans.

The Interstate Commerce Commission recently issued several barrels of statistics, which, sifted down to an intelligible basis, show that as a whole wages during the good times last year were but a few pennies higher than in the panicky year of 1896, when gold-bug parades were organized by such gentlemen as Chief Sargent, or the firemen, to shout for "prosperity," and likewise help the manipulators into office. The commission's report also shows that the earnings of the railways have increased $34,000,000, and that freight rates have been advanced by concerted action and competition eliminated. "No assurance of a decline in rates is apparent," says the report, "and there is no way the advances can be prevented." Yet these magnates, who have advanced freight rates, increased their profits and killed competition, are now busily chopping down wages and laying off men. Daily papers in Chicago and other railway centers announce that thousands of men have been laid off during the last few months, and that many more will follow. On the other hand railroad men throughout the country complain that the tendency of the railways is to put constantly increasing tasks upon them. Engines are built larger and heavier every year and are now drawing twice the number of cars they were a few years ago, but the

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same number of employes are allowed to the train. Still another cause of complaint is the recent order of the postmaster general, which will have the effect of making every train in the United States a mail carrier and as such will be under the protection of the government. The railroaders claim that the order is unjust, and they will use every effort to defeat any bill providing for the appropriation of funds to pay train baggagemen in addition to their wages from the railroad companies for the handling of packages of paper mail, which is the purpose of the order. "There is no question but that this innovation," says the official journal of the trainmen, "was the inspiration of the railway managers rather than the postoffice department."

At this writing the miners are sparring with the operators of the bituminous coal fields to ward off the long threatened reduction of wages. It would be difficult to predict what the outcome will be. One miners' delegate put the situation in a nutshell: "The operators want more money, and if they don't get it in the shape of a wage reduction it will come in some other way, such as raising prices of supplies, rents, etc., or laying off men and holding up prices." Quite a number of men are out resisting cuts in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Colorado, Utah and one or two other states, and the drain has become so heavy on the national treasury that the convention last month was forced to increase the per capita tax. In the anthracite field the impression is growing among the men daily that Roosevelt's strike commission, which brought the "open shop" into prominence by refusing to recommend that the coal barons rceognize and treat with the union, was a big bunco scheme. The miners claim that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and other concerns in the combine have blacklisted some of the hardest workers in the cause of unionism, and that their Saturday half-holiday and shorter workday advantages are being brazenly violated. In their desperation the men in the Schuylkill region appealed to the commission to prevent the constant invasion of their rights, and in a lengthy decision Carroll D. Wright, the umpire (and "workingman's friend"), not only threw them a stone, but he actually went out of his way to assure the Baers that the conditions existing before the strike had been unchanged by the commission, but that the barons could make whatever "voluntary agreements" they pleased with their employes. Says Mr. Wright: "At the expense of repetition, but in order that there may be no misunderstanding, let me recapitulate the situation: The anthracite coal strike commission did not reduce the hours of labor of company men from sixty to fifty-four per week, nor from any other number of hours to any number, as insisted in the grievance; nor did it prohibit the parties to the submission making any voluntary agreement for their mutual benefit, or perpetuate, or repeal any custom existing prior to the strike not especially made the subject of award. This interpretation, it seems to the umpire, leaves the parties just where they were at the time of the strike, and just where the award of the commission left them—at perfect liberty to fix the hours per day or per week by voluntary action. The commission did not, nor can the umpire now, interfere with that liberty." Now comes a sequel to this wholesale exploitation. It is estimated by the daily press that the tide-water valuation of the total output of anthracite coal last year was $273,000,000, of which sum "$73,000,000 was paid in wages to the mine workers." Labor being the largest cost in production, it looks as though Baer and his co-conspirators "divided up" the largest portion of the $200,000,000 that was left among themselves. "You can't cram your socialism down our throats!" said some of the very conservative delegates at the recent convention in so many words. No; you can lead a horse to the trough, but he don't have to

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drink. Surely, if the miners like Baerism there is nothing to prevent them from receiving their fill.

In the building trades there are mutterings of coming storms in many places when the season opens next month. The bosses are organizing and are not hiding their hostility to unionism. The structural ironworkers are still engaged in battle with the Iron League, which has been strengthened by the affiliation of the Fuller Construction Company, and other branches are becoming uneasy at the outlook. The Parry crowd is also busy, claiming that over 200 local alliances and 3,000 firms are affiliated with their association. Damage suits are coming thick and fast. Small sums of $10,000 to $25,000 don't seem to satisfy some of the bosses. Out in Calaveras county, California, the miners are asked to pay $250,000 to their masters as damages; in San Francisco a horseshoeing boss wants $100,000 from the union, and the hatters are asked to pay upward of $300,000 to a boycotted manufacturer. Suits for smaller sums are pending in every industrial center in the country.

Meanwhile Hanna's agitation in favor of union labor becoming an "ally" of capital is becoming a leading issue among the organized workers, and there will be some warm discussions between his adherents and opponents in the unions. Of course, if it is true, as Senator Hanna claims, that labor and capital are brothers, there shouldn't be much trouble in the happy household, for no matter if wages are reduced the money remains in the family anyhow. And then if labor is laid off the capitalists will probably have to go to work to support themselves.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Organized Labor. By John Mitchell. Cloth, 436 pp. $1.75. American Book & Bible House, Philadelphia, Pa.

Few men have had a greater opportunity to make a valuable contribution to the literature of the labor movement and thereby directly assist the cause of organized labor than has John Mitchell. His prominence in the anthracite coal strike gave him an opportunity to reach the ear of a larger audience than any other man in the trade union movement of America. He had had sufficient experience to have gathered many valuable facts and he might well have written a work which would have been truly worth while. He could not have written a philosophic discussion on the trade unions, for his every public utterance shows him to lack the knowledge and the training necessary to do this, and that he has a most imperfect knowledge of social relations in general. But he could have described the growth of the trade union movement in America as he had seen it. He could have told, as but few men, the story of the struggle of the coal miners of America, since he has been a part of that struggle for many years, and no portion of the field of labor would have furnished a more interesting story. His experience as a trade union leader would have enabled him to have given a valuable exposition of purely trade union tactics, of the means by which strikes are won and lost ,and organizations maintained at a high degree of efficiency. In the field of collective bargaining, especially, he could have told of the growth and present operation of the system now in vogue in the bituminous mines which is one of the most interesting known anywhere in the world. All of these things he might have done, but none of them he did, though some of them he attempted. On trade union tactics and collective bargaining he quotes almost literally from the Webbs, and on other points his treatment is most fragmentary and unsatisfactory. Instead he secured the assistance of a Ph. D., who simply brought in a little scholasticism, and, apparently, no knowledge of economics since the work is full of almost childlike errors in political economy.

He then attempts to discuss the philosophy of trade unionism, and in some fifty chapters he covers a great amount of territory very poorly. Nearly all the reviewers have quoted his recognition of the permanence of the classes of capitalists and laborers together with his statement that there is no necessary antagonism between the laborer and the capitalist. Hence, we can pass these by without again pointing out the contradictions and errors.

Even on little details of the union movement with which he should be specially familiar, there are errors. As, for example, where he declares, page 76, "there is no affiliation, however, of American international unions with organizations in Europe," notwithstanding the well-known examples of the "Amalgamated" carpenters and engineers. He throws out puffs

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for the Civic Federation, and declares that the attitude of the union towards militia "should be and almost invariably is one of tolerance, if not of friendliness."

His treatment of Socialism is scarcely worthy of notice. He evidently feels that he somehow does a smart thing in always coupling together the Socialist and the Prohibtion party whenever it is necessary to mention either, as if they were equally representative of the labor movement in politics.

On the whole, the work adds little to John Mitchell's reputation, and must soon be supplanted in all its features by more satisfactory treatises. Here, as at many other points, Mitchell has fallen far short of meeting the opportunity which was offered.

American History and Its Geographic Conditions. Ellen Churchill Semple. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Cloth, 466 pp. $3.00.

This work is pre-eminently for the student. The writer has had a quite deep insight into sociological factors, although, as was almost inevitable, considering the point of view from which the subject was approached, she exaggerates the importance of the geographic factor and occasionally confuses economic, ethnical and geographic factors, as in her explanation of the persistency of chattel slavery on pages 280-281.

The method is principally chronological. In the first chapter on "The Atlantic States of Europe, the Discoverers and Colonizers of America," she points out many geographical factors hitherto overlooked, which assisted in determining the location of settlements in the American colonies. There is a tendency throughout the work to overestimate the importance of rivers in which she seems to follow some of the European writers on economic geography.

The chapter on "The Westward Movement in Relation to the Physiographic Features of the Appalachian System" is especially good as showing how the location of the various passes through the Appalachians determined the location of settlements in the interior. A discussion of the Trans-Allegheny settlements shows how the industrial condition here repeated the stage attained by the colonies prior to the revolution, and how, as a consequence, a similar separative tendency developed.

The social effects of mechanical inventions are not overlooked as the author points out the remarkable effect which the invention of the steamboat had upon the development of the Western country. "In 1818 five steamboats were built at Pittsburg; one at Wheeling; four at Cincinnati, and four at Louisville, or fourteen in all." * * * In 1834 there were on the Western rivers 230 steamboats, with an aggregate tonnage of 39,000, and in 1842 there were 450 boats, measuring 90,000 tons."

The effect of the Erie canal was even more important as shown by the following quotation: "The Erie canal fixed the destiny of New York City, forced it rapidly to prominence as the national port of entry, and as the center of our export trade. It shifted the great trans-Allegheny route away from the Potomac, out of the belt of the slaveholding agricultural South to the free, industrial North, and placed it at the back door of New England, whence poured westward a tide of Puritan emigrants, infusing elements of vigorous conscience and energy into all the northern zone of states from the Genesee river to the Missouri and Minnesota. The prairie lands which these new westerners cultivated were, by means of the lakes and the Erie canal, made tributary to the growing metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson. New York became now commercially, as formerly it had been in a military sense, the keystone of the Atlantic shore arch. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston lost much of their importance, and did

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not regain it even in part until railroads enabled them to re-establish interior connections."

She follows the geographic movements of a few industries, particularly the slaughtering and meat packing: "The industry arose in Cincinnati in 1818, and had its chief center there till 1861-62, but numerous packing establishments sprang up in Columbus, Chillicothe, Circleville, and Hamilton, all of which were located on the Ohio canals; in several towns along the Ohio, notably Louisville, along the Wabash, Illinois and Mississippi rivers; and in Chicago, where the industry began to develop in earnest only after 1850. In 1862 the center migrated westward from Cincinnati to Chicago, where it has remained ever since, though the most striking industrial specialization is found beyond on the Missouri."

Unfortunately this feature is confined to very few industries, whereas it might have been extended to all industries and constituted the most valuable portion of the book.

The work is quite well equipped with maps, although one would have preferred even more than are given, and, in some cases, specially constructed maps would have been preferable to those which are taken directly from the United States census and which are really intended to illustrate something aside from the matter in the text. Each picture is followed by a short bibliography, which is a very valuable feature. However, one is surprisd to find many things which certainly belong to such a bibliography omitted. There is no mention of Thwaite's works on the fur trade or the Ohio river, and indeed the fur trade is given much less prominence than it deserves in the early history of the country. No reference is made to the works of Brooks Adams, or to the quite extensive literature on the Cumberland road, although these works cover much the same matter that is treated in the text.

Geographic Influences in American History. By Albert Perry Brigham. The Chautauqua Press. Cloth, 285 pp. $1.25.

In this popularly written work of convenient size and simple style we have a handbook of a subject concerning which there is little popular knowledge. The treatment is largely geological, and, indeed, it is a question if too much emphasis is not laid on this point of view. The list of chapters gives a very good summary of the work. They are: (I) The Eastern Gateway of the United States. (II) Shore-Line and Hilltop in New England. (III) The Appalachian Barrier. (IV) The Great Lakes and American Commerce. (V) The Prairie Country. (VI) Cotton, Rice and Cane. (VII) The Civil War. (VIII) Where Little Rain Falls. (IX) Mountain, Mine and Forest.

He deals much with soil characteristics, showing their influence on agriculture and industrial life. Perhaps the sharpest criticism that could be made of the book is an almost complete lack of maps, something which is absolutely essential to such a work. This is, to some degree, made up by a lavish use of illustrations.

He sees a great future for the territory surrounding the Great Lakes and the new South. For the student who has little time for study and wishes a concise summary this volume is extremely satisfactory.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

More Capital for the Publishing House.

On February 4 the stockholders of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company, by the necessary two-thirds vote, authorized the issue of four thousand additional shares of stock at ten dollars each, thus increasing the authorized capital stock from ten thousand to fifty thousand dollars.

On pages 445-447 of the REVIEW for January, we have given some reasons why those who desire to strengthen the socialist movement of the United States should subscribe for stock.

We shall not waste space by repeating these reasons. We wish this month to call attention to the actual work that has been accomplished by our co-operative company in making the best literature of international socialism accessible to the working people of America.

The Pocket Library of Socialism, of which the first number was issued in 1899, has proved one of the most effective means of propaganda ever devised. It is a series of booklets, each containing 32 pages, with a red transparent cover, just the right size to carry conveniently in the pocket or to mail in an ordinary business envelope, and light enough so that a copy can be mailed with a letter of one or two sheets without requiring an extra postage stamp. Forty numbers are now in print, and number 41, "The Socialist Catechism," by Charles E. Cline, is in press. These booklets retail for five cents each, while stockholders can buy copies at a dollar a hundred, transportation included, or eight dollars a thousand where the purchaser pays expressage. Many socialist locals find this profit of four cents a copy an important help toward paying hall rent, and traveling lecturers and organizers find that it helps pay traveling expenses. On the other hand, the booklets are so tastefully designed that, while they are printed on inexpensive paper, they sell readily at five cents to any who are interested in socialism at all, and they are far more likely to be read than cheap looking tracts, such as are usually given away. It can not be emphasized too often that if the working people want literature that is written in their own interest they must expect to pay for it, since capitalists will naturally prefer to circulate literature of a different tendency.

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Other paper covered books have been issued by this publishing house at frequent intervals, from Liebknecht's "Socialism, What it is and What it Seeks to Accomplish," now in its eleventh thousand, down to the Turner Hall Debate on Socialism vs. Single tax, just published at 25 cents. These paper covered books are supplied to stockholders at a discount of one-half when we pay postage, or at a discount of sixty per cent when sent at purchaser's expense.

The Standard Socialist Series is perhaps the most notable example of what the co-operation of eight hundred socialists in book-publishing has accomplished, and it affords some suggestion of what the co-operation of four thousand more would do. It is a series of socialist books of permanent value, well printed and substantially bound in cloth, uniform in style, so as to be an acceptable addition to any library. They are, with scarcely an exception, books that are worth studying as well as reading, and they demand something more than average intelligence on the part of the reader. Now as we pointetd out in this department of the REVIEW last month, a publishing house operated for profit would either let such books alone entirely, or it would publish them at high prices, in most cases probably $1.50 a volume. We have published them to retail to any one at fifty cents, and supply our stockholders at thirty cents by mail or twenty-five cents when transportation charges are paid by the purchaser. In other words, our stockholders are getting, for the price of ordinary pamphlets, books that would otherwise cost them several times as much, if they could be had at all, and in a form fit to read, to lend and to preserve. The books thus far issued in this series are as follows:

1. Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs, by Wilhelm Liebknecht, translated by Ernest Untermann.
2. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, by Emile Vandervelde, translated by Charles H. Kerr.
3. The American Farmer, by A. M. Simons.
4. Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association, by Isaac Broome.
5. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by Frederick Engels, translated by Ernest Untermann.
6. The Social Revolution, by Karl Kautsky, translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons.
7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels, translated by Edward Aveling.
8. Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy, by Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis.

A ninth volume, "American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty," by Isador Ladoff, is now in press and will be issued some time in February. These nine books alone represent an investment of about three thousand dollars, and not one of these books would probably have been accessible to American Socialists if it had not been for this co-operative company.

Of more expensive books on socialism we have published only a few, as we believe that low-priced books are what the movement most needs at the present time. We have lately, however, at a heavy outlay and con-

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siderable risk, brought out a translation of the remarkable work by Labriola entitled "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History." This book is bound to be of inestimable value to the socialist movement of America in promoting clear thinking, and in putting a stop to the senseless way of using a few sets of phrases as a substitute for ideas, in applying the socialist philosophy. This book, which would cost $1.50 if published on "business principles," is supplied to our stockholders at fifty cents by express or sixty cents by mail, our price to others being $1.00.

The Social Science Series, issued by a London publisher, consists of about a hundred volumes, one in five of which are of the utmost value to socialist students, while the rest are of doubtful and varying degrees of utility. We have arranged to import a supply of twenty titles in this series, including those most necessary for socialists, and offer them at the same discounts as our other cloth books, making the net price to stockholders 75 cents on double numbers like Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society," and sixty cents on single numbers like Marx's "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," postage included.

One other notable service has been rendered to our co-operators within the last year, in that we have provided the best edition of Marx's "Capital" for them at the net price of a dollar (postage twenty cents if mailed) whereas this same book had previously been sold in the United States at $2.50, a price which put it out of the reach of those who most wanted it. The consequence has been that the sale of Marx's great work in the United States has been more than doubled.

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Our first stockholders put in their money on faith, with the expectation that the company would in time provide the books they wanted. Now every new stockholder gets the benefit at once of what the others have done, and can without delay make his selection at cost prices from a stock of books that cost twenty thousand dollars to produce. Yet the benefit is mutual. To bring out new books so rapidly, it was necessary to utilize our credit, and to incur an interest-bearing debt. To pay this interest requires several hundred dollars this year that might otherwise be used in circulating our literature more widely, or in offering it at still lower prices. The urgent thing now is to get enough stock subscribed to put the business squarely on a cash basis, where no interest will have to be paid to any one. It will be an easy matter then to expand the work of the company in whatever way seems most beneficial to the socialist movement.

There are undoubtedly hundreds of socialists who are intending to subscribe for stock in this publishing house, but are waiting for a more convenient time. To all such we wish to say that just now, with a presidential campaign a few weeks ahead, is the time when the need of more capital is most urgent. Five hundred shares subscribed within the next three months will enable us to supply the Socialist Party of America with the literature that is needed at the time when it is needed. A dollar a month for

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ten months will give the privilege of buying books at cost as soon as the first dollar is received. To any one sending the full amount of ten dollars before April 30, and mentioning this announcement, we will send a full-paid stock certificate, and will also send a subscription post card good for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year to a new name.

A LETTER FROM LABRIOLA.

The following interesting letter has just been received by Charles H. Kerr, from Prof. Labriola, of the University of Rome, whose "Essays on the Materialistic Interpretation of History," recently translated into English for the first time, are doing so much to stimulate clear thinking among American Socialists today. The readers of the REVIEW will learn with deep regret of Comrade Labriola's serious condition, and will join in the hope that he may soon be enabled to resume his active work.

"DEAR COMRADE: I hasten to thank you for the volume containing two of my Essays, as well as for the very interesting catalogue and your pleasant letter of the 7th inst. I shall read your translation attentively and shall not fail to note anything which may appear inexact. I will advise you of any such points in the event of a new edition which I hope may be required soon.

"As you will see, the second French edition of the Essays contains a third, which is a polemic against Masaryk. Now, in case you find it advisable to translate also my volume 'Socialism and Philosophy,' I should think you might add to it this polemic against Masaryk as Chapter XII, that is to say, before the Appendix. It seems to me that my little volume 'Socialism and Philosophy' might be specially adapted to the American public on account of its lighter style. In the event that you decide upon this translation I would ask you to advise me in time since I ought to point out to you some little corrections required to make the text correspond with the second Italian edition.

"Later when I am more settled I will write you regarding the problem of propaganda which you have suggested to me. At present I am in a very sad state. For a year and a half I have been suffering with a throat trouble and have been obliged to undergo tracheotomy. By reason of different complications I have been unable to speak for some months, and just at present, I am unable to take other than liquid food. My life is cut off. I was giving three courses at the University, my whole life was taken up with conversation, dispute and propaganda. Now I feel as if I were separated from the world. You can thus imagine my delight at seeing your translation. It seems that while I can no longer speak at Rome, you have made it possible for me to speak at Chicago.

"Accept, dear comrade, my unbounded thanks.

Yours,
ANTONIO LABRIOLA.

Rome, Jan. 20, 1904."

Regarding the suggestion of publishing Comrade Labriola's later work, "Socialism and Philosophy," the translator, who is also manager of the co-operative publishing house, desires to announce that he will make a start at the undertaking at once. The date when the book can appear will depend mainly upon the way in which the socialists of America respond to our appeal for stock subscriptions.

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The debate is handsomely printed in large type on book paper of extra quality, and contains full-page portraits of Karl Marx, Henry George, and the six debaters. The price, including postage, is 25 cents for a single copy, $1.00 for five copies, or $2.00 for twelve copies. Stockholders in our co-operative company are entitled to purchase copies in any quantity, large or small, at the uniform rate of 12½ cents if we prepay postage, or ten cents if sent at purchaser's expense.

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The International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV MARCH, 1904 NO. 9

Attitude of Japanese Socialists Toward Present War.

THE attitude taken by the Japanese Socialists toward the present war with Russia has been clearly and well defined from the very beginning. They were and still are against war, not only with Russia, but with all other nations. It was perhaps the very first time in the history of Japan that such an anti-war cry was raised in the land of the Samurai and New Japan. But it is a fact that Japanese Socialists boldly and loudly raised their voice against the war.

Some of the comrades employed on one of the largest dailies in the city of Tokio made this a point of honor and left their editorial position for that very cause. Since then I am glad to say that these two comrades, with the aid of some other Socialists, have started a weekly by themselves, through which they have been speaking against the war and in favor of the Universal peace that shall reign under the supremacy of Socialism. And, moreover, this little, but ably edited weekly, promises to be a great success. It shows that Socialists have been voicing the true sentiments of Socialism. They have been, moreover, holding anti-war meetings in and about the city of Tokio. I am informed that they have been very successful in this movement. An admission fee of five cents has furnished a sufficient income to carry on the work. They have to pay for the small hall each time and for advertisements. It shows that Socialists have gained a foothold with the public large enough to support such a movement as this. The very first meeting of the kind, held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Tokio, was well attended and was a great success. There were some representatives of the war party who tried to disturb the meeting, but failed entirely. At this success of theirs the press as well as the public were astonished. It was thought that

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the Socialists would never dare to hold such a meeting at such a time, because the war fever is at such a height.

I am sure that their attitude on the question is still the same as it was when I left the country, though Japan has entered into war. The Socialists will hold the same position as those of Germany during the Franco-Prussian war. This sentiment was voiced many a time at their late meetings and approved by all the Socialists of Japan.

As to the probable effect of this war on the wakening class-consciousness of Japanese laborers, I can say this much with a greater certainty that working classes will realize more clearly the great evils of war than ever before. Many of them knew by their late experiences in the Chino-Japanese war that the war benefited them practically nothing. It is true that as a result of the late wars Japan's industry has grown, but all the same their living became much harder than before the war. Japan got a large indemnity from China, but this did not benefit the workers. They have to produce much more to support the increase of the army and navy than they did before. I heard last summer from many workers in the country that they do not like the war at all, for the war will immediately raise the price of rice, while wages will not be raised so soon, at least not for those who are not directly connected with war. They know very well that in the late wars with China the workers fought the battles but the medals and rewards of the victory went to those who did not fight.

Now these are the reasons of mine against the war and supported by my comrades as well as by laborers.

1. Laborers alone work for the preparation of the army and navy and are ever supporting them. The largest majority of the Japanese soldiers are of the working classes.

2. In the war laborers will be killed and suffer the most.

3. After the war they must work to pay the expenses of war and possibly for the increase of army and navy.

4. Japanese workingmen will fight with Russian workingmen who are in no way their enemy.

Now the war is going on in a brutal manner. I am opposed to this war, but as a Japanese I do not wish Japan to be beaten by Russia who in the past treated the Jews as she has in Kishineff, and is still dealing with Fins in the most brutal fashion, and moreover she has shot down many laborers during strikes! And above all I wish that the war may end as soon as possible, and I strongly desire that the working classes of the two countries may realize the true outcome of the war, and unite together to oppose the capitalist governments that are the cause of all the wars.

SEN KATAYAMA.

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The Present State of Corporation Law.

THE proceedings of the American Bar Association at its annual convention in August, 1903, have already been discussed in the Socialist press. They throw considerable light on recent developments in law. While this convention was in session there was going through the press the fifth edition of a standard law work which has since appeared and which shows still more clearly the drift of things in the legal world. We refer to "A Treatise on the Law of Corporations," by William W. Cook, LL.D., of the New York bar. The preface to this work is good propaganda material for socialists. It is a peculiarity of the Socialist movement that it does not have to rely on its own literature alone. It is able to absorb and utilize many works, the true bearing of which was unknown to the authors themselves. Such are the works of Darwin, Spencer, Lewis H. Morgan, Lester F. Ward and others. Such is the work of Mr. Cook on Corporations. Mr. Cook comes to the conclusion that the lawyers rule the country. Superficially this is true and it reminds us of the position taken by Ferdinand Lassalle in his "System of Acquired Rights." But the Socialist only needs to add that the corporations, *i. e.*, organized profit-breeding wealth, rules the lawyers, and the whole situation becomes intelligible.

Mr. Cook may not be familiar with the term "economic determinism," and in making a political speech would probably combat that theory. But in speaking to his brother lawyers the truth comes out: "The laws of trade are stronger than the laws of men."

Formerly the most important branch of jurisprudence was the law of real estate, conveyancing and wills. Then with the expansion of world commerce commercial law grew in importance, embracing mercantile contracts, negotiable instruments, mortgages, partnerships, etc., and the up-to-date lawyer was a commercial lawyer with individual merchant princes for his clients. That day has also passed. Corporation law, says Mr. Cook, is now more important than all other branches of law combined. The great lawyer of today is the corporation lawyer who has no clients but who is the permanent salaried counsel of vast industrial trusts and railroad combines. He presides over a "law department." His duty is not only to know the law as made, but also to make the law as ordered. We quote from Mr. Cook's preface:

"The most striking feature of corporation law, during the past

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five years, has been the creation and development of a new mode of combination and consolidation. It is known as the plan of "community of interest," which means the recognition by parties, controlling competing corporations, that there is more money to be made by co-operation than by destructive competition. Later a further development of the idea took place. Owing to the uncertainty of life and of the fortunes of individuals, and the danger of the control passing into incompetent or hostile hands, *corporations* were organized to hold a majority of the stock of various competing corporations. Frequently, also, these latter corporations, so controlled, were used to purchase the stock of still other corporations. This plan seemed to render practicable that which otherwise was impracticable, on account of a legal consolidation being impossible, by reason of statutes or of objecting minority stockholders. These great corporations, holding a majority of the stock of many other corporations, are the latest development of the consolidating tendency of the age. The United States Steel Corporation and the International Mercantile Marine Company are notable instances.

"A great hue and cry was raised both in England and America against these stockholding corporations. In the United States, on a bill in equity, filed by the Attorney General, the Circuit Court of the United States held that the Northern Securities Company had illegally and in violation of the Anti-Trust Act of Congress in 1890 acquired a majority of the stock of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company and the Great Northern Railroad Company, two competing trans-continental lines. The court accordingly put an end to the career of that company and made clear that that particular mode of establishing a 'community of interest,' between competing corporations, would not be tolerated by the law. No attack has been made, however, on the United States Steel Corporation, or the International Mercantile Marine Corporation, or the various railroad corporations which, during the past five years, have acquired stock in other railroad corporations. And it is unlikely that any such attack will be made. The Northern Securities Company case probably marks the limit to which the government cares to go, and also marks the limit which financiers are warned not to approach.

"In England the government itself investigated the legal, commercial and international effects of allowing an American corporation to own a majority of the stock of English corporations, owning English steamboats, receiving English subsidies, on English-built boats, manned by English crews, and flying the English flag. The opposition, however, was of no avail. And, in fact, the whole economic history of England shows the irresistible tendency of the times. For more than thirty years Parliament legis-

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lated against the consolidation of railroads. This legislation proved to be utterly futile, and in 1872 a parliamentary committee made an elaborate and exhaustive report on the subject, and said, among other things, that consolidation 'had not brought with it the evils that were anticipated, but that, in any event, long and varied experience had fully demonstrated the fact that, while Parliament might hinder and thwart it, it could not prevent it.'

"The consolidations of railroads, which took place in America from 1865 to 1873, seem to have been insignificant as compared with the consolidations of the year 1900. Great trunk lines were swallowed up by other trunk lines. This was done, for the most part, by one railroad purchasing the stock of the other, instead of purchasing its tangible property. The result was that practically all of the eastern railroads passed under the control of the two great eastern systems, the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad; the western railroads, for the most part, passed under the control of the three great systems, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads, the Union Pacific Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, while in the South the Southern Railroad practically controls the situation. This process of consolidation demonstrated the truth of George Stephenson's saying, that 'where combination is possible, competition is impossible.'

"So also as to other classes of American corporations. Early in the year 1899 the whole industrial world of America, with an outburst of prosperity, underwent a remarkable change. Consolidations of manufacturing institutions took place on a colossal scale, and industrial corporations, having a capitalization greater than that of the great trunk railroads, sprang into existence. These vast manufacturing corporations were denounced by the politicians as 'trusts' and illegal combinations in restraint of trade. Statutes were enacted against them and suits started to forfeit their charters. All this, however, availed nothing. The laws of trade were stronger than the laws of men. Moreover, these consolidated manufacturing concerns have enabled America to invade the markets of the world. The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the formation of the greatest corporation that ever existed, the United States Steel Corporation. With a capitalization of nearly one and a half billion dollars, it controls the steel product of the United States; has over one hundred and fifty thousand employes; a pay-roll of over one hundred millions dollars a year, and is the owner of mines, steamship lines, railroads, iron plants and steel rolling mills. No one knows how much of the $90,000,000,000 of wealth of the United States, in the year 1900, was represented by industrial and railroad consolidations.

"Consolidation is the spirit of the age, moving on resistlessly,

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regardless of human laws and hostile public sentiment. Vast corporations have taken charge of the industries of the country and are destroying the old order of things, and the legal profession has been profoundly affected by these great industrial changes. Wealth has become concentrated in corporations, and the American corporation lawyer of today is called upon to aid in the management of these powerful forces. Counsel work is becoming more important than court work—avoiding litigation a higher test of efficiency than success in litigation. Business judgment and foresight are required of counsel, as well as legal skill and learning. Commercial interests have become too vast to be managed without legal advice, and too important to be hazarded in litigation. A broader field today invokes the foresight, mental alertness and resourcefulness of the lawyer. Colossal enterprises now call for a leadership and capacity which twenty years ago would have been considered beyond the province of the lawyer and the law.

"Leadership in the counsel room is necessary, if the lawyer is to maintain the supremacy he has exercised in American government for a hundred years. His pre-eminence in that field has been remarkable. Twenty-one of the twenty-five Presidents of the United States were lawyers; thirty-two of the thirty-three Secretaries of State; all the Attorneys General; all the Judges and two-thirds of the members of Congress. And yet there are but eighty thousand lawyers for the eighty millions of American people. Never before in the history of the world has so small a class governed so great and intelligent a people. The lawyers rule because they have the capacity to rule.

"It is fitting that such men should control the creation and development of corporation law, which is today more important than all the other branches of law combined."

Thus, Mr. Cook, attention should be called to the fact that the most vital questions which the lawyer has to decide are not those arising out of the transaction of the business in which the corporation is engaged, but those questions arising out of the relations between the corporation and the public, or between it and the municipality, state or national government. In short it is a case of the corporation against the state. On one hand the political influence of the so-called "common people" has greatly diminished and the encroachment of the corporation on the state has been steady and successful, with only a few temporary checks; on the other hand there is a growing tendency towards "state interference," either by way of public control over corporations or by direct public ownership. As a result of these two influences the relations of the corporations and the public authorities are constantly becoming more intimate and complicated. When these

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two forces come into conflict both of course engage corporation lawyers. The public body relies upon a trust lawyer to fight the trusts, and how gently and considerately this fight is conducted can be seen in the case of the present Attorney General of the United States.

The street railway question in Chicago also furnishes a good illustration. The *Record-Herald* of November 13, 1903, contained the following news item:

"Prominent eastern lawyers who have been asked to represent the city in an aggressive legal fight regarding traction issues are David Bennett Hill, Richard Olney and John G. Carlisle. Alderman William Mavor of the transportation committee was authority for this statement yesterday.

"Negotiations with these attorneys have been carried on by letter by Corporation Counsel Tolman.

"We want to begin an aggressive fight," said Alderman Mavor yesterday. "We want to see the city make a few offensive moves instead of resting upon the defensive. We want an attorney of national reputation who can direct such a fight.

"It is understood that the reason impelling the city authorities to search for a lawyer outside of Chicago is the fact that most of the city's corporation attorneys are concerned in one way or another with the traction interests."

The fact is that there is nothing to litigate about. The traction companies are now absolutely at the mercy of the city council, their franchises having expired. It is a simple case of stand and deliver. The council can impose any terms it pleases and the companies must accept them or go out of business. But the council is afraid to use its power. It is easier to fool the voting constituency than to fly in the face of organized wealth. It wants a lawyer who will help give its case away. Now, there are over 4,500 lawyers in Chicago who have ability enough to give away the city's rights, if paid to do so. But there are certain proprieties to be observed which distinguish respectable business like this from vulgar grafting, such for instance as getting fraudulent judgments against the city in sidewalk damage cases. The traction companies' aldermen want the city to get a lawyer of national reputation who can do the job with becoming dignity and while giving the case away call it a splendid triumph for the people.

MARCUS HITCH.

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The Milwaukee Election.

THE approaching municipal election in Milwaukee becomes interesting from a study of the growth of the Socialist vote in that city. This growth has been both gradual and steady, as may be seen from the following table of the vote of the Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) in the city of Milwaukee for the last five years:

		Increase.	Per cent.
1898 City Election.....	2,430		
1900 City Election.....	2,585	155	6.37
1900 State Election.....	4,667	2,082	82.86
1902 City Election.....	8,453	3,786	81.12
1902 State Election.....	10,460	2,007	23.79

It is noticeable that there is no ebb and flow in this vote, but rather a steady forward current. It should also be observed that in all elections the vote for the various candidates has been remarkably uniform. The highest vote has exceeded the lowest by less than two hundred votes, except in the state election of 1902, in which the Social Democratic candidate for governor ran about twelve hundred votes behind the rest of the ticket. The lowest vote is given in the foregoing table.

The growth in the vote, in fact, is almost an exact measure of the amount of work which has been put into the Socialist propaganda for each interval between elections, and this propaganda has been carried on mainly by the distribution of literature. For some reason, there is a lack of orators in the Milwaukee movement. This has proved a decided blessing in disguise, thus compelling the party to rely on the surer basis of the written rather than the spoken word. It has been a costly kind of propaganda, but in the long run it has proved by far the most reliable. This spring, it is true, the best Socialist speakers in the country in English, and some in German, Polish and Bohemian, have been engaged to take a hand in the Milwaukee campaign, but this is the first election in which oral propaganda has been made a prominent feature. Nor does this mean that the Milwaukee Social Democrats have abandoned their policy of literary propaganda. On the contrary, Socialist literature in large quantities and in five languages is now being circulated in Milwaukee from house to house, and its distribution is an important object at all public meetings.

Another reason for the success of the Milwaukee movement is its proletarian character. The members of the or-

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ganization are workingmen almost to a man, and there is no large city in the United States where the Socialist movement is so overwhelmingly trades unionist. To this fact may be attributed the remarkable absence of the trades union "fakir," the Socialist element having almost entirely eliminated this undesirable factor. The fakir that occasionally makes his appearance here usually comes from some other town and very soon leaves us. The Trades Council of Milwaukee is more radically Socialist than any other central labor body of any considerable size in America.

Moreover, there is a "rich poverty" of lawyers and other professional men among the Milwaukee Social Democrats. Indeed, the leaders, as well as the rank and file, are strictly class-conscious in the best sense of that much abused word.

These, then, are the reasons for the growth of the party in Milwaukee. These are the conditions under which it is entering upon the municipal campaign of 1904. We do not expect nor do we desire that the coming election will indicate any sudden flare of enthusiasm which may die out like a straw-fire. Nor do we wish any astonishing increase in the Social Democratic vote which would melt away in some future election. But we do hope and expect that the returns on the 6th of April will mark a growth in proportion to the ratio of past years, and which will correspond with almost mathematical accuracy to the amount of labor expended and to the time and funds sacrificed for the Socialist propaganda by the comrades of Milwaukee.

Nevertheless, the resistance against them in this election will be more decided than ever before. The Republican National Committee, it is said, has appropriated $50,000 for the "suppression of Socialism," half of which was to be used in Massachusetts and the other half in Wisconsin, these being considered the two storm centers of Socialist propaganda. Father Sherman is also being toured through the principal cities of Wisconsin, to excite the prejudices of the ignorant against the wicked Social Democrats, who want to abolish "the names of father, mother, brother and sister," as he claims. What is of far more importance is the fact that Republicans and Democrats are apparently combining forces to defeat the Social Democrats. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, consisting mostly of Republicans, has petitioned Mayor Rose (Democrat) to run again for mayor. In view of the fact that only three months ago these very men presided at an indignation meeting at which the name of Rose was hissed, this attitude of the merchants and manufacturers of Milwaukee is significant. In those wards where the Social Democrats are likely to elect aldermen, the Democrats and

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Republicans have signified their intention either to combine on one ticket, or else to place only one ticket against us in the field. It is because of this unusual combination that the Milwaukee Social Democrats are making unusual efforts and securing the services of so many outside speakers. This is, moreover, the first campaign in which we have ever made an appeal for funds from Socialists throughout the country. We believe, however, that we are now justified in doing this under the present circumstances. We have no fear that our vote will decrease this year. But to keep up the same ratio of progress in the face of such a strong combination against us would be indeed a triumph for the Socialist Party of America.

E. H. THOMAS.

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Labor Conditions on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

THE man who does the work on the great plantations on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the Republic of Mexico, has a hard time of it. Under the capitalist system of production, the workingman everywhere finds his cup of woe full to overflowing, but the workingman on the isthmus is compelled, it seems to me, to take in his a double portion of bitterness.

Up to the present time the Isthmus of Tehuantepec has remained a comparatively undeveloped region. Large tracts of it have been held by Spanish estates since the conquest. Little has been done by the owners of these estates in the way of developing their resources. The Spaniards have been content with the profits derived from the mahogany and other valuable timber of the forests, from tapping the wild rubber tree, from the banana and the sugar cane and the herds of cattle. The "Mozo," as the native Indian is called, although he worked for his landlord, lived a tolerable existence under these conditions. His own wants were few, as were also those of his master, and were easily supplied. The labor was seldom very arduous and the hours were not long. When the day's task was done he returned to his family and he was happy.

But during the last ten years all this has been changed. The omnivorous and omnipresent American, keen on the scent leading to commercial advantage, has invaded this region. He discovered that the isthmus river bottoms could produce as much sugar per acre as the lava beds of Hawaii, that the hillsides would grow coffee and rubber equal to any in the world, that corn, cacao, bananas and the pineapple would thrive, and he has purchased the great Spanish estates and has cut them up into "plantations" of from one thousand acres to ten thousand acres each.

"American money" is "developing" these plantations; so say the "promoters." But speaking more accurately, it is Mozo muscle. The native workingman receives from thirty to forty cents (Mexican) a day, which is from thirteen to fifteen cents a day in our money. But the workingman does not always draw all that he earns, as he gets his supplies at the plantation store, either for cash or on credit, and then he is also subjected to fines of one sort or another. A plantation manager told the writer that he had just recently fined two of his men two dollars each for chewing cane stalks.

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Whether sucking juice from the cane is one of the more heinous offenses for which men are fined on this plantation, the man did not state. A little sweet sap to slake their thirst, perhaps, or possibly, to piece out a scanty breakfast, cost these men a week's work. And yet this man seemed to be among the most humane and tender-hearted of the managers one meets upon the isthmus. He is past sixty years of age, an ex-banker, and until recently was a resident of Minnesota.

And the Mozo is no slouch of a worker. The tropical heat of the days and the chilling cold of the nights do not affect him. With his machete he can do a wonderful amount of brush work in a day, either in clearing the jungle, or in clearing the coffee and rubber plantations of weeds. And with the ax in clearing the forest of its monster trees he is more than the northern woodsman's equal.

Work begins at dawn and lasts till dark. The men are told off in gangs of fifteen or twenty under a foreman, who is armed with a six-shooter and a machete. The men have to be watched closely or they will run away, but woe unto the man who makes an unsuccessful attempt to escape. A machete is likely to crack his skull. At night the men are herded in a large bamboo bunk-house, which is closely strung with barbed wire, and an armed watchman stands guard at the door all night, to see that no one gets away. In this way the men are retained until their period of contract expires, usually three or six months. A new contract is then entered into, he returns to his home, or goes to another plantation.

Many of these Mexican workingmen come from the cities, where they have become involved in debt to an employment agent. The employment agent gathers up twenty-five or fifty of his debtors and contracts their labor-power to the plantation manager. Here on the plantation the Mozo works out his original debt with the interest thereon, his railroad fare, which was advanced by the plantation manager, and, presumably, a fair profit also to the employment agent for the transaction.

You may think that the Mozo would object to this kind of treatment. Well, he does, and about as effectually as the Cripple Creek miners have objected to equally as outrageous treatment. But the laws of Mexico, like the laws of Colorado, are made by the capitalists, for the capitalist's interest, and are enforced against the workingman at the point of the capitalist bayonet. In Mexico, as in Colorado, it is supposed that the workingman helps elect those whom he would have rule over him, but in Mexico, as in Colorado, the workingman still votes as the capitalist tells him to. And he gets what he votes for in both places.

Mexico is a republic only in name. In reality it is a mil-

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itary despotism. To be sure, the despot is a very benevolent one, as despots go. President Diaz has safeguarded the rights of the people well in many ways against the insidious encroachments of capital. In some respects he has done much better than our own high officials. Still there is no real liberty in Mexico for the workingman, any more than there is in the United States.

There are signs, however, which show that the workingman in Mexico is beginning to think a little and to act in his own interest. On the isthmus he is becoming more independent, harder to handle, and the plantation managers are beginning to look to Japan and China for men. One or two shiploads of Chinamen have already arrived at the isthmus, and more are on the way to take the places of the native Mexican. This importation will not prove so disastrous to the Mexican workingman in lowering wages and the standard of living, as the free importation of Chinese into the United States would prove the American workingman's undoing. The Mexican has few wants, easily supplied, and his wages are so low that the Chinaman is not likely to underbid him. It would appear that the Mexican workingman would rather welcome the Chinaman in coming to relieve him of the task of clearing the isthmus of the impenetrable jungle.

ISAAC PETERSON.

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The Elections in Australia.

THE federal elections have taken place and the Labor Party has greatly increased its representation. In the senatorial elections for Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia the Labor Party swept the polls. The position of parties in the Senate is now as follows:

Ministerial (protectionists) 8
Opposition (free-traders) 14
Labor 14

In the House of Representatives the parties stand as follows:

Ministerial 26
Opposition 27
Labor 22

The most interesting feature of the elections for socialists was the running of three socialist candidates for the Senate in New South Wales. These candidates stood for clear-cut, non-compromising revolutionary socialism and their appeal to the class-consciousness of the workers was in marked contrast to the electioneering appeals of the Labor Party, with whom, of course, they came into direct conflict.

The socialist votes were:

Thomson 25,976
Moroney 25,924
Drake 17,870

Drake's vote of 17,000 may be taken as something near the solid socialist vote. The lead of 8,000 which the other two candidates obtained is due to sympathy votes given by the supporters of the Labor Party, who in N. S. W. only nominated the one candidate for the Senate. (This single Labor candidate relied on the protectionist vote and was regarded as one of the protectionist trio. Neither he nor any of the protectionists, however, were returned.)

At the first federal election which took place three years ago the Australian Socialist League ran the full ticket for the Senate, with the following result:

Neill, 5,952; Thomson, 5,823; Holland, 4,771; Moroney, 4,257; Melling, 3,495; Morrish, 3,109.

The solid socialist vote could not then have been more than 3,000. Taking into account the fact that women had no vote at that election, the socialist strength of N. S. W. in 1900 may be regarded as below 6,000. This increase from 6,000

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to 17,000 must be regarded as exceedingly encouraging when it is recollected that there is only one socialist paper (a weekly) in the state, and that the workers are intoxicated with the practical-politics elixir.

Matters political are at present very interesting—for politicians. The people are likely to be fooled as usual. Political intrigue is at present busy, and alliances of all sorts and descriptions are hinted at. The alliances of the Labor Party with the Protectionists, of the Labor Party with the Free-traders, of the Protectionists with the Free-traders, and of the Labor Party with Kingston (one of the most radical of the protectionist section) are freely spoken of. The last mentioned one would be the most popular among labor supporters for Kingston has always been an advocate of adult suffrage, white Australia and compulsory conciliation and arbitration. (During the last parliament he gained great applause by resigning his position as minister because his co-ministers refused to make provision in the federal arbitration bill for the application of its provisions to seamen.)

It is doubtful, however, whether Kingston has a following large enough to place him in power, even with the help of the Labor Party. The most probable arrangement would seem to be a coalition between protectionists and free-traders; this seems exceedingly probable, as large numbers of both sections during the elections declared for fiscal peace. The greatest bar to this alliance is the personal ambition of G. H. Reid (the free-trade leader). This would practically bring about a temporary alliance at least between Kingston and the Labor Party.

This rearrangement of parties will most likely take place over the discussion of the conciliation and arbitration bill, which will come up for discussion early in the session.

Federal Labor Leader Watson, with an eye, perchance, on probable political development, in a recent speech said he thought that the Labor Party was quite as anxious as others to prove the efficiency of each successive step, and it would be useless to attempt to go too far ahead of the people. Therefore, in the interests of permanent reform, it was desirable to progress steadily. Regarding the charge of socialism, he admitted *a trend in that direction,* but this was only in regard to the great services which were likely to result injuriously to the community if left in private hands.

Turley, the labor senator who topped the poll in Queensland, declared at the declaration of the poll that the first duty of Queensland senators was to see that Brisbane was made a port of call for the mail steamers. (For some time past the

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Queensland bourgeoisie have been agitating for this in order that they may be able to export their products at a reduced cost and at regular intervals.) The absence of class-consciousness and the desire to serve the interests of the little bourgeoisie are general features of the Labor Party's policy and points to the fact that it is fast becoming a middle-class party.

A crisis has occurred in compulsory arbitration in N. S. W. In some of the Newcastle collieries the employers decided to reduce the hewing rate. The men appealed to the Arbitration Court, which gave an award in favor of the employers, reducing the hewing rate from 2s 3½d to 1s 9d per ton. The men refused to accept the award of the court, in spite of the advice of the union officials and the workers' representative in the court, Sam Smith. The latter said:

"It was just as incumbent on the miners to give the customary notice when an award did not suit them as it would be for a mine owner to give them notice, when the award was in their favor, if he wished to close his colliery down. As it was, the men in question neither obeyed the law of the land nor the rules of their union. The only clear course for the whole of the men concerned was to resume work, and, if the terms did not suit them, to give 14 days' notice, and then to seek work elsewhere. If they wanted to see the act or their own organization continue they must treat the owners and their officers fairly and loyally."

The employers contemplated proceeding against the union, but as the union officials advised the men to return to work, this course had to be abandoned and the union funds are safe. The coal magnates then threatened to proceed against the men individually under one of the clauses of the arbitration act, but for the present this course also has been abandoned. These colliers at any rate have learned that the Arbitration Court is not conducted for their benefit, although the union world of N. S. W. looks askance at their action. The Sydney Worker, the official labor paper of the state, asserts that "they will under all the circumstances be utterly debarred alike from receiving public support, from that of their co-workers in other collieries and from that of unions embraced by the Sydney Labor Council."

It is worthy of note that in the mines of Newcastle machines are to be introduced. Perhaps then a larger number of the colliers may be brought to see that the class struggle is not the figment of a diseased brain.

Another matter of great significance to trades unionists is receiving some attention in N. S. W. A writer in a recent

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number of the Waterside Workers' Gazette says that "the membership (of a union) should be restricted to that actually required; if necessary, this could be mutually arranged between employer and employe." Also "that the men seeking admission should either be men who already had experience or else young men physically capable of doing anything that the trade demanded. If these suggestions were adopted the union would, ere long, be one which offered genuine advantage to its members."

The introduction of this old guild idea is not likely to increase the effectiveness of trades unionism as a weapon for the emancipation of the working class. It is no wonder that the idea is spreading that unionism has outlived its usefulness.

ANDREW M. ANDERSON.

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A History of German Trade Unions.

(Concluded from February issue.)

ON the 11th of December a confidential circular from Count Posadowsky was sent out consulting the allied governments upon this subject. In January, 1898, *Vorwaerts* published this circular and gave the alarm. A lively discussion followed in the Reichstag between Stumm and the representatives of the three phases of the political-union movement: Legien and von Elm, Roesicke, the Liberal, Lieber and Hitze, of the Centre. And the Reichstag showed itself sympathetic with the efforts of the laborers.

At the same time, all the union organizations protested with all their strength. The general Commission undertook an enormous agitation extending throughout Germany. More than three million and a half of leaflets were scattered throughout the whole country. It held large numbers of meetings, it addressed a long memoir upon the right to strike to the Reichstag.

The government, however, persisted in presenting its plan of a law. The Reichstag did not even do it the honor to send it to a committee. (Nov. 20, 1899.)

This time, this was the end.

A later revelation showed how much of a class fight this was: Count Posadowsky, secretary of internal affairs, had solicited and received from the Central Union of German manufacturers, celebrated as being the union of all the extremists, 15,000 francs to support his proposed law.

Since then the unions have no longer been directly disturbed. Their juridical position, it is true, still remains precarious; since 1895 all the efforts of their friends or representatives to secure recognition of legal standing for them by simple registration have been regularly defeated by the opposition of the Prussian government. Even according to the Civil Code of 1900, since the tribunal charged with registering the documents by which the associations obtained their legal standing may oppose its veto, if an association is a social or political one—the unions are still at the mercy of the authorities.

The most interesting thing in their recent history is the fact that by their ever increasing numbers, by the development of their works of insurance, by the ever increasing part which they take in the applications and the development of social legislation, they have become during these last years one of the essential organs of German industrial production. A despotic government may for a long time yet refuse them a legal standing, it may hamper

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their propaganda, but it no longer dare attempt to annihilate them without at the same time disorganizing German production and even more without disorganizing its own services.

We have now to describe how this great power has been acquired.

* * *

This increasing strength was primarily due to a continuous increase of union organizations. While the outgrown decrepit Hirsch-Duncker organizations responded but feebly to the shocks of political and industrial life (growing from 86,000 in 1899 to 91,000 in 1900), the young Christian organizations and the vigorous Socialist unions attained a progress during these last years comparable to that of the English unions after 1850. At the time of their first congress at Mayence in 1899, there were 23 Christian unions with 102,590 members. By 1900 they claimed a membership of 161,517. On the other hand, the socialist unions passed from 493,742 in 1898 to 580,473 in 1899 and to 680,427 in 1900.

During this same period the various groups perfected their organization. Those who had not previously seen its necessity now adopted the centralized form, whose efficiency the socialist unions had already demonstrated. The Christian unions founded a Central Committee at Mayence in 1899 charged with the same functions as the General Commission, i. e., propaganda and gathering statistics, publishing a journal and representing the common interests. The localists themselves in 1897 established a business commission, held a congress and founded a central union in 1901. Finally, in 1899 and 1902 at Frankfort and Stuttgart, the two congresses of the unions belonging to the General Commission defined the respective functions of the Central unions and the federations, that is to say, of the local groups, which correspond quite closely to the French *Bourses des travail.*

The unions developed their resources and their internal strength most strikingly. Even until within these last years the prejudice still prevailed that dues ought to remain small in order to gain a large membership. It was forgotten that it was equally necessary to retain the members, and that this could only be done when they were assured evident advantages, and these could not be obtained without great resources. Little by little the dues were voted higher and higher. In 1891, out of thirty-six of the centralized unions, fourteen paid fortnightly dues of less than 15 pfennigs, and twenty less than 20 pfennigs. In 1902, out of sixty unions one alone paid dues of less than 15 pfennigs; only six paid less than 20 pfennigs.

Another manifest proof of the increasing vitality of the

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unions is the establishment of special functionaries such as union secretaries, secretaries of federations, labor secretaries and treasurers whose work becomes more and more extensive and more and more appreciated, calling for higher and higher compensation. The congresses of the centralized unions of 1899 and 1902 were occupied with discussions concerning these officials. The congress of Frankfort directed the General Commission of laborers to organize mutual institutions permitting the unions to insure their officers the payment of a pension on retirement. The congress of Stuttgart decided to form a mutual assistance fund which has now been established.

Thanks to the development of these organizations and to this increase of resources the unions have succeeded during the last years in entering upon their task in all its fullness.

In the first place this task has come to be better understood.

Whether they recognize the existence of the class struggle and deliberately make it the fundamental principle of their activity, as do the socialist unions, or whether they deny it like the Hirsch-Duncker unions, or whether while recognizing it they hope to soften it as do the Christians, they all propose to-day as their object the material and moral improvement of the condition of the worker within the existing society by exercising an influence upon the conditions of labor. Better conditions of labor, higher wages, shorter hours—this is the immediate end for all, and a vigorous, educated and wealthy proletariat (the socialist adds for the purpose of the future struggle of emancipation), this, for all alike, was the final aim.

But how were these results to be attained?

Hirsch said, by agreements with the employers. But the socialist replied by asking if such agreements were possible without common principles of law. And can a legal regime exist which shall be truly common, for does not all law lead to the oppression of the wage-worker? In the wage system war is permanent, is only temporarily abolished by ephemeral truces. The Hirsch-Dunckers and the Christians are also compelled to participate in this war. As for the socialists it was as a war measure that they founded unions in the first place. But, even if methodical and regulated, war is always war between classes as between nations. But let us have no unnecessary wars hereafter, there will be enough necessary ones in the social world.

In order to reduce the number of strikes, strong unions are necessary which are capable of obtaining by the very fact of their strength advantageous agreements, and capable of enforcing them. Indeed, during these last years the unions have frequently been able by a simple understanding to lessen

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strikes. Most important of all, agreements as to wages have begun to be concluded between unions of laborers and unions of employers.

In 1873 the printers, already powerful, concluded the first of these, which remained in force for eighteen years. In 1891, when it was to be renewed, the employers refused to grant the nine-hour day, and a strike was declared which ruined the federation. After it had been re-organized more strongly in 1896, it obtained a new agreement binding the unions and the employers' organization for five years, and granting the reduction of a half hour in the working day and an increase of 50 pfennigs a week.

The printers' union belonged to the General Commission. An important question was raised. Had not the union ignored the class struggle by establishing a rate of wages in agreement with the employers? Some of the members of the Typographical Union accused the committee of accepting with Hirsch the idea of a harmony of interests. Gasch, the editor of the union journal, founded a rival union. The question was taken before the congress of socialist unions in 1899. Döblin, the president of the central organization, pointed out that a struggle was not necessarily for the sake of the struggle itself, and that it was not the business of labor organizations to artificially aggravate class antagonism, but to obtain practical results. The congress almost unanimously agreed that the agreements as to wages were a recognition by the employers of the equal rights of the laborers in the fixing of the conditions of labor, and that it was advisable to endeavor to establish such agreements wherever the employers' organizations were strong and guaranteed their execution. The masons' union in 1899 followed the example of the printers and several others have since done the same. The unions have accepted this new tactic, which is better adapted to their increasing strength and suited to render their direct action more effective.

For a long time, and for the great majority of the German unions, and especially for the socialist unions, this direct action by a strike, or by pressure exercised upon the employers, was almost the only method utilized. It was sometimes sustained by some other institutions, indispensable for fighting, such as a trade journal, and assistance to militants subjected to legal persecution. The unions were continuously at the mercy of the police. They were persecuted as insurance institutions whenever they happened to have a few cents in their treasury, until they scarcely dared to accumulate the necessary capital for the work of mutual relief. Moreover the efficiency of these institutions for union activity was not

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clearly apparent. The Hirsch-Dunckers, which had practiced them from the beginning, had made of them only purely institutions for mutual relief.

But during these last years the unions were beginning to consider whether if these works were well conducted, they might not exercise a certain influence upon the labor market. Traveling relief, assistance in case of idleness and in finding employment for the members have been recognized as appropriate weapons with which to sustain or supplement the direct struggle. In many of the unions the resistance to their establishment was very sharp. It was claimed that to establish relief funds was practically to surrender completely to conditions of present society, to abandon all struggle, and like the liberals, seek only to relieve here and there individual suffering. It was argued that it was the function of the State to insure labor and guarantee the laboring class against need, and that therefore the unions ought not to change themselves into societies for mutual assistance, and thereby relieve the State of its duties.

To those who in the Berlin Congress of 1896 presented these arguments, others like Segitz replied that a union was strong only when it had a numerous and stable fighting force, and that only through relief funds could members be retained and that it had been shown that through assistance for traveling and for the employed it was possible to favorably affect the conditions of wages and work. The traveling fee relieved the market and permitted the more mobile of the laborers to go away to seek elsewhere for employment; assistance to the unemployed permitted them to wait without contributing by their despairing bids to the decrease of wages. The Congress endorsed the latter position, and advised the unions to establish, whenever possible, relief for the unemployed.

This advice has been followed. In 1877 there were still but fourteen unions that gave relief to those out of work; in 1901 there were twenty-one of these, and in 1902, twenty-six. In the same year, forty-one out of sixty organizations gave traveling assistance to their members. In the Christian unions these useful institutions are still without any great importance. The Hirsch-Dunckers had possessed them all since 1895.

Among the services furnished by the unions must be included the laborer's hotels. These are open to all, to non-unionists as well as to unionists (in order to permit the second to gain the first), and assure to the laborer arriving in a great city comfortable accommodations at a moderate price. Sometimes these are private enterprises controlled by local federation, and sometimes the property of the federation itself.

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Here it is that the local federations enter upon the scene. If there is a central union supplied with ample resources it takes up the work of furnishing assistance to the unemployed and in traveling, or again of gathering the general statistics of the labor market in each trade, and it is necessary for the local union to interest itself every day in the work of securing employment, adjusting relations with the authorities, and all other local matters connected more or less with the defense of wages. By itself, the little group of 100 or 200 members of a single trades union, in a moderate sized village, is scarcely able to accomplish this task which every day grows more complex.

Soon, the unions of the same village feel the necessity of uniting in order to supply their members with all these desired services. In his original form of organization Hirsch had decided that local federations should be founded, to which the unions of the same city would be compelled to apply. After 1892, this federation was no longer obligatory, but the local federations have continued developing themselves until there were 128 in 1902.

But it is principally the federation of socialist unions which through the development of the life of central unions have taken a remarkable extension during recent years. Three hundred and sixty-five federations, including 4,742 organizations, with 614,722 members, have replied to the inquiry of the General Commission in 1902. Of these federations 103 have a bureau of information, seventy-seven possess a meeting hall; twenty-nine a central hotel; 160 arrange for a hotel with a restaurant keeper subject to their control; nineteen already have their "Home for the Unions," where all these special services together with the offices of the various unions, hotels, restaurants, halls for meetings and festivals, libraries and lecture halls are gathered together.

In 1900 the Berlin proletariat dedicated a vast and substantial laboring palace whose facade of red brick serves to enliven the monotonous greyness of the eastern quarter. Thus, little by little, this well-rounded system of institutions is completed, which serves the laborers in defending their wages.

* * *

But by a natural logic, the continuously increasing assistance which was given to the workers by these various institutions led them more and more to have recourse to the union for all the difficulties of their daily life. If the worker sees only his wages and if it is the union which guarantees them to him, why should he not appeal to his organization in one form or another whenever his ability to work is menaced?

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The union activity continued to extend. The health fulness of the workshop, protection against accidents, assistance in sickness and injury, even the questions of housing and trade instruction, have inevitably been brought to the attention of the societies. But, here they found themselves injured by activity of another sort, that of the State.

Since the wholly political initiative of Prince Bismarck in 1881, labor legislation, even in spite of his intentions, has developed. The gaps in the first insurance institutions have been filled by successive new acts. Protection of labor is on the way to being established. Women and children are better and better protected. Germany already boasts of being the country, *par excellence,* of social politics.

Now this governmental activity has at first thwarted the development of the unions. It has frequently been repeated that the reason why the German unions did not develop like the English was because of the competition of the State, which prevented them from creating powerful benefit funds. The Hirsch-Duncker unions, which in 1869 established a central fund for the disabled, were forced to go into bankruptcy after the establishment of imperial insurance in 1889. The strongest of their unions, that of the machinists, which created a similar institution, was compelled also to give it up in 1893. Even among the socialists the printers alone, at the present time, distribute a very slight relief in case of disability. As to sick benefits, the new act of 1892 having permitted the free funds to remain, the Hirsch-Dunckers collected theirs into one central Union, and have been able to maintain it. In 1900, they distributed 1,061,625 francs. In the socialist unions the recent development of works of assistance seems to have been somewhat stimulated by the creation of these institutions of relief. In 1901 ten unions, and in 1902 eighteen distributed relief, and during this last year this amounted to 992,347 francs. But a careful consideration shows that all this amounts to but very little more than a supplemental relief. Competition with the State being really impossible, the effort of the unions to aid their members must be turned in other directions. It is just here that they have shown a marvelous flexibility.

The German social legislation is essentially anti-democratic. Employers, proprietors, officials, bureaucrats all have a share in the application of the measures in favor of the workers. The workers alone have no part, or a ridiculously small one. The consequence is that these laws which it is pretended were made in their interest are not always applied, or are applied against them. A strong organization of the employing class and the complicity of the authorities is suffi-

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cient to insure this result. Both of these are met with in Germany more than elsewhere.

Confronted with these institutions the workers, while they are still feebly organized, have only one resource. They have no more to do with these institutions than they can help. They renounce the benefits that the law may offer them and avoid their application.

The German unions have in the beginning taken this attitude, and while the consciousness of class antagonisms sometimes incited them to take it, it is necessary to recognize that it was frequently forced upon them by events. Factory inspectors were first created in 1878, then increased in numbers in 1891, but the inspectors plainly took the side of the employers in their annual reports, and spies denounced the workers who complained. Employment bureaus have been established by the municipalities since 1893. But the municipalities gave their administration over to hostile employes, and the State sought for means to destroy the employment bureaus and prevent strikes. The accident and insurance law promised the worker who had become incapacitated two-thirds of his wages, but the associated employers by judicial trickery deprived him of this indemnity. This explains the hostile attitude, and also the radical resolutions such as those of the congress of Berlin, which warned the unions against all employment bureaus whose administration was not confined exclusively to them.

But a time came when the vigorous growth of the societies and some happy attempts on their part showed the influence that they were able to exert. In South Germany in the duchy of Baden and of Wurtemberg the factory inspectors were brought in touch with the workers. In the Grand Duchy of Weimer *Vertrauensmänner* have been accepted by the government as advisers of the inspectors, and elsewhere "complaint committees" have been established. Even in relation to the employment bureaus, in several of the South German States mixed bureaus, administered by the employers and the laborers, have been able to satisfy the latter.

Little by little, led on by this first experience, the unions have given up their policy of abstention. Becoming conscious of their strength and convinced that co-operation in the application of the laws did not diminish their vigor in struggling, they have not feared to participate in all the work of the State. They have become convinced that they alone are able to assure to the disabled worker all the benefits of which delusive legislation too often found ways to deprive him after it had been promised him. And step by step they have begun

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to sweep away all the institutions of a conservative Bismarckian socialism.

In spite of the old prejudices (hatred of the State among the Liberals, suspicion among the Socialists), in spite of the frequently recognized ignorance of the inspectors, insufficiency of the entire service organized by each State and not by an imperial law, in spite of the hostility of the Berlin government, the unions have continued to participate more and more in factory inspection. Following the decisions of Frankfort in 1899, the socialist federations have established commissions having the duty of presenting complaints and thus freeing the worker from undergoing persecution by the employer. One hundred and thirty-one such commissions existed in 1902. The central unions, local groups and secretaries are compelled to maintain continuous relations with the inspectors and to assist them in their investigations.

Since the reconsideration of the decision of Berlin in 1896 the same congress of Frankfort after having called attention to the fact that in principle the placing of laborers belonged by right to their organizations, it was recognized that experience showed it might be advantageous for the unions in certain trades to take part in the administration of municipal employment bureaus. It also regulated the committees under which this co-operation might take place.

Before long the whole system of labor insurance will be invaded by union activity. These systems of insurance indeed constitute appropriate means for the protection and development of the strength of the proletariat. Now it is the duty of the unions in fulfilling their essential role to utilize all these means, and in pursuance of this idea they have set to work. In the administration of the various forms of insurance some subordinate places have been reserved to the representatives of the laborers. These are not neglected. Competent comrades, members of the unions, experts in labor legislation and ardent defenders of proletarian rights are installed therein. The independent (socialist) unions at Frankfort in 1899, and the Christian union at Crefeld in 1901 have decided to introduce as many as possible of their members into these insurance offices. In 1899 and 1901 the General Commission through brochures and circulars directed the election of laborers as assistants to the bureaus, the co-operative tribunals and to the imperial offices. In all these instances the rights of the laborers will be henceforth defended.

But all of these laws are complicated. Their jurisprudence is enormous and the defects are innumerable by which the meager sums due to the proletarians are sharply returned to the employers' or State fund. Sick and discouraged, with-

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out protection against the solicitations or the advice of such or such ones, incapable of paying a competent attorney, what can these creditors do? If, upon the testimony of a physician in his employ, an employer's insurance association gives him only an insignificant indemnity, how can the worker, the victim of an accident, go from trial to trial, even to the Imperial Court of last resort, and how will he make up a record, or obtain a representative to support his cause at Berlin?

It is in order to respond to these needs that the labor secretariats have been conceived and founded by the socialist unions.

The first was in Nuremburg in 1894. It proposed to give oral counsel in matters of arbitration and insurance, protection of workers and inspection of labor, and above all to supply the defects of the special bureaus or editors of journals who already fulfilled this role. When written matter was necessary the Secretary corrected it. He assumes the systematic conduct of laborers suits. The institution was a great success. In 1895 and 1896 the number of consultations grew to 8,411; in 1897 a new Secretariat was founded at Stuttgart; in 1898 five others, then nine in 1899; eleven in 1900, six in 1901 and five in 1902; thirty-two exist to-day, four having failed to live. This is a heavy burden indeed for the federations which founded them. During the last year, 1902, 195,679 persons have sought the advice of the forty-one Secretaries (three at Nuremburg and Hamburg, two at Munich and Frankfort).

Quite recently the Congress of Stuttgart has completed this work. The labor secretaries were well able to maintain the causes of their clients in the legal tribunals of arbitration, but in Berlin before the Imperial insurance office this was impracticable. On the suggestion of the labor secretary of Munich, the unions decided to found a central Secretariat charged with the conduct of the appeals of the union workers to the Imperial office and all defense of their causes. He has entered upon his duty since April 1, 1903. He will have charge of the direction of the election of labor representatives. Eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty francs have been voted for his annual expenses.

Thus throughout the whole hierarchy of their administrations the Imperial systems of insurance are being slowly invaded by labor organizations. Some day, without doubt, they will resurrect them, and the gigantic tree with numerous dry limbs, as the German statisticians are so pleased to present them, will then finally bear its fruit.

Of all the social institutions there are none which seem to remain outside of union activity. In order to draw all possible advantages from the arbitration councils (*Gewerbege-*

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richte) the General Commission has aided in the efforts of organization of the laboring judges. And even those new corporations, the *Innungen* established by a law springing from the reactionary spirit of 1897, serve as means of activity of the organized working class. In 1902 in order to unite the resistance against a project of the "strike clause" which has diminshed the efficiency of agreements in the decisions, the General Commission has placed itself in direct connection with the labor committees (*Gessellenausschüsse*) of the guild organizations. Even in this field, so little in accord with modern conditions of labor, the work of the labor organizations has crept in.

In consequence of this more extended activity the deficiencies and the views of these laws have become better understood and more sharply manifested, and the desire to ameliorate them has naturally become more active.

For the transformation of factory inspection, for the reform of the insurance system, for the changes in these institutions through the administrative work of the laborers, the unions have multiplied their petitions to the Reichstag or to the various assemblies. It was a publication of the unions which led to the debates in March, 1903, in that imposing congress of sick benefit associations which the news of a proposed law disadvantageous to them had suddenly resurrected. By the clearness of their demands and the ability of their representatives the unions to-day exercise an influence in the very working out of social laws.

This immense work has brought about profound changes in the unions themselves.

This was first evident in their relations to political parties. It has been frequently said that the unions have tended more and more to withdraw from political life in order to give their whole attention to their economic activity. This is false because impossible. By the very conditions that have developed them the German unions are forced to remain in constant close relation with the political parties; indeed, it was only through them that the unions were able to obtain the legislative reforms of which they had need. But while, in the beginning, the unions found themselves closely subordinated to the political parties, to-day it is parties that are becoming more and more subject to union influence. This constitutes a profound revolution, at least so far as the method of looking at things is concerned. "If the members of the centralized Unions" declared Legien, "belong to the Social Democratic Party, it is because that is the only party that energetically supports their demands." "If another should arise that would do the same," he added at Frankfort, "we should be perfectly ready

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to enter into relations with it." This assuredly may be of great importance as affecting party tactics. If the congress of Social Democrats at Munich, for example, in 1902, felt the necessity of finally formulating a clear program on the question of insurance, was it not just because of union pressure? It must be remembered on the other hand, that at the last elections of June, 1903, there were a number of well known trade-union leaders among the eighty-one members elected to the Reichstag. It was the correspondent of the General Commission who, on July 4th, announced the labor policy which the party was to follow.

But it is not alone in this direct strength that the development of their influence has been of value to the unions. At the present time they receive other and more direct advantages.

Their continuous intervention in the application of the laws has given back to them the power for propaganda and solidarity, of which the imperial insurance system had at first deprived them. The secretariats, for example, have given their advice freely to non-unionists as well as to unionists; and as a consequence the former have been gained for the organization. As to the solidarity and the stability of their membership, in default of the benefit features, this is secured henceforth by the manifold services that the union renders to its members. From 1900 to 1902 German industry languished: enthusiastic enterprise had carried the producers too far; in short, a crisis was produced. Now, during this crisis when the trade unions were compelled to meet heavy expenses, they did not lose the greater part of their membership as had been the case formerly, during the years 1870 and 1880, and again from 1880 to 1890. In spite of the immense burden which the insurance against unemployment imposed upon some of them, in spite of the strict obligation for the remainder of the members to pay their dues promptly, after a slight depression in 1901, the unions began again to progress.

Finally, and most important of all, the work of these last years conquered a new position for them in the Empire. Willy nilly, in just the degree that social legislation developed their complex services, the government was forced to have recourse to their collaboration. If it really desired exact information from its inspectors concerning the operation of the laws it was necessary to tolerate their connection with the laborers. When it recognized the necessity of accurate statistics of the labor market, it was necessary to enter into communication with the general Unions who supplied it with reports upon their trades. When in 1903 the Division of Labor Statistics of the Imperial Statistical Office was confronted with this

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necessity, it was compelled to enter into relations with the General Commission. And even if the government should some day decide to establish that insurance against unemployment, which the recent crisis has shown to be more and more indispensable, it cannot do it without the assistance of the unions. Still better, there exist to-day for the application of these laws, organs established by the initiative of the workers, and which the government, in turn, must protect and henceforth maintain under penalty of destroying its own work of social protection. The labor Secretariat of Beuthen, in Silesia, having been recognized by the authorities of that city as an industrial enterprise, and condemned for having neglected to make a report to three inquiries of the Minister of the Interior, re-establishes the true character of this institution. And finally, it is a fact of no small importance that representatives from two Ministries, that of the Empire and of Wurtemberg, were present at the Congress of Stuttgart, in 1902.

Count Posadowsky may, if he wishes, distinguish between the peaceful and the fighting activity of the unions, between their co-operation in legislative work and direct defense of wages. The labor organizations themselves do not make this distinction. It is as a part of the same work, unified and clearly defined, the protection and increase of proletarian strength, that they conduct strikes, conclude agreements, or participate in the works of social politics. It is by the same methodical and determined action, with the same strong solidarity and devotion, that they have secured higher wages, and that they have forced themselves upon a reactionary and despotic empire.

Finally, it is just because of these things that the German unions furnish such an excellent pattern. Because they have so accurately comprehended their work, and outlined it with such precision, and because they have not hesitated to collect from the whole field of social activity whatever might serve their purpose. From the day when their organizations became strong and coherent they have never hesitated; with confidence in the strength of the union spirit, and that spirit of ambition and of struggle that sustains them, they have never hesitated when necessary to participate in the socialism of an authoritative and bureaucratic state. And by this act of confidence, confidence in their own strength, they have been able to accomplish their whole task; and their hopes and their desires, far from being weakened, have been reinforced and strengthened.

More than by their stubborn and continuous renewal of the work of organization which has been constantly hindered

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and opposed, more than by their obstinate struggle against capitalist hatred and governmental oppression, it is because of these daring and wise practices that the German unions have earned admiration.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESENT CONDITION—1902-3.

At the end of 1902 the forces of the German trade union movement were as follows:

Name of Union.	Membership.	Comparison with 1901.
Hirsch-Duncker	102,851	+ 6,086
Christian unions	84,652	— 15
Independent Christian unions	105,248	+14,836
Independent unions	56,595	+ 6,994
Central unions (Socialist)	733,206	+55,696
Local unions	10,090	+ 730
Total	1,092,642	+84,327

The industrial census of 1895 showed that there were six million laborers in Germany; according to these statistics, which we must use until 1905, between 16 and 17 per cent of the German laborers are organized. This is a respectable army, but as we know, its battalions are divided. It is necessary to know their respective strength.

Only two of the Hirsch-Duncker unions are of any importance: that of the machinists with 40,288 members and of the factory workers with 21,190, who thus have between them two-thirds of all the members. The other organizations are comparatively insignificant: the miners' union, for example, has only 501 members in all Germany. Finally, they have secured 100,000 members in 35 years, which for these well-organized unions which are provided with all forms of insurance and who have from an early period enjoyed uninterrupted peace, is a very small result. It is a movement without a future. Liberals indeed are few, and grow less and less numerous within the working class; and those who are indifferent and who desire most of all immediate advantages will go henceforth into the centralized unions which are ever stronger and richer. Their financial showing offers little encouragement. In spite of 6,000 new members in 1902 their expenses have exceeded their receipts by 70,885 francs.

In the second place the Christian unions, at least those that belong to the general union and who have shown so remarkable a development about 1900, no longer grow, but are decreasing.

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Their central committee will not admit this. It confuses in its statistics societies which do not belong to it, or includes organizations of a non-union character. The trade papers have published the true statistics. The Christian movement seems to have lost ability to grow. Its strongest organization, that of the Westphalian miners, directed by Brust, and which appeared to have annihilated "the old union," that is, the Socialist union, now grows but slowly, having added only 372 members in the three months from January to April, 1903, while its competitor during the same period gained 1,000 members a month.

As to the Christian unions which do not belong to the Central union, only the new introduction into the statistics of societies previously existing, but not previously reported, makes it possible to figure out an increase. Taken in detail, with the exception of the railroad laborers' union which has today 47,151 members, the majority have decreased. Can it be that the voice of the pastors which has so often preached about the union duty of the Christian worker is no longer listened to?

Taken altogether, these various groups, Christian, centralized or independent, Hirsch-Dunçker, liberals and socialist local unions, we have only a total of 359,000 members. On the other hand the sixty central unions with 733,000 members and with a still larger share of the total annual revenue of all unions (13,872,180 francs out of 16,000,559 francs) constitute a compact, closely organized body animated by a single purpose.

To sum up, between 1901 and 1902 sixteen unions have lost members, and on the other hand three new unions, with 1,577 members, have given their allegiance to the Central Commission.

But this alone is not sufficient to explain the great increase of 55,696 members, 8.2 per cent, which has taken place during the time of the crisis. It is to the strength of their activity in the mass of German workers and their propaganda that it is necessary to attribute the increase of these unions. They alone represent in the trades where they exist nearly 14.42 per cent of all the laborers (17.29 per cent of the men and 3.13 per cent of the women).

* * *

In twenty-seven of the trades more than 20 per cent of the workers are organized, in fifteen more than 30 per cent. * * * It is the indisputable experience of the unions that when an organization includes more than 20 per cent of the workers in any trade, it constitutes an effective representation of the workers of that trade.

We have described the methods of work of the unions having a socialist tendency. When to this influence is added that exercised by the journals of their unions, which had a circulation, of 815,420 copies in 1902, the regularity of their admin-

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istration, and when one compares them in all these things to the Christian unions—the scientific value of their inquiries and the statistical investigations undertaken by the General Commission, one begins to understand the predominant role which these organizations exercise in German unionism.

* * *

It is nevertheless true that a division exists and that 359,000 organized workers live outside of this group, and all those who wish to see a powerful union movement in Germany agree in deploring this fact. All history since 1868 has proven that it is only by concentration of the forces of laborers that their work can be rendered efficient. So it is that for some years the question of union, or of fusion, has occupied all the different groups.

In their successive congresses, at Frankfort, in 1900, at Crefield in 1904, and Munich in 1902, the Christian unions have considered this question and in spite of the protestation of their religious directors, in spite of the commands of the Prussian bishops and of the archbishop of Freibourg, who were already denouncing them as schools of socialism, they have declared themselves in favor of uniting with these other unions, even with the Socialists, upon an absolutely neutral ground. They have considered that the final union must be a union in mixed organizations of all the laborers of each trade. Some of the more daring at the present time have spoken of amalgamation of the Christian and the Social Democratic societies, and they have even dared to advise that upon purely economic questions such, for example, as the struggle for wages, the two organizations should even now make it a practice of co-operating.

For their part the Hirsch-Duncker unions have not remained completely foreign to these ideas, and while at their last congress, that of Cologne, in 1901, they still maintained their famous declaration of 1876, requiring that each member declare that he did not belong to the Social Democratic party, this was only done this time after a very sharp struggle and largely because of the personal intervention of the old and always respected counsellor Dr. Hirsch.

Indeed, upon many of these points the other various groups have come together. It is not alone because of the very force of economic or political conditions, and often in spite of preconceived ideas that their tactics are unified, it is not simply that the same forms of organization and activity have imposed themselves upon all, but the unions, even those of the Christians, have protested against the politics of the Center and opposed the proposed attacks upon the right of coalition and the customs duties which

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increase the price of food, and thereby reduces the vigor of the laborers. In one and the same town sometimes the struggle for wages has drawn the societies together. Four independent unions and one Hirsch-Duncker have entered into federations where they are regularly brought in contact with the socialists of the centralized unions and those of the local organizations.

But however helpful these more or less permanent unions may be for particular purposes, they cannot fulfill the hopes of those who wish to extend the efficiency of union activity to its maximum. The central unions have demonstrated that complete fusion without restriction is what is necessary. But in what form will this be? Would not the stronger, more coherent, numerous and wealthier organization dominate the others? And what guaranty has it then to offer to the members of the old organizations? The centralized unions are today the strongest and this question is therefore the one that is presented to them. It has necessarily become with them a question of their neutrality.

They have always undoubtedly been neutral since their foundation. Unlike the localists, in order to be able to federate, and later still after 1900, in order to include women in all the States, they have given up political activity. They have been neutral in still another manner, since they do not require any political or religious declaration of their members. They have never required that these should declare themselves anti-liberal or anti-christian.

But it is none the less true that they were animated by the socialist spirit, that they were in constant communication with the socialist party, and that they participated in the entire life of the Social Democracy. Socialist deputies presided at their festivals, assisted in their propaganda, supported their demands, and among these deputies are many such as Legien and von Elm who were also trade union leaders. Moreover, has this connection seemed to contract the growth of the unions? Was it not rather the socialist thought which forced the laborers to organize? Have not all the bourgeois parties shown a fierce hostility to these organizations for defense? How is it possible for the unions to misunderstand the tireless devotion to the cause of the unions of the socialist faction of the Reichstag? In opposition to the liberal decay, the Socialist party has gained every five years thousands and thousands of votes. In opposition to the Hirsch-Duncker, the economic organization, like the party, is gaining little by little the entire proletariat.

About 1898 the formidable growth of the Christian unions showed that the laboring population was capable of trade organization, outside of the great unions, in opposition to socialism. And this was at a time when the assured benefits of centralization were apparent to every eye. Whatever might be the methods

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of Christian propaganda, the fact was very disquieting. The miners' union disrupted, and even reduced by this propaganda, was the first to speak of neutralizing the union movement. Within the unions and within the Socialist party a great debate is going on. The union leaders supported at this time by Bebel have declared themselves partisans of neutrality. It was Bebel who in a celebrated speech in 1900 in the trade union building of Berlin declared that "politics ought to be driven out of the unions": that the union movement was not Social Democratic but a movement of the proletarian class. And the ardent faith of Bebel in the inevitable success of socialist propaganda removed the fear which inevitably presented itself to every mind of a possible division which might one day arise between the Socialist party and another proletarian party. The same confidence animated von Elm, when he still further defined the attitude of the two organizations, distinguishing the politics of labor interests, which belonged to the unions, from the party politics, and he showed how the union conventions set forth by their declarations the complaints and the wishes of all the organized workers of Germany, of which the party would finally have to take count. Indeed, it was recalled how in the debates it was the socialist fraction of the Reichstag which several times supported, during the last session, the petitions of the Christian workers which had been neglected by the Centre.

For a long time yet to come the close personal connection between the unions and the Socialist party, together with the accumulated prejudice of thirty years of oppositions and quarrels will force the German unions to confine themselves to simple understandings and loose federations.

But it seems to us that in the near future the true solution will be found in a compromise between the anti-parliamentarian union, and parliamentarianism restricted to a narrow representation of union interests, guaranteeing its special field to union activity without, however, separating it from the infinitely greater work of total emancipation. And once more it is through the clear conception of their true work and by the tenacity of their daily devotion that the German unions have worked out this solution.

ALBERT THOMAS.

Translated from the French by A. M. Simons.

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Labriola on the Marxian Conception of History.

THE announcement that Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistc Conception of History" would soon be made accessible to readers of English was greeted with vivid approval from all quarters of the American Socialist world. No one has graduated in scientific Socialism, until he is at home in the Marxian conception of history and has acquired the habit of analyzing the complex forms of human activity under bourgeois society from this standpoint. And a movement so earnest and eager to be in line with the advanced knowledge of European Socialists as the American is, realized the full importance of a firm grasp on the essence of socialist philosophy. Even if the fame of the brilliant author of those essays had not long preceded his book, the fact that it dwelt with the materialistic conception of history would have been sufficient to assure it of a warm reception. So it was a gratifying sign of the strong life of our American movement, that an army of impatient students delved into the rich mine of Labriola's work, as soon as it appeared in Comrade Kerr's translation.

The materialistic conception of history has never yet been clearly elaborated in all its important aspects, and Labriola's work is only an incomplete contribution toward this end. It still remains a moot question what should be the specific domain of this historical method. The form in which Marx first stated it, and in which he as well as Engels applied it, left much room for further investigation and more precise definition. They themselves have often emphasized this. It is a legacy bequeathed to the modern Socialist, which will furnish almost unlimited scope for pioneer work to a multitude of socialist thinkers. But the reader of Labriola's essays will at least get the impression that there is more to the Marxian conception of history than the glib repetition of the first Marxian formula conveys.

It cannot be denied that Labriola has made a giant effort to cover the whole field which is involved in the discussion of the Marxian historical method. With painstaking patience he advances from analysis to analysis, covering in a series of penetrating essays the whole process of history and opening up a variety of outlooks that leave us wondering at the immense sweep of the Marxian method of investigation. If Labriola has not succeeded in unraveling all the mysterious threads of history and in assigning to the various scientific dis-

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ciplines their precise field, it is mainly because the human intellect is as yet hampered by too many unknown factors, and because even a monograph would find it difficult to draw the exact line where history merges into physics, or into psychology, or into chemistry, or into biology. Man, whose conscious or unconscious action has fashioned the complex structure of social organization, and who has thus created an environment of his own more or less conscious making, is nevertheless also under the constant influence of the natural environment, which he has not created, but which he is ever striving to control. And we shall not succeed in explaining history in all its interactions, until we shall have succeeded in explaining man to himself. This is one of the lessons which Labriola indirectly teaches.

But he also gives some positive lessons. Particularly in warning us not to fall into the error of the vulgar historians and of the thoughtless who interpret the Marxian conception of history too narrowly, or who attempt to transform it into a meaningless formula, he is fulfilling the mission which Marx himself has often assigned to socialist thought, viz., that of being a scientific method of investigation which is not alone objective toward the phenomena it investigates, but also never forgets to be objective towards itself. The reader who has worked his way through these essays will never again say that "economic conditions determine all human ideas or institutions," without at the same time pointing out how he wishes to be understood. And he will find himself stimulated to investigate the vast field of historical materialism for further knowledge.

But while I fully acknowledge the merits of Labriola's work, I cannot be blind to its shortcomings. The book would, in my opinion, have gained materially in strength, if its author had chosen a less academic and more popular form of expression. In its present form, the work will hardly be able to penetrate into the masses. It is even doubtful if the student who is not accustomed to critical reading, will gain a very clear conception of the scope of historical materialism by the perusal of this book. The formation of a clear insight into the subject is rendered still more difficult by the mistakes of the author, who himself occasionally forgets to follow the advice which he gives to others. This must be pointed out, not only to anticipate our bourgeois critics, but also to advise the student to closely analyze the statements of the author, before adopting them as a basis for further study.

In his first essay, on the "Communist Manifesto," Labriola says, on page 11, that "there are no historical experiences but those that history makes itself." Leaving aside the fact that

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this is a rather indistinct statement, we pass on to read that "it is as impossible to foresee them as to plan them beforehand or make them to order." This is only partially true, and at any rate contradicts many other statements made in the same essay. For instance, we read on page 10, that the present social form is "showing by its present necessity the inevitability" of the triumph of Socialism. And on page 13, that Marx and Engels had "anticipated the events which have occurred," and that critical communism "had an eye only to the future." And on page 14, Labriola calls the Communist Manifesto a "funeral oration" on the departure —— of a bourgeoisie which was just on the upward grade of its career when the Manifesto was written. Again, as a proof that we can foresee historical experiences, we read on page 16 that the Manifesto "predicts the final result of the class struggle." And on page 17, Labriola says that there is a friction in present society, and asks whether it "will end by breaking and dissolving it." He answers himself on page 18, that the modern proletariat is "the positive force whose necessarily revolutionary action must find in communism its necessary outcome." In short, he admits that we can look into the future and predict historical events.

Incidentally I must remark, that the statement on page 11, declaring that "none of these parties feels the dictatorship of the proletariat so near that it experiences the need or the desire or even the temptation to examine anew and pass judgment upon the measures proposed in the Manifesto," was true when the author wrote it, but does no longer apply to the American Socialist Party, for we have questioned the soundness of retaining the so-called immediate demands as a part of our national platform. True, we have done so, not because we feel the dictatorship of the proletariat impending, but mainly on grounds of scientific logic.

In the first chapter of his second essay, on historical materialism, Labriola takes up the question of terms and scores what he calls, on page 95, "that vice of minds educated by literary methods alone which is ordinarily called *verbalism.*" Now verbalism, as commonly understood, is the habit of clinging to words, rather than examining the thing for which the word is but a label. Of course, this can apply only to moot points, where the discussion is compelled to operate with terms that have not been universally accepted as the only correct ones. But in such a discussion there is another "vice" fully as bad as this sort of verbalism, namely that of using terms not universally accepted without justifying them. This is but another, and more subtle form of verbalism, because it attempts to make the word stand for the thing itself.

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Such a practice is only admissible where the word has come to stand, by common consent, for but one thing. But if it were admissible in the field under discussion, where the terminology is not yet stable, then the rebuke to the verbalists would not be sound. Yet Labriola is a subtle verbalist of this kind, who censures the common verbalists.

No science can get along without clearly defined terms. We cannot learn the nature of a thing by examining its label. That is the method of common verbalism. But neither are we contributing to a clearer understanding of a partially known thing, when we omit to justify the choice of our label. That is what Labriola has done. In asking him for a sharp definition of his terms, I am not concerned with the terms themselves, but with the things which his terms are supposed to label. Labriola cannot escape from this criticism by hiding behind a criticism of the common verbalists. But apart from this, other reasons compel us to insist on clear definitions. First, human language, and especially technical language, is seldom precise enough to express any exact meaning by a mere term. Secondly, socialist thought can only connect itself with the intellectual stock in trade of its time and give its own precise meaning to the terms it uses. The socialist writer who introduces new technical terms without defining them, does not only render the study of the subject more difficult for the inexperienced student, but also offers new opportunities for the common verbalist to confuse matters.

On these grounds, many of us might feel inclined to ask Labriola why he prefers to call "historical materialism" what some of us think would be better designated by "economic determinism" or by "Marxian conception of history," terms which we might well justify without being classed among the common verbalists. And still more might some of the comrades object to the unjustified return, on the part of the translators, to such Latin terms as *processus, complexus, plexus* and *nexus*. That is a revival of the "exclusive" practices of old-time science, not a step toward a proletarian terminology. Suitable modern terms might well have been found for them in French and English.

But while Labriola operates with his own terminology without justifying it, he quibbles through long pages over such terms as *logic of events* and *historical factors*, which not only bourgeois but also socialist writers are employing, and for which they no doubt can offer as good reasons as he would for his terms.

Again, while he is very severe on the common verbalists, he makes no attempt to give his readers a taste of the essence of such terms as *matter, mind, psychology, imagination, soul*,

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the role of which must be defined in attempting to elaborate the materialist conception of history. When he repeats the statement of Marx, on page 113, that "it is not the forms of consciousness which determine the human being, but it is the manner of being which determines consciousness," and elaborates it into the declaration, on page 121, that "the discovery of these (social) instruments is at once the cause and the effect of these conditions and of those forms of the inner life, to which, isolating them by psychological abstraction, we give the name of imagination, intellect, reason, thought, etc.," he leaves us in the mazes of a meaningless and unintelligible jumble of words. The point which must be clearly stated when attempting to define the role of human brain activity in the Marxian conception of history, is this: The materialist conception of history is not scientifically demonstrated, until we prove the *materialist conception of thought.* The sentence of Labriola quoted by me can hardly be regarded as an emphasis on this point.

Equally hazy is Labriola in his treatment of the relation of natural science, and especially of Darwinism, to Socialism. He cautions us, for instance, not to make of the materialist conception of history a "derivative of Darwinism" (page 19), but at the same time admits, on page 150, that "the different disciplines which are considered as isolated and independent in the hypotheses of the concurrent factors in the formation of history, both by reason of the degree of development which they have reached, the materials which they have gathered, and the methods which they have elaborated, have today become indispensable for us." And he quotes with approval "the analogy affirmed by Engels between the discovery of historical materialism and that of the conservation of energy." But although he warns us thus, and quotes the above illustration of a permissible analogy, he himself carries the analogy too far by declaring, on page 35, that "the death of a social form like that which comes from natural death in any other branch of science becomes a *physiological case.*"

Nevertheless, the book is very suggestive. Its shortcomings, instead of discouraging the socialist thinkers, should rather stimulate them to a deeper penetration of the problems of the Marxian conception of history. ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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Comment by the Translator of Labriola.

IT IS a matter for the deepest regret that the interesting points raised by Comrade Untermann can never be discussed by the one writer most competent to throw light upon them—Comrade Labriola. Since that is no longer possible, I desire to comment briefly on a few of Comrade Untermann's criticisms.

It seems to me that the inconsistency pointed out in the passage extending from the tenth to seventeenth page is more apparent than real. Evidently the author merely meant to say that it is impossible to forecast the course of events in their minor details, and that on this account it is in the nature of things impracticable to draw up a definite and concrete working program which will be of value fifty years after it is written. On the other hand, the socialist philosophy does afford a basis for predicting the general tread of the development of society, and none of the sentences quoted seem to me to imply more than this.

I cannot agree with Comrade Untermann in saying that the vice of verbalism "can apply only to moot points, where the discussion is compelled to operate with terms that have not been universally accepted." On the contrary, I believe that verbalism, in the sense Labriola uses the word, stands for a widespread mental habit—a habit almost inevitably acquired under current educational systems by those whose training has been literary rather than scientific. Verbalism, as Labriola uses the word, and as it is ordinarily used, so far as I know, means simply the centering of attention and effort upon words rather than upon the facts that the words stand for. The verbalist would, for example, if called on to explain a passage in the Hebrew or Christian scriptures, confine himself to a critical examination of the words contained in the text, whereas the scientific student would search for outside information which might help to make clear what real things or events were in the mind of the writer.

It seems to me that Comrade Untermann, in appropriating the words verbalist and verbalism to an entirely different use, is affording a most conspicuous example of the offence with which he charges Labriola.

Nor do I believe the charge will hold. Comrade Untermann may prefer some other phrase to "historical materialism," but that is the phrase used by Engels in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," and Vandervelde, who also objects to the phrase, admits that it has become current, and uses it constantly in his article published in the February issue of the REVIEW.

As to the criticism on the use of Latin terms, the fault, if it is

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a fault, is mine, and not Labriola's. The most important case is that of the word *processus,* which recurs constantly throughout the book. In adopting the word, I followed the French version, in which it is used rather than the corresponding French word, although a modern word was used in the original Italian. Now the French translator was evidently right in his choice of a word, since the French word of corresponding form means a "process" in the sense of a law-suit, and would have been wholly misleading to the reader. In the first draft of my own translation, I actually used the word "process," but in my final revision I adopted the word *"processus"* for fear of obscuring the sense. The word "process" as usually understood implies a definite operation for accomplishing some concrete piece of work. But Labriola, in using the word I have called *processus,* evidently means the sum-total of the operations of various forces which modify humanity or a definite group of human beings. I dislike the needless use of Latin phrases, but I think that the use of the Latin word here is less puzzling to the reader than the use of the misleading English word.

Nothing is easier than to quote a highly condensed sentence on a difficult subject, taking it out of its context, and call it a meaningless and unintelligible jumble of words. But I believe the careful reader will find that Labriola has given us a highly suggestive thought in the derided paragraph on page 121. Theologians and phrenologists talk of imagination, intellect, reason, thought and a host of subordinate "faculties" as if they were distinct entities divinely created. But what is the rational way to regard them? Labriola tells us that they are the result of the increasing complexity of human life resulting from the invention and use of constantly improving tools. These forms of the inner life are at once the effect and the cause of the discovery of the improved instruments, since every discovery calls for relatively more intelligence and less brute force in the productive processes by which men get their bread, and on the other hand, every increase in intelligence makes greater discoveries possible.

I am forced to admit that our author's treatment of the relation of historical materialism to biology is the least satisfactory part of his work. But we have to specialize in these days, and Labriola's specialty was history, not biology. Comrade Untermann is a trained biologist, and we are looking eagerly for his completion of a study of the relation of brain to mind which will supply a needed link in the continuity of socialist thought.

Meanwhile, with our regret for the untimely end of Labriola's life-work, we have a right to rejoice over the important task he has accomplished in clarifying for the socialists of all countries the fundamental conception of historical materialism.

CHARLES H. KERR.

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How to Get the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

THE Socialist worthy the name wants Socialism to come in his or her time and welcomes any means to bring it about.

You must be filled with an intense *desire* for it; a desire that brooks no obstacles. It is of no use to wait for "economic conditions." Economic conditions alone will not bring it in a hundred thousand years. The task of the Socialist is to present a definite brain picture of what is wanted to as many workers as possible, the only people that can bring Socialism about, and fill them with an overwhelming desire to have the conception materialized.

This will seem like rank heresy to many and I hear cries of Utopian! But here is an illustration. About a year and a half ago I started to build a boat and had the frame set up when something occurred that made me disgusted with things in general (not with the boat) and I lost all interest and have not done anything on it since.

I have the material, tools, a place to build, the ability and the time—all the material conditions are there—but my desire is practically nil and the boat remains unbuilt.

Another thing; we want Socialism in order that we may become the better men and women, but we must exercise some manhood and womanhood in order to get it and there is nothing that will so arouse in you a proper pride and dignity, making you assert your manhood and womanhood, refusing to be a slave, as reading and absorbing Whitman.

Begin in a small way to refuse indignities from your foreman, superintendent, anyone! You will not lose your job, and if you should you will not starve; by thinking you will and slinking about like a cur you invite starvation. Quit it!

Brace up and take a stand!

Men and women are needed to build the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Be one of them.

WM. JOHNSON.

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EDITORIAL

Some Suggestions for the Convention.

It is a matter of course that the National Convention of the Socialist Party which is to meet at Chicago on the first of next May will be the most important gathering for the Socialists of America that has ever been held. It will only be exceeded in importance by the next one, and that by the next until the powers of government shall finally be captured by the intelligently and constructively revolutionary working class of America. There will be an overwhelming amount of work to be done at that convention and if it is to be well done it is necessary that every bit of energy be utilized in the best possible manner. Hence every effort should be made to have all matters thoroughly discussed and understood, not only by the delegates, but by the entire membership, before the convention meets. There will still be much time wasted over trivial matters, which will in turn require important ones to be hurried through with scant consideration in the closing hours. There will be comrades who will insist on making propaganda speeches to the assembled delegates, and who will seize every opportunity to go on record as to the genuineness of their class-consciousness and proletarian character, even though by so doing they hinder the work of making more class-conscious socialists and thereby help to perpetuate proletarian slavery. Committees will work all night, and then struggle all day to explain what they did the night before. All these things are inevitable accompaniments of a convention in which work is actually done, in contrast to those of the capitalist parties which only meet to ratify the orders of their masters.

But much time can be saved if the party press will open their columns at once for a full discussion of the matters which will probably occupy the time of the convention and if the comrades will make use of the pages of that press for such discussion. If it were once understood that such articles really have much more effect than speeches made upon the floor of the convention comrades would probably be more anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to express their opinions to the vastly greater audience of the party press, rather than to the few delegates who will be assembled in Chicago next May.

One of the questions which will be sure to come before the convention

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will be the revision of the constitution to accord with the increased and altered duties that have devolved upon the party organization. There is manifestly too great and justifiable dissatisfaction with the present organization of the National Committee to permit its continuance unchanged. The system of plural voting is too unfair to be maintained, while it is equally certain that the membership will never consent to the even more dangerous and unfair condition that existed prior to the introduction of the present system, under which a mere handful of the least experienced and tested portion of the membership could control the whole party.

Some means must also be found for the regulation and control of socialist agitation in the lecture field. We are getting too close to the time when we will be brought into the midst of the fight of capitalist politics, with all that implies, to permit any "free lance" who chooses to implicate the party in his vagaries, or perhaps trickery. Whatever plan is adopted for the control of speakers should also include some method of obtaining complete reports from them and also a certain standard of requirements in the way of study of socialist classics for those who enter the field in the future.

The question of platform will occupy much of the time of the convention. There will be those who will insist upon the sufficiency of a simple categorical declaration of some of the principles of Socialism. There will be others who will wish to include as a part of our platform a long string of reforms as "immediate demands." Indeed, it is probable that around this question will wage the fiercest fight of the convention. This is somewhat unfortunate, and also somewhat ridiculous, as the question is really of decidedly minor importance. It is especially unfortunate that the attitude of a party member on this question has been construed into a sort of test of orthodoxy, and many a comrade whose knowledge of Socialism is decidedly scant, still points with pride to the fact that is against all "immediate demands" as sure proof of his scientific equipment in socialist doctrine. Our opinion has been stated on this point so often that we shall not repeat it here, although we shall probably have something to say on this in our next issue. Suffice to say now that we believe everything else aside from the declaration for the capture of the powers of government by the working-class to be of such minor importance, that we are convinced all else should appear in the form of an independent declaration of measures to be supported by socialists who may chance to be elected to office, while a majority of the governmental powers remain in capitalist hands, and as such should not be considered as a part of Socialism.

There are several things that seem to us of much more real importance for the work of the Socialist Party at the present stage than some of the things which will probably occupy the majority of the attention of the convention. In the first place, about the only offices of any importance which we are apt to capture during the next two or three years will be municipal offices. Hence there is the greatest need for some guide for the

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intelligent action of such officers. This does not mean that we should have a national municipal platform. Such a thing would be manifestly absurd here, although the Guesdists of France, who are generally considered to have the most extremely revolutionary position of any Socialist party in the world, have always had such a platform. What is needed, however, is rather a source of general information. It seems to us that this could be best obtained by the establishment of a municipal secretary located in the national office, with a municipal committee, composed of all Socialists elected to municipal office, and such other persons as the Party might from time to time appoint; this committee to have only consulting and advisory powers.

The question of our relation to the farmers and the negroes will also come up. Whether it is advisable to have any special declaration with regard to either of these classes or not, it is hard to say. At any rate it might be well to arrange for investigation of these subjects, and thus obtain a more intelligent knowledge concerning them than exists at the present time. We do not believe that special resolutions for any classes of people are advisable, but there should be some uniformity of attitude toward these problems, and the convention may well consider how this uniformity can be best attained.

It will have to be determined whether our present resolution really expresses the present attitude of the party toward trade-unions, and also whether the Socialist Party as a whole looks with favor upon the efforts which are frequently made to secure the adoption of resolutions by trade union conventions endorsing the Party. Also what shall be the attitude toward unions that have adopted such resolutions? Shall it differ from our attitude toward the avowed "pure and simplers"?

There are some things which can be at least informally discussed during the convention period, which perhaps may not properly come before the convention. One of these which, in our opinion, however, is of sufficient importance to justify the attention of the convention in an official manner, is the co-ordination and publication of socialist matter. The Socialist press has now reached sufficient size to render advisable the formation of some sort of "news association" or "syndicate" for the purpose of regularly furnishing matter. By charging a very low rate for each paper a sufficient income could be obtained to permit the payment of news-gatherers and writers where necessary. Many socialists have already considered this matter and it would seem possible that some informal meetings held prior to, or between the sessions of the convention, might evolve something definite, which would be of greatest value to the Socialist movement of this country.

This matter will be especially pertinent at this convention since it will certainly be necessary to organize some sort of literature committee for the presidential campaign and it will be easily possible to keep this idea in mind, so that at the close of the campaign this committee may be rendered permanent and take up these other duties.

If any of the above suggestions are carried out it will require con-

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siderable change in the character, and addition in amount of the work of the national office. The question may be suggested if it is not well to definitely recognize the need of some such changes and to prepare for them. The membership should reach at least 50,000 within the coming year. This will mean a monthly income of $2,500. At the same time, as the various states become better organized the need of national organizers drawing a salary from the national office will grow rather less than greater. At least it should do so, if the state organizations are not to become merely superfluous institutions. Under these conditions the national office should become the great center of information and co-ordination. It should carry on investigations, and disseminate the results of such information as it may secure to the party press, and local organizations. It should be capable of concentrating the strength of the national party upon any locality where the membership should decide such emphasis was necessary.

This leads to another point which may well come before the convention, and that is the desirability and advisability of holding a national convention for purposes of discussion at closer intervals than four years. The "off-year" meeting need have no official power except to send matters to a referendum, and hence could work no disadvantage to those localities unable to send delegates. It might be modeled rather after the yearly conventions of scientists, teachers, etc., than of political bodies, admitting to its privileges all party members and confining its work to discussion of party policies.

These are some of the things that the meeting next May will probably discuss, with perhaps several others as yet unforeseen. Their decision will be fraught with good or evil for the future of Socialism. In order that they may be decided as intelligently and as democratically as possible we are going to do all in our power to have them thoroughly understood by the entire party membership. To do this we shall make our April number a "Convention Number." We have asked for contributions on these subjects from a large number of party comrades and hereby extend the invitation to any of our readers who may not have received a personal communication. Confine your opinions to one thousand words if possible, as we shall have more than we can publish in our space and will therefore select the shortest and most pointed. They must all be at the office by March 20 at the latest and the sooner they arrive the better.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

The International Socialist Bureau.

The International Socialist Bureau met on Sunday, February 6, at the Maison du Peuple of Brussels. Comrade Edouard Vaillant represented the Socialist party of France.

Action was taken in the way of preparation for the International Congress, the date of which will soon be fixed.

The Interparliamentary Socialist Commission is to be called together principally for the purpose of examining the question of legislation touching foreign laborers proposed in various countries.

On motion of Comrade Cambier, representing the Argentine Republic, the following resolution was adopted:

The International Socialist Bureau protests energetically against the expulsion of any one from any country as a punishment for his opinions: it denounces in particular the conduct of the Argentine government which is taking advantage of an accidental law, called law of residence, to expel the foreign socialists in a body.

The delegates of several nations presented and secured the acceptance of a resolution reading as follows:

The International Socialist Bureau protests energetically against the persecutions on the part of the police and the government to which the Russian socialists in Germany are victims;

It condemns severely the policy of humiliating servitude which degrades Germany to the role of an instrument for Russian despotism;

It congratulates the German and Italian socialists upon their successful intervention in favor of the Russian comrades persecuted by czarism;

It calls upon the socialist parties of all countries to grasp every occasion to combat the influence of czarism, which is endeavoring to extend itself more and more through western countries and constitutes a permanent danger for democracy and civilization.

SINGER,
KAUTSKY,
ROSA LUXEMBURG,
PLEKHANOFF,
ADLER,
E. VANDERVELDE.

The present situation in Europe has moreover led the Bureau to adopt this declaration prepared by Comrade Vaillant:

The Bureau:

In the event that through the crime of the governments and of capitalism, war should break out between Russia and Japan,

Invites the Socialists of all countries and particularly the socialist parties of France, England and Germany, to struggle with all their courage and with their combined efforts to oppose every extension of the war, and

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to make their respective countries, instead of participating in it, endeavor to re-establish and to maintain peace.

Finally the provisional programme for the Amsterdam Congress was arranged as follows:

1. International regulations for the Socialist party. Resolutions concerning the tactics of the party. (Socialist Party of France.)
2. Colonial politics (Hyndman and Van-Kol).
3. Emigration and immigration (Argentine Republic).
4. General strike (Socialist Party of France).
5. Social politics and workingmen's insurance (the eight-hour day).
6. Trusts and lack of employment (United States).
7. Various questions.

Belgium.

The socialists are making a great effort to secure the introduction of universal education. At the present time the schools are extremely poor and are controlled entirely by the Church. Vandervelde has recently made a speech in the Chamber which has attracted attention, not only in Belgium, but throughout Europe. He showed the large number of illiterates which existed and compared them with the statistics of criminality, showing the close connection between crime and lack of education. Thirteen per cent of the Belgian recruits to the army can neither read nor write. Forty-five per cent can read and write and have a slight knowledge of arithmetic, and only 12 per cent have had any higher instruction. In the country nearly all the children are compelled to leave school at eleven or twelve years of age and what little they have learned is soon forgotten, and they go to increase the number of illiterates. Langendonk, another socialist member, demanded the introduction of school restaurants to furnish free meals for the school children. The leader of the clericals, Woeste, attempted to reply, but his speech consisted simply of a song of praise of the clerical schools. He finally let the cat out of the bag, however, and revealed the true cause of his position when he declared that in Germany compulsory education had led to socialism, and that in France there had been more strikes since education had been bettered than in Belgium.

France.

The situation in France remains somewhat confused. The Local to which Millerand belongs has upheld him and has, in turn, been expelled from the party.

Jaures was defeated for re-election as vice-president of the Chamber, and this has resulted in a division of the forces of the Left.

The body which is ordinarily referred to in English as radical socialist and which is more properly designated as Socialistic radical has been defeated and sixty-five members are now forming a group by themselves with much more of a tendency to support clearly socialist measures than hitherto.

The following from Edouard Vaillant shows the attitude of the French Socialists in regard to the Russian alliance. Such an expression of opinion means more from Vaillant than perhaps from any other man, because he knows very well what insurrection means. It may be well to remember in this month when we celebrate the Commune that he is one of the three

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or four men still living who belonged to that little group of men who composed the governing committee of the Commune. He is today a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

REBELLION PREFERABLE TO WAR.

The newspapers abound in information of a tranquilizing and pacific character: M. Delcassé has said this to M. Cochin, and he has said that to M. Pressensé, and he will, if necessary, say the same things again to the Chamber of Deputies in case it should seem to be disturbed and to require that soporific. But the same newspapers, full of their devotion to the Czar, are working up public opinion to sustain a possible intervention in his behalf.

We would gladly hope, even yet, that the government might find some way to cut our country loose from any rash or criminally imbecile engagement into which it may have brought itself. The fact is, however, that the evidence is complete of a mortal danger for civilization and for ourselves in the monstrous alliance between the French republic and the autocracy of the Czar.

We ought therefore to prepare ourselves for everything, even the folly and crime of our ministry and Parliament. The patriotism of which they boast as if it were their exclusive possession should suffice to preserve us. But if their weakening intelligence and decision should leave us to drift into war, this danger must be faced by us. And we can do this, if we will.

Whatever else a European war may mean, it means this: militarism founding its empire through murder and bloodshed in France, drained of its blood, ruined, brought under the rule of a monarch, isolated among the hostile nations of England, Germany and Italy. It means civilization set back, the proletarian revolution deferred, reaction and capitalism triumphant.

That shall not be, it must not be.

The greatness of socialism is that in its action, whatever its motive may be, it sums up everything that it proposes for itself, and that its action against war is one and the same with its action for the emancipation of the proletariat.

Therefore, we must not hesitate, and henceforth we must recognize what we may have to do. And if the international and national proletariat appealed to by us does not respond sufficiently, and does not succeed through its general strike in defending itself, in defending its life, its demands, its emancipation, then our duty to act, and to shrink from nothing to save it, to face the danger, to avoid war, would be all the greater. There is no blessing superior to peace, to international peace. There is nothing which is not preferable to war.

Better rebellion than war. EDOUARD VAILLANT.

Italy.

Italian and International Socialism have suffered a severe loss. Antonio Labriola died in Rome on February 2, from the consequences of a tracheotomy to which he had been compelled to submit. He was 62 years old. One of our sharpest and clearest thinkers has thus departed.

He was no agitator. He kept aloof from practical politics, although he possessed a great understanding for it. He remained all his life what he was at the beginning of his scientific career: a critical philosopher and historian. His first works were of a purely philosophical nature. They dealt with the doctrine of Socrates (1871), free will (1873), morals and

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religion (1875), historical instruction (1876), and problems of the philosophy of history (1887).

After that his thought entered new fields. He came to Marxian socialism, not by way of philanthropy, nor on the road of political rebellion, but Marxism was for him rather the completion of his philosophy.

Of the works which he now published, the most important are his three essays on the materialist conception of history. The first of these, entitled, "In Memory of the Communist Manifesto," appeared in 1895, the second, on "Historical Materialism," in 1896, and the third, on "Socialism and Philosophy," in 1898. These works have since been published in many editions, and were also translated into French.

They belong to the best creations in the international Marxian literature and have exerted an especially clarifying influence on the thought of the Italian socialists. If Italian socialism arose superior to the confusion of Mazzinism, Bakounism, and Bastiatism, in which it was submerged only two decades ago, this is due in a large measure to Labriola's writings. And it is above all thanks to him that there are any Marxian socialists in Italy today.

He exerted his influence not alone by writing, but also by speaking, by his lectures at the university of Rome, of which he was a professor, and where he daringly and frankly taught Socialism.

Both the Italian and the international Socialist movement owe a debt of gratitude to Labriola. They will both honor his memory as that of a great thinker and a true man.—*Vorwaerts.*

A short notice in *Vorwaerts* states that Ferri has been condemned to fourteen months imprisonment and a fine of 14,116 lire. This is, in spite of the fact that he has so thoroughly proved his charges against Bettolo that the latter has been practically driven out of public life. It seems to have been a case of the "greater the truth the greater the libel."

Russia.

The Russian Social Democracy was created in 1898 upon the initiative of some local organizations which had been formed in the great industrial centers during the years 1895 and 1897. But the party existed only in name and the only trace it has left to us of this first congress is a manifesto containing an expression of its aspirations. Since then the number of local organizations has increased considerably and the liberal movement of the country has taken on new vigor, but the local committees remained isolated without common direction or programme. This division of the strength of the party could not last without greatly injuring the political and economic struggle.

The committee of organization which had the task of preparing for the second congress—and one knows how difficult such a task is in Russia—took the greatest care to secure a representation of all the organizations of the party. The list as it is completed is composed of fourteen committees, three federations, one league of the laborers, two committees of the Bund, the administration of *Iskra* (the *Star*), the groups for the freeing of labor and of the laborers of the south, and two organizations of Russian social democrats abroad who sent their delegates to assist the revolutionary proletariat of Russia.

The first work of the convention was to examine the programme prepared by the editorial staff of *Iskra.* This programme, which was adopted by the congress, contains a series of propositions such as are found in all Marxist programmes, stating the contradictions of the capitalist society, the tasks which belong to the socialist party, and lastly the dominion of the proletariat and socialization of the means of production and distribu-

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tion. This is followed by a minimum programme enumerating the economic reforms which are necessary to be obtained at the present time under the capitalist regime. This portion is also to be found in all the platforms of the socialist parties. But, there is something in our platform which is found in no other socialist platform, and this is the following passage: "In Russia, where capitalist production already occupies a dominant place, there still remain numerous vestiges of our old regime which was based upon the servitude of the laboring masses attached to the proprietorship of the feudal domains, to the State, or to its officials. These remnants greatly hinder the economic progress of the country and the free operation of the strength of the proletariat. They also favor the maintenance of the most barbarous methods of exploitation among the millions of peasants by the State and the possessing classes, and they maintain in obscurity and slavery the entire people. Czarism is the most important of all these survivals and the most powerful protector of all this barbarity. Hostile by its nature to every social and liberating movement, it is necessarily the most violent enemy of all aspirations of the proletariat. Therefore the social democratic laboring party of Russia must struggle in the first place for the abolition of the czarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic.

According to the Constitution adopted by the party the base of the organization is to be found in local committees whose duties consist in directing the agitation in their respective districts. The direction of affairs of general interest belongs to a central committee, while the control of the attitude of the party in questions of principle is left with the editorial staff of the central organ. The supreme governing body of the party is the congress, which meets every two years.

The congress has adopted the journal *Iskra* as central organ of the party and in this manner has declared its agreement with the tendencies of this journal.

B. G., *in L'Avenir Social.*

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Whatever differences of opinion may have existed between the workers of the East and the West regarding jurisdiction, political action and similar questions have been almost completely obliterated by the heroic battle of the miners in the Rocky Mountain regions. The fact is there never was much enmity among the rank and file of those sections. As usual, the leaders, so-called, were responsible for whatever antagonisms may have existed. But the splendid, class-conscious spirit in which the western men have fought against combined capitalism and its governmental puppets has aroused the admiration of the organized workers all over the land, and just now they are collecting funds to assist the strikers to continue their battle until it has been won. That they will win seems almost certain. Governor Peabody has called the militia from the field and sent an open letter to the combined mine operators advising them to settle with the unionists. Peabody has damage suits aggregating $1,200,000 filed against him, while his masters, the operators, have spent many more millions to defeat the workers, and the cost to the State has been enormous. To show the villainous conduct of those in control of the political power it is well worth quoting the specific charges made against them by the Colorado trade unionists and Socialists, which have not been and cannot be controverted, and every organized worker who reads the following ought to consider it his or her duty to raise every dollar possible to assist the brave and hardy western strikers to gain the victory for which they have so nobly fought. The cause of the strike and the detailed actions of the authorities as charged in public assemblages are:

"First—The people of Colorado at the general election of 1902 adopted an amendment to the State constitution by 40,000 majority empowering the legislature to enact a law making eight hours a legal day's work in mines, mills and smelters.

"Second—The Republican and Democratic parties elected representatives and senators on platforms pledging them to the enactment of an eight-hour law, so that the whole legislature, except the holdover senators, were pledged to that measure, as were also the executive officers of the State Government.

"Third—The Legislature, which convened in January, 1903, absolutely disregarded the pledges made in the platforms on which the members were elected and at the dictation of the mine and smelter owners refused to enact an eight-hour law.

"Fourth—The Governor, elected also on a platform pledging the people an eight-hour law, when calling an extra session of the Legislature to provide for the salaries of the State officials, refused to include the consideration of an eight-hour law in his call for said extra session.

"Fifth—As a result of this wanton and criminal disregard of solemn pledges voluntarily made by the legislative and executive branches of the State Government, the Western Federation of Miners declared a strike,

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first at Colorado City and later in the Telluride and Cripple Creek districts, for the purpose of securing an eight-hour working day.

"Sixth—The strikes so declared were peaceful and orderly, and the communities effected were as free from rioting and other disorderly manifestations as they were before the strikes were declared. This has been repeatedly testified to by the sheriffs and other civil officers of the counties in whose territory the strikes were being enforced.

"Seventh—In the face of these facts, Gov. James H. Peabody, at the request—not of the sheriffs or civil officers of the counties affected—but of the owners of mines and smelters, sent the State militia to Colorado City, and afterward to Cripple Creek and Telluride, for the avowed purpose of breaking the strikes, and not for the purpose of maintaining law and order.

"Eighth—The militia, sent into those counties against the protest of the civil officers under the general direction of the Governor and his adjutant general, Sherman Bell, have trampled upon the rights guaranteed to citizens by the constitution of the State of Colorado and the constitution of the United States in a most relentless and defiant manner, as hereinafter specified.

"First—They have arrested citizens without warrant or other process of law.

"Second—They have incarcerated citizens in military prisons reeking with filth and vermin and so crowded and ill-ventilated as to almost rival the infamous 'black hole' of Calcutta.

"Third—They have defied the officers of the civil courts, refusing to accept service of processes issued against them by courts of competent jurisdiction.

"Fourth—They have denied the writ of habeas corpus by refusing to bring prisoners into court when ordered to do so by the officers of the court.

"Fifth—They have invaded the courts during their sessions with bodies of armed men, to terrify the judges and officers of the said courts and prevent them from rendering judgment in accord with the law and the evidence.

"Sixth—They have deprived the people of Teller county of the right to bear arms, and they have, without warrant, invaded the sanctity of homes of the people, by unlawfully entering said homes in their search for arms.

"Seventh—They have suppressed a free press by instituting a military censorship over the newspapers published in the strike districts.

"Eighth—They have invaded the business places of well-known citizens and have shot them down for defending their property.

"Ninth—They have arrested peaceful and law-abiding citizens, without warrant, as vagrants, and have imprisoned them, put them to work as convicts on the rock-pile, or deported them from their homes, solely because they refused to go to work as strike-breakers.

"Tenth—They have committed all these and other outrages upon citizens of Colorado, in defiance of the laws and constitution of the state and of the United States, for the purpose of destroying the labor unions.

"Eleventh—They have usurped this authority and established a military despotism in Colorado, in the interest of the capitalist class, using the military power of the state to advance the financial and commercial interests of the said capitalist class, and to crush organized labor."

With the ending of the scale year in the iron and steel industry, on June 30, there will be inaugurated one of the greatest struggles between organized labor and capital that this country has known in recent years. Shortly after the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. the writer was informed by a prominent manufacturer in Cleveland that he had learned that the iron and steel masters were determined to wipe out every vestige of unionism in their plants and that they had carefully laid their plans

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to begin the onslaught the coming summer. Expressing some doubts that war would be declared because of the pending Presidential campaign, my informant declared substantially: "The United States Steel Corporation is coming under new management. The Rockefeller and Frick interests are becoming dominant, and everybody knows they are antagonistic to union labor upon general principles. They do not fear political results, either. They care very little whether or not Roosevelt is defeated, as they are satisfied that the Democrats, having been 'reorganized,' will nominate a 'safe' man, like Cleveland or Olney, and their interests will be fully protected." This statement is now verified by a report from Pittsburg, which says, among other things:

"It is known among employes of the United States Steel Corporation that with the ending of the scale year next June 30, the concern will refuse in the future to deal with organized labor. This plan has received the endorsement of the steel corporation directors. H. C. Frick, who has assumed control since the absence of Charles M. Schwab and Mr. Morgan, is credited with the plan.

"The present year has been selected because of the continued dullness in the domestic steel trade. Preparations for the fight have been going on since the beginning of the year. Wherever it is possible for the steel corporation to make material and stock, to be supplied to the market during the fight against unionism, it is being done.

"Officers of the Amalgamated Association are aware of what is coming. The granting of concessions in wages in the pending fight they know will not benefit them, as Mr. Frick and the Rockefellers will not deal with labor unions.

"As a result of the impending strike, the American Tin and Sheet Company is operating more than two hundred tin plate mills day and night. Scarcely any of the production is being sold. It is being piled in warehouses in Pittsburg, New Castle, Sharon, Pa.; Anderson, Elwood, and Gas City, Ind., and Wheeling, W. Va., and a few other points. At New Castle, after filling the warehouses, the storage houses of the American Steel and Wire Company are being filled with plate. The output of tin plates is about 225,000 boxes each week. Very little of this is being sold. A boom in tin plates is not anticipated. A dealer was questioned as to the demand and the possible resumption. He said that the steel corporation was making more tin plate and had enough stocked away to shut down their plants for three months, and supply their trade. The independent tin plate manufacturers are not operating, as there is no demand. The steel corporation has about eighty-eight of its mills closed down for repairs and for other reasons, but preparations are being made to start some of these in addition to those in operation.

"Members of the Amalgamated Association are exceedingly interested in the coming battle. They are watching with concern the filling of the warehouses. Last year they offered to accept a reduction of 25 per cent for work done on export tin plates. The stock was made up, but was not exported.

"There are only four non-union tin plate plants operated by the steel corporation. These are being run at a lower wage rate than the union plants, the reduction having been made the first of the year. The employes of the Demmler plant at McKeesport refused to accept the cut, but finally returned to work. The four non-union plants could not force the remaining union workingmen into line for a reduction or a disorganization, hence the fact that a stock of plates to carry the tin plate company over six or seven months is expected to starve the tin plate workers out and compel them to return to work as non-unionists."

It is not improbable that other organizations will be drawn into this struggle in self-defense for the reason that if the Amalgamated Associa-

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tion is wiped out the Frick-Rockefeller policy will surely spread to other trades. Indeed, the molders and machinists of Pennsylvania have obtained information that the employers' associations have practically decided to begin a campaign for the "open shop." The Allis-Chalmers Company has announced that unions would not be recognized with the expiration of present scales, and the Westinghouse bosses are compelling employes to sign individual agreements. The blast furnace workers are also to be forced to give up their unions. Besides these impending labor battles the Parry machine and independent associations and alliances in various parts of the country are almost daily declaring against "union domination." The building trades contractors of Pennsylvania and New York recently held a conference, and, after congratulating President Roosevelt for beginning the "open shop" movement in the government printing office in Washington, adopted plans to destroy the trade unions and blacklist workingmen who went on strike. The cement workers of New Jersey have been given notice that they must recognize the sacredness of the "open shop," the shingle weavers of the west are fighting the same principle, as are also the thousands of glove workers in Fulton county, New York. The carriage and wagon workers of Chicago, the metal polishers in the same city, and machinists and other unionists in Fox River valley are engaged in struggles to save their organizations. In Montana the lines have been sharply drawn between the unions and the employers' alliances, and blacklisting and boycotting is being carried into every business. The Michigan State Federation has issued a special circular letter calling attention to the activity of the organized bosses in that state, and in Detroit the capitalists in the manufacturing and building industries declare openly, that the trade unions will be recognized no longer. Boiler manufacturers along the lakes are preparing for a fight.

In the building trades in New York the new arbitration scheme has proven unsatisfactory to both sides and a fight all along the line may start almost any day, while the Philadelphia contractors have given notice that the first sympathetic strike inaugurated will be the signal for a general lockout. In Pittsburg the sympathetic strike of the building workers to aid the plumbers has been lost, while the national strike of the bridge and structural iron workers against the "open shop" policy of the Iron League and Fuller Company is still in progress. The flint glass workers have ordered a national strike. The Pacific Express Company has begun a war of extermination in that line of business by giving notice to employes that to join a union will be considered tantamount to resigning from the service. Many local strikes and lockouts are also being waged, and there is every indication that the number will be increased with the approach of spring. It begins to look as though the class struggle will become plainer from day to day, and be fought with greater determination by both sides than ever before. The final result will not be hard to predict. Labor will naturally attempt to strengthen its position through political action. The present rapid growth of the Socialist party proves that much.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company. By James Howard Bridge. The Aldine Book Company. Cloth, 369 pp., $2.00.

This is a popular edition of a work which was circulated in *de luxe* form a few months ago, and attracted very much attention in the press at that time. It is tacitly understood that the work was written at the instance of H. C. Frick as revenge for the eort of Carnegie to crowd Frick out of the Carnegie Steel Company. As a consequence, there is a large amount of material published which would otherwise never have seen the light.

While the author writes from a distinctively capitalist point of view, nevertheless the thieves have fallen out enough so that "honest men" may learn many things that they would otherwise never have known.

The following, for example, from the preface admits something socialists have always alleged, but which popular writers ordinarily deny: "The conventional history of the concern, based on benevolent aphorisms and platitudinous maxims about thrift, industry, genius, and super-commercial morality, has been written a hundred times, and will probably be written again and again.

"The Carnegie Steel Company, as will be seen from this narrative, is not the creation of any man, nor indeed of any set of men. It is a natural evolution; and the conditions of its growth are of the same general character as those of the 'flower in the crannied wall.' Andrew Carnegie has somewhere said, in effect: 'Take away all our money, our great works, ore mines, and coke ovens, but leave our organization, and in four years I shall have re-established myself.' He might have gone a step further and eliminated himself and his organization: and in less than four years the steel industry would have recovered from the loss. This is not the popular conception of industrial evolution, which demands captains, corporals, and other heroes; but it accords with evolutionary conceptions in general."

Considered as the tracing of the greatest and most fundamental of industries, the work is by no means an unimportant contribution to industrial history. The first forge from which this great industry arose was erected by the Kloman brothers in 1858. In 1859 Henry Phipps, who has remained with the firm until the present time, took an interest. Carnegie did not enter the business until 1865, by which time it had become of considerable importance.

In this connection, it is worth while to note the importance of the Civil War in building up this industry, as it did hundreds of others: "Then the War broke out and axles which had been selling for 2 cents jumped to 12 cents a pound, and when it came to filling government orders for parts of gun carriages, there was no limit to prices for quick delivery."

In 1867 the firm took a hand in importing contract laborers for the

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purpose of breaking up the first signs of a trade union. The first consolidation of rival mills took place in 1865, and in 1867 one of the imported German laborers invented a machine of which the writer says: "It was worth millions of dollars to the firm that imported him to take the place of a striker. As for Zimmer himself his reward was a well-paid position as foreman of the mill he erected and of its improved successors."

In 1875 the first steel rails were made in America, although Bessemer steel had been manufactured for some little time before that, and at once the whole iron and steel industry received a tremendous impetus. The Homestead Steel Works was first incorporated in 1879 and was acquired by the Carnegie Company in 1883. Iron and steel began to be of importance in architecture with the building of skyscrapers in the late '80s, and this gave another impetus to the growth of the industry. The beginning of the open hearth process in 1886 was another upward step and the consolidation through the influence of H. C. Frick in 1892 brought the industry down to something near its present form.

The story of the consolidation of ore properties, steamship and railroad lines, and the final combination of all in the United States Steel Company, has been told so fully that the author is unable to add little to the popular knowledge on this subject, save in pointing out some of the details of the fight between Frick and Carnegie.

Some of the methods of exploitation which were used by the Carnegie companies are interesting. Many times we are told about the racing of the furnaces which was kept up by the sending of a new broom to the furnace which had made the best record during the month, forcing superintendents and men to almost superhuman exertions.

The real object of the book, however, is to show how little a part Andrew Carnegie really had in building up the industry, and this is shown beyond a doubt. Over and over again evidence is brought forward to prove that Carnegie's usual method of acquiring wealth was to inveigle his partners into signing a contract which would enable him to swindle them out of what they had placed in the firm, or at least to make use of their money and their abilities until the industry had grown to a point where they were beginning to expect great returns, and then crowd them out.

The author takes particular delight in showing how utterly false are Carnegie's claims of having been the inventor or introducer of iron bridges and the Bessemer steel industry into America. So far as the relation of laborers to the industry is concerned, the writer maintains a strictly capitalist point of view.

He does expose, with abundance of proof, the hypocritical attitude of Carnegie, who while secretly giving orders to fight the trade unions in all possible ways, was publishing hypocritical articles on the text, "Thou shalt not take thy brother's job."

One cut in the work gives the impression that perhaps the artist might have had a strong sense of the humorous, or else some trade union sympathies. The picture is supposed to show a scab shooting a striker "in self-defense," but the illustration shows the scab shooting an unarmed man in the back. Probably this is truer to fact than the text.

The work is filled with information on the wonderful productive power of modern machinery and the consequent enormous profits to the owners of the industry.

The Psychology of Child Development. By Irving King, with an introduction by John Dewey. The University of Chicago Press. Cloth, 265 pp., $1.00.

This work approaches the study of child development from the standpoint of modern psychology. It points out that few things have been

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more detrimental than the attitude of the old "faculty" psychology which assumed that the child is possessed of certain distinct mental faculties or powers that not only develop but also function independently.

In opposition to this is set the position that the early experience of the child is of an undifferentiated character, that the so-called kinds of mental "powers" and activities are differentiated from the original general consciousness and further that the differentiation has arisen to meet the child's demand for greater and more complex activity. This introduces the question of the relation of stimulus, and it is shown that the necessity of controlling a stimulus forms the essential basis for all mental differentiation.

Child psychology, it is held, should be approached from the functional point of view and its aim should be the examination of the child's experience and the determining of how and why the various mental functions arise. Due emphasis is laid upon bodily activity as the starting point in the study of the infant.

The former experience of an individual, in the case of both an adult and a child, is of fundamental importance in determining what interpretation will be made of a given object. In considering the child with his relatively limited experience this fact must be taken into account in deciding what meaning any new experience will have to him.

After tracing the differentiation of experience and the process of its growth and enrichment, the subjects of inhibition, imitation, etc., are more particularly dwelt on. In discussing inhibition it is shown that an act is not checked by any mysterious force or "fiat," but that this is only accomplished through a change of situation enabling a new act to appear and displace the old. This position is different from and far more logical than that of Preyer and various other students of child psychology.

The book then discusses the relation of this standpoint to the work of the teacher. It changes the teacher's interest from the question of "By what process is knowledge acquired?" to "Under what circumstances do these processes begin to act and what office do they perform in the development and elaboration of experience?" The emphasis is put upon experience as a whole, its evolution and its relation to the necessities of action.

This work is of much value to the student of psychology and to every teacher. It defines educational psychology as a social psychology and is representative of the tendency to base educational theory upon social conditions. It does not claim to present new material, but it is rather a new interpretation of well known facts concerning the child. M. W. S.

The Organization and Control of Industrial Corporations. By Frank Edward Horack. Published by C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Paper, 207 pp., 25 cents.

This work consists largely of a compilation of matter from various sources relating to methods of control of corporations and particularly of the great industrial organizations such as have appeared during the last few years. It is filled with a great mass of facts as to the legislation of the various states and of the national government. It is thoroughly indexed and has a fairly elaborate bibliography, although this is very much inferior to the bibliography accompanying the report of the Industrial Commission which the author had at his disposal, had he made use of it. Throughout the work the orthodox position is taken that concentration is a pathological condition for which remedies must be studied and he suggests many of these. The portion on publicity tells what efforts have been made in this direction by different legislative bodies both in this country and in England, France and Germany. For any one who wishes to understand the legal aspects of trusts and who wishes to find his in-

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formation stated in a popular manner, this is by far the best work in existence.

Die positive kriminalistische Schule in Italien. By Enrico Ferri. Paper, 64 pp., 1.20 M. Translated from the Italian by E. Müller-Röder. Neuer Frankfurter Verlag.

This little work, which consists of three lectures by Ferri before some Geneva students, is an extremely valuable study. The first lecture takes up the historical evolution of the positive school of criminology of Italy and describes the steps that have been taken by different writers in succession. The last two lectures explain in a condensed form the theories of that school.

This school of criminology is contrasted with the classic school which represents the ordinary position held by judges and the populace in general throughout the capitalist world. The keynote of the distinction lies in the fact that the classic school considers criminology simply with regard to the relation between the *crime* and *legislation*, while the new positive school looks rather upon the relation between the *criminal* and *society*. The criminal is treated as a product of anthropological, physical and social factors. These are analyzed to show the causes that brought about the commission of the crime. The criminal is then studied with relation to the best manner of treating him for his personal benefit and social utilization. Society is examined to determine in how far the social regulations are responsible for criminal actions and how these can be altered.

It is hoped that a translation of this may be made into English at an early day as it would be of great value for socialist propaganda and educational purposes.

Socialisme de Gouvernement et Socialisme Revolutionnaire. By Charles Rappoport. Paper, 69 pp., 10 cents. Published by Parti Ouvrier Francais, 7 Rue Rodier, Paris.

We have read a great many controversial pamphlets on the Millerand situation, but it seems to us that this one is of very exceptional value. It not only sets forth the issues which are in dispute in a very clear and concise manner, but it does what very few such pamphlets are able to do, it at the same time presents much that is of value to socialist philosophy.

We shall probably at some later day translate a portion of it which is especially apropos to conditions in America.

The Decline of British Industry; its Cause and Remedy. By T. H. Rothstein. Twentieth Century Press. London. Paper, 76 pp., 6d.

No more thorough exposure of the incapacity of a ruling class to perform its function could be given than is set forth in this pamphlet concerning the British capitalist. The utter stupidity and antiquated character of the conduct of British industry is explained at length. It shows that decline of British industry so far from being due to the hostile tariffs of other countries, or the free trade of England, is due to the fact that the English capitalist class has outgrown its usefulness.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The April number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be a "Convention Number," devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of subjects that will probably come before the national convention. In this way it is hoped that a better understanding may be had of these questions, not only among the delegates, but throughout the party membership. At the same time the work of the convention can be expedited, and time economized by such previous discussion.

Letters have been sent to Comrades Debs, Wanhope, Will, Slobodin, Mailly, Massey, Titus, Stedman, Ricker, Hillquit, Wilshire, Berger, Untermann, Dobbs, Dalton, Hoehn and others, asking them to prepare a short article covering the points raised by the following questions, which include all the more important subjects that will occupy the attention of the convention:

1. What changes do you think are necessary in the party organization?
2. What, if any, action should be taken towards setting forth a working program for such members as may be elected to office within a capitalist government? Should such a program be attached to the platform, embodied in a separate and explanatory document, or entirely omitted?
3. Have you any suggestion as to methods of controlling those who represent the Socialist Party on the public platform?
4. What action, if any, should be taken towards securing uniformity of action by Socialists elected to municipal positions?
5. Should there be any special expression of our attitude towards the farmers or negroes? If so, what?
6. Should the present "trade union resolution" stand? If not, how should it be changed?

This number of the REVIEW will not only be of value as an exhaustive discussion of Socialist problems, but it will be of especial importance to the party membership just at this time. As a help in understanding the questions to be settled at the convention it will be invaluable. For any local intending to instruct its delegates this number will be almost a necessity for intelligent action. It will give a forecast of the arguments that will be offered, the differences that will arise, and the ideas that will be presented. For the comrades who cannot attend the convention, but who wish

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THE SOCIALIZATION OF HUMANITY.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, announce for early publication a philosophical work by Charles Kendall Franklin, entitled: "The Socialization of Humanity"; an Analysis and Synthesis of Nature, Life, Mind and Society through the Law of Repetition. A System of Monistic Philosophy. To quote the first sentence of the preface, "The object of this investigation is to trace physical, organic and social phenomena to their sources in order to discover their laws, so that the subsequent expenditure of energy in nature, life, mind and society may be determined for human welfare." This is what the book attempts, and in a large measure accomplishes.

The author shows in plain, simple language that all nature is passing through a process in the expenditure of energy along the line of least resistance; that following the Law of Repetition, there are four forms of this great Law of Motion developed: First, as in physical nature, where the line of least resistance is determined by blind conflict; second, as in organic nature, where it is determined by instincts and ideas; third, as in the individual man or woman, where it is determined by the moral sense; and fourth, as in society, where it is determined by the social sense; that each of these methods of the expenditure of energy is a new law of motion which is a more economical method of expending energy than the other preceding it, and that the perfect economic expenditure of all energy can only be attained by the socialization of the race, an end to which the universal process in the expenditure of energy in nature tends, and which will ultimately and inevitably be attained by the factors now at work.

In morality the work shows the inadequacy of Christianity as a race-religion and establishes in its place the religion of morality, which is destined to last so long as the race exists. In philosophy it shows that heretofore we have understood things only allegorically; that the great idea of God is only a symbol for the race; that all our hopes, aspirations and longings for a wider, deeper, fuller and purer life are to be realized here on earth in the socialization of humanity, with the perfect expenditure of all energy, and not in a dream-life beyond the grave. It suggests a solution of the ultimate metaphysical problem of knowledge by tracing the origin

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of mind from inorganic nature, showing that external energies produce the senses, that the senses produce the intellect, that the intellect is only a developed form of the external energies producing it and is identical with them; that man is only a developed form of all the energies of nature and thus knows the ultimate nature of things by identifying them with his own being. It traces the kinship of chemism, will, love and religion, showing that one is a developed form of the other with similar functions, resulting in similar phenomena; and that a continuity in all nature is thus established. It shows that plants and animals, the differences of the sexes, the functions of order and progress in society are due to a division of labor in the blind expenditure of energy in nature and society. It shows that capitalism is only one of many forms of producing property which humanity has adopted while passing through its evolution from primitive democracy to social democracy, and that individualism will inevitably be supplanted by the socialism of the race, which will result in the perfect expenditure of all energy through verifiable, public, corporate knowledge. It reconciles religion with science, freedom with necessity, responsibility with autonomy, and eliminates all of the heartrending contradictions of theology in its monistic explanation of good and evil.

The publishers present this work to their readers as an exposition and development of the general theory of evolution rather than of historical materialism, which, however, the author accepts by implication, if he is not rigorously consistent in applying it.

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This important work by Isador Ladoff will be ready for delivery within a few days after this issue of the REVIEW reaches its readers. It is at once an educational and a propaganda work; it will be found to contain new and important information such as will be welcomed by the best informed writers and speakers on socialism, while on the other hand his charming literary style and forcible exposure of the crimes of capitalism will cause the book to be read with intense interest by those who have never before opened a socialist book. One feature in particular will be welcomed by thousands of readers. Comrade Ladoff has with great labor and marked ability analyzed the figures of the census of 1900, in a way to bring out the information buried there as to how the American laborer is robbed of the fruits of his toil.

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Series, and although it contains 240 pages, more than any previous volume in the series, it is sold at the same low prices; 50 cents by mail to any address, 30 cents by mail to a stockholder of Charles H. Kerr & Co., 25 cents to a stockholder when sent by express at purchaser's expense.

THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM.

This earliest book by Comrade Ladoff attracted wide attention among the socialists of America at the time of its first appearance, and while the author's views on some topics were sharply challenged, all agreed in commending his brilliant literary style. We have concluded an arrangement with the Standard Publishing Company, who brought out the book, by which we shall hereafter be enabled to offer it to our stockholders at the same discounts as if published by ourselves. The retail price, in cloth binding, is 50 cents.

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The World of Labor Publishers' Department

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS:

ENGLAND—H. M. HYNDMAN, WALTER CRANE, SAMUEL HOBSON, H. QUELCH, J. KEIR HARDIE, J. R. MCDONALD. FRANCE—PAUL LAFARGUE, JEAN JAURES, JEAN LONGUET. BELGIUM—EMILE VANDERVELDE, HENRI LAFONTAINE, EMILE VINCK, MME. LALLA VANDERVELDE. DENMARK—DR. GUSTAV BANG. GERMANY—KARL KAUTSKY. ITALY—DR. ALESSANDRO SCHIAVI, PROF. ENRICO FERRI. SWEDEN—ANTON ANDERSON. JAPAN—T. MURAI.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV APRIL, 1904 NO. 10

The Social Opportunity.

CRISIS is but another name for opportunity. Every crisis is a weighing in the balance of the race, the nation, or individual. It is the time when we pass on into something greater than we were, or else fall back into something less. A crisis never leaves us where it finds us. It is always a judgment day, binding us to lower or to higher life.

Today, in the industrial crisis for which we wait, a judgment of the world draws near. And it is the most significant and fateful judgment before which the human race has stood. It will define and determine the human future as no other crisis has ever done. In truth, we may say that this is the first time that the world as a whole has come to judgment. There have been crises of empires, states, religious and civilizations. Not once nor twice only have prophets come proclaiming the end of the world; and not once nor twice only has the world come to an end. The break-up of the Roman Empire, with the obscuring and disintegration of Greek culture and the volcanic breaking forth of a fresh and primal world in the form of the barbarian hordes, is the nearest approach to an analogy for what awaits us. The rejection of the unfit Roman world, and the creation of a new world out of the Slavic and Teutonic deluge, was certainly a judgment of the human race. Still, we have had nothing so universal or determinative as the industrial crisis will prove to be; nothing so weighted with the weal or woe of the whole human family; nothing so decisive or creative of the channel in which human history shall run for a long time to come. It is the first time that mankind has been summoned to anything like a choice concerning its own destiny. It is the first time that the human factor, the factor of the social will, the factor of conscious selection or intelligent election, has entered into the determining of the world's life and

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arrangements. It is the first time that man has had the opportunity for even rudely attempting to make his own world. It is the first time that the human will has, or may, become a directive force in evolution—supplanting evolution with life that has become conscious of itself.

All this is because the world is more directly organized by its mode of production and distribution than ever before. The present world-organization is not political or military, as was the case with the Roman world, but economic and financial. Kings and parliaments, presidents and congresses, courts and legislatures, are now but mere puppets in the hands of the owners or controllers of the sources of profit. Never before has the world been so universally organized by a single economic mode or system. Even the peoples of Asia and Africa, who have not yet gone through the factory stage of civilization, are yet so involved in it that they will be changed with the rest of the world by the collapse of the industrial system.

It requires no peculiar gift of prophecy to foretell the doom of capitalism. Its inevitable collapse is a commonplace topic of conversation. The present mode of production and distribution, the organization of the world for the making of profit, the capitalist way of getting the world's work done, is incompetent to very much longer administer the world's processes. The sources of profit are being rapidly centralized, congested and exploited to exhaustion. The financial world of today is but the drama of the Titanic struggle between the great capitalist forces for the control of the diminishing sources of profit. When the time comes that there are no longer any profits for capitalists to feed upon, as soon come it will, and when thus the labor-power of the world is workless and breadless because capital can no longer profitably employ it, then the collapse and chaos of capitalism will be at hand. Then the end of the present world will have come. The capitalist class is terribly conscious of this, and only hopes to put off the deluge for another generation. It is no longer a question of the inevitability of this universal judgment day; it is merely a question of when it will come, or how long it can be put off, or how to prepare for it.

What kind of a new world will emerge from the ruins and red dust of the old? What sort of a human future, what world-prospect or social horizon, can be predicted for the human family when it awakes from the night and nightmare of the capitalist system.

The Socialist is the only man who can determine the answer to this world-question. What the human world will be, after the capitalist collapse, will depend upon the quality as well as the quantity of the Socialist movement before the collapse shall arrive. The Socialist has in his hands the only pattern by which we can at last have a society in which wealth and opportunity,

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love and beauty, truth and freedom, may be common to all men. He has in his hands the collective power by which man may consciously and deliberately make his own world. And because he has the pattern and the power, his, therefore, is the responsibility. The capitalist crisis is the world-opportunity of the Socialist movement. As I have said, crisis spells opportunity. And opportunity means responsibility for achieving the highest that the opportunity affords. It is, therefore, the Socialist movement that must stand in the capitalist day of judgment. It is the Socialist movement alone which can decide whether the world shall go back into the melting pot, to be formed anew only after a long period of universal darkness and suffering, or whether the fall of the capitalist industrial system shall but disclose the outlines of a co-operative and happier world.

There has never been such a stupendous and significant moment in human history as that which the world is now approaching. There has never been such responsibility in human hands as that which the Socialist holds in his. The destiny of the world for generations to come trembles on the word and the ballot, the character and the fidelity, of the obscurest proletaire.

I for one am not at all of those who hold that Socialism is inevitable merely because the collapse of capitalism is inevitable. Because an old world breaks up, it does not at all follow that a better world shall immediately take its place. The progress of the world has been by no means a steady ascent. The human race has had periods of collapse, of darkness and lost cultures, of extinguished civilizations. There are things in the past that the present might vainly strive to understand or achieve. Human progress has been spiral rather than a continuous ascent. It is possible that we might have a period of despotism and darkness, with the obscuring of all that is hopeful and good, following upon the chaos and disorder of the capitalist crisis. There are many signs of this possibility. Among these are the subsidization of all the sources of intelligence, such as the newspapers, the schools, the universities, the churches and political platforms. The servility and utter prostitution of the human intellect; the jaunty puerility and brainlessness of university instruction; the sheer brutality and silliness of pulpit preaching, and its competition with "yellow" journalism in vulgarity and sensationalism: the journalism of the world organized as a system of universal misinformation—all of this betokens ill preparation for the nearing judgment day. Then a body politic like ours, that has become so accustomed to corruption in its administrative and legislative offices that this corruption is accepted as a matter of course; a body politic that is so accustomed to public shame that it has lost the sense of shame; a body politic from which government by corruption and for private interests need no longer conceal itself—this too betokens ill to the human future. And the back-

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door incoming of a vassal middle-class, formed anew from the independent middle-class that was driven from the industrial front door by the capitalist lords—this increases our common submission and prostration before enthroned private wealth. And then, saddest and most foreboding of all, is the misleading of labor by its most authorized leaders; the corruption of the more highly organized trades by capitalist financial and political influences. The fact that probably Mr. Hanna had, and Mr. Hearst has, more influence with the organized labor of today than Eugene V. Debs—this certainly should cause us to pause in our assumption that Socialism is inevitable because of the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism.

Socialism will come upon the ruins of capitalism only if the Socialist has come. The co-operative world will arrive when the co-operative hands of the working class shall bring it in. We shall have economic freedom only when we are worthy and brave enough to take it. We shall have the good and the free world, fit for a risen humanity to live in, only if the Socialist movement shall be prepared to go into the capitalist crisis as the better world's creator. We shall have, after capitalism, just the kind of a world that we are pure and strong enough to make. It is therefore time that the Socialist movement look to itself, to its own coherency and quality, and see what manner of movement it be; see whether it may stand in the nearing judgment day, and prove mighty to make the new world wherein dwelleth opportunity and abundance of life for every man.

II.

It is high time that the Socialist movement shall pass beyond the factional or personal stage of its growth. Let us admit that parties within parties, factions and mere personal followings, are incidental and inevitable to the beginnings and development of any great movement. But with this admission, let us discern and affirm that their continuation will prevent any movement from becoming great or worthy to command human destiny. The moment any man understands the significance and responsibility of the Socialist movement, that moment he ceases to be a member of a faction or a mere disputant. Self-seeking and personal ambition have no place in true service or greatness. They belong only to narrowness and ignorance, to the jungle and the menagerie, or to the barn-yard cackle. They are limitations of mind due to our animal inheritance. No man is free to serve until he has passed beyond them. No man understands the real outcome and blossom of Socialism until he has emerged from the degradation and pettiness of personal self-seeking. When the human world comes, Napoleon will be no more than the forgotten wolf that howled in the night. For, as man's humanity de-

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velops, as he becomes truly individualized, his interests and outlooks become so universal in their character that he cannot endure a joy that is not a contribution to the common good of the whole.

Now to the measure that we become true to the Socialist hope for the world, to that measure we pass beyond personal and factional disputes and interests; to that measure we become worthy of its mission, of its high calling to emancipate mankind. The closer we examine the causes of most of our factional troubles, the more we will find them to be personal self-seekings, masquerading as principle. Men unconsciously seize upon some fragment of a truth or principle, and make it a platform upon which to exalt themselves. Personal ambition is essential treason anyhow, and the self-seeker will always unconsciously or consciously lead or direct a movement or faction in the interests of his self-seeking. And it is time we understood this self-seeking origin and nature of nearly all of our factional troubles, and that we outgrow them by relating ourselves to the larger outlook and opportunity of the Socialist movement. It is time that we put away these childish things, in order to seize upon greater things that are unused in our hands.

It is not leadership, but fellowship that the world needs; not the leader, or the hero, or the prophet; but the companion, the friend, the comrade. The really dangerous man of any generation is the one who renders himself indispensable to it. He who renders himself indispensable to a movement is the one who exhausts rather than strengthens it. There is no treason so certain, however unconscious it be, as that of seeking to make a great movement dependent upon one's self.

Unless the championship of a cause makes for nobility and beauty of life, unless it lifts us above the vulgarity and wastefulness of self-seeking, unless it carries us beyond the sordid and wretched personal ambitions that have been the bane of every historic movement, we shall make ourselves and the Socialist movement unworthy of the Socialist ideal and opportunity.

Our factions are a part of our capitalist inheritance. They are survivals of the animal mind of capitalism. They are the persistence of the competitive spirit that has produced the capitalist monster.

For capitalism is but the survival of the animal in man; the survival of the predatory world of the jungle. Our present industrial world is due to the fact that we have not yet become human; that we are still beasts of prey, fighting with each other for our bread. Those of us who possess are but the lion, or the tiger, or the wolf, with paw upon our prey. We are still cannibals, by economic indirection; still peeping

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from the forest of our primal experience; still waiting to be evolved into the human. When the world of man is really created out of its present raw and unorganized material, when we really blossom into the human from the animal, then we shall not have a world like ours—a world with resources for the abundant and ennobling support of countless billions of human beings, and yet the theater of an economic strife that blights and starves the most of a population that is but a mere handful compared to what it might be. This destructive capitalist mind or system is but the persistence of the wild beast mind and temper. And to the measure that the socialist is led by self-seeking or factional interest, to that measure he perpetuates the capitalist or animal state of mind that he has come to destroy; to that measure he hinders the day of the yet unborn humanity, whose mind shall be love or fellowship.

Besides, we may make sure that we can render no better service to the possessing class than to be at odds among ourselves as Socialists. We must expect that, as the movement develops, the emissaries of capitalism will be busy amongst us, wearing the disguise of ardent socialists, in order to create strife and helplessness in the Socialist movement. Capitalism will have no better servants than the strife-makers in the Socialist organization.

And when inevitable differences of opinion as to methods or tactics arise, we can discuss these matters, and arrive at coordinations and conclusions without becoming personal; without seeking to impugn the faithfulness of character of those who differ with us. In these matters, the Socialist should be a gentleman, and set a higher standard of political controversy than the capitalist parties of the existing order present. For instance, some of us very decidedly differed with Mr. Debs, three years ago, on questions of party organization and tactics. Yet who of us ever thought of questioning Mr. Debs' magnificent and unequaled service in the cause of labor, or his unimpeachable fidelity to that cause? I do not think that, in any of that well-forgotten controversy, I ever heard his most bitter opponent question Mr. Debs the man. Here was a question that was not fundamentally personal, but one that had to do with the basis and development of the American Socialist movement. We got through with that controversy badly sometimes, but happily at last, and learned some lessons in the ethics of discussion that we shall not have to learn over again.

Then, too, factions among ourselves prevent us from seizing upon the opportunities that are presented to us by the daily political and industrial event; prevent us from rightly exploiting the current social, and political, and financial phe-

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nomena as interpretations and justifications of our Socialist philosophy.

There is a sense in which a movement, as well as an individual, must learn how to find life through losing it; and it is only as the Socialist movement shall turn from personal conflicts within itself to the larger opportunities presented by the economic and political development of society, that we shall really get rid of our factions. We are released from sordid and petty interests by relating ourselves to interests that are great and universal. Just as the individual becomes as great as the thing to which he relates himself, so the Socialist movement will become as great as the life-interests, as wide as the human prospect, that it takes in and stands for.

III.

There is no one so well prepared as the Socialist to interpret current events. The daily history of the nation and the world ought to be the Socialist's university. Every event, from the Philippine war to the Chicago theater fire, from the revision of our public school system to the latest historical novel, ought to be seized upon as a platform upon which the Socialist should stand and speak his interpretative message. He should show what each event or development means in the light of the economic law of history, and in the light of the Socialist hope for a world of fellowship.

For instance, there has been much ignorant and fruitless discussion on so-called "imperialism" this last five or six years, in both England and America. The Socialist has been the only one who could interpret these present day wars of conquest, these mere picnics of loot and murder, as modes or phases of economic competition. They are but the necessity of the growth of capitalism. When the people of a nation become too poor to buy the things which they make with their own hands, the owners of the sources of profit must seek new markets and cheaper labor. That is why England is in Africa and Asia; why the United States is in the Philippine Islands, and why we are reaching out grasping hands to the islands and peoples of South America. We are expanding in order that our capital may have the contract labor, or the disguised slave system, that we now have in the Sandwich Islands, that we may unload upon exploited peoples our surplus products. And, of course, every child employed in the cotton mills of Egypt or India tends to lower the wage and intensify the struggle of every girl in the New England cotton mill and of every child in the cotton mills of the south. And every slave that works in the contract system of "our colonies" makes the struggle of labor in the United States so much the harder, and the lowering of the wage to the Asiatic level a certain tendency. As Socialists we could have shown the whole genius and capitalist nature of the passion of the nations for

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expansion; could have made clear that imperialism, or benevolent assimilation, is but a mere commercial and speculative development. But it does not seem to me that we have availed ourselves, as Socialists, of the opportunity presented to us by the imperialistic development. We could have made much more pedagogic use of it than we have. Our tendency has been to ignore it as a matter that concerned only the capitalist parties. So far as the immediate issue of it was concerned, that was true; but it is not true that we should have ignored the discussion; for it was our rightful platform, one of our supreme opportunities for showing the economic nature of the question, and of showing how its political aspects were a mere deceit and a humbug.

We should also have availed ourselves of the opportunity for showing the universal solidarity of labor-conditions; of showing how, in the capitalist organization of the world, the whole labor body of the world must inevitably be dragged down to labor's lowest condition; of showing how universal is the labor problem, and how universal and world-redemptive must be its solution.

Again, there was a phase of the discussion of the coal strike, which we failed to interpret, and by which many of the Socialist speakers and journals were led into false positions and concessions. The Hearst newspapers and the clergy took up the cry of "public rights" as being superior to the rights of either party in the struggle. This proposition was announced with great pomp and solemnity by politicians and doctors of divinity, who imagined themselves to be putting on a bold moral front. Many Socialist speakers and journals fell into something very near the same proposition. The whole discussion was made to pivot upon the rights of the public, or of society, as superior to the rights of the contending classes of society. It was held that the right of "the public" to coal was greater than the right of the capitalist to his profits, or the right of the miner to better hours and conditions of labor. But the whole proposition was a fundamental lie, based upon an obsolete and fallacious philosophy. As a matter of fact, "the public" had absolutely no rights at all in the matter, because "the public" had failed to do right. The so-called rights of "the public" do not, and cannot, extend beyond the measure to which "the public" does right to the humblest member of society. A society that consents that those who dig its fuel and climate from the earth shall labor under conditions of danger and exhaustion; a society that consents that those of its members upon whom it depends for light and heat shall be beaten into submission, to long labor-hours and low wages; a society that does not accept the responsibility for seeing that every one of its members shall

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have the full equivalent of the whole product of his labors—such a society, such a public, deserves to freeze and starve, and to suffer all the consequences of its own ignorance, cowardice and irresponsibility. Such a public has no rights which any righteous man is bound to respect. A society or a public has a right to demand from each of its members only that measure of justice and service which it gives. If a public evades responsibility for economic and social justice for each of its members, then the members of such a society are absolved from responsibility for its comfort. The right of the miners to win their struggle was infinitely superior to any so-called public rights, and it was only the fundamental immorality in which our society is grounded that tolerated any other proposition. Public rights cannot outrun social righteousness. Individual responsibility for society can go no further than society's responsibility for the whole well-being of the individual. The process of reasoning that pivots itself upon the so-called theory of public rights is utterly misleading and treasonable. If we have a public mind or conscience that will not awaken to its responsibility for making wealth and opportunity common to each of its members, then such a society ought to be frozen and starved into enlightenment and responsibility. It is time we had a thorough clearing up of this matter of so-called public rights as against the rights of the organized worker in the struggle for the betterment of his condition. If Mr. Mitchell had but had the discernment and moral nerve to have held out a little longer, if Mr. Mitchell had not allowed Mr. Morgan and his associates to enable Mr. Roosevelt and other quacks to make political capital for themselves out of the suffering of the miners, the so-called public might have been taught some such lesson as this before the strike was settled. Sooner or later, this "dear public" will have to learn its lesson—the lesson that it has no rights beyond the righteousness and fullness of life which it extends to its every member. And the Socialist is the man to teach it.

IV.

Another matter of great pertinence and importance is the gradual readjustment of our public school system in accordance with the capitalist mind and psychology. We have conventionally looked upon our public school as the kindergarten and safeguard of our liberties. America inherited the best results of the philosophy that worked for the French Revolution. It was only in America that the ideals of Rousseau and the Revolution were partially realized. It was here that the right to a free look at life was asserted by Paine, Jefferson and Franklin; here, that a secular public life was made possible;

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here, that the development of a free public school tended to the preservation and increase of the idea of a free life. If the propertied classes had foreseen the results of the public schools, if the now developed capitalist brain could go behind the gifts of the revolutionists and philosophers of France to America, there would be no separation of church and state, and there would be no free public school. More than one capitalist writer or lawyer has, within the past three or four years, denounced the public school system as a menace to the existing propertied order of things. And rapidly is our public school instruction being subtly perverted into interests of the possessing class. On the economic side, this achievement is simple enough, for the whole public school system of the United States has practically become the private property of a single school-book trust, which employs gangs of ruffians to go up and down the land to brow-beat and intimidate public school teachers; to blacklist and throw out of employment any who stand against the trust; to corrupt legislatures, and town, county and city school boards. This school-book trust is not only organizing the American public school system for its private profit, but decides what kind of history, what kind of elementary economics or social science, what kind of literary classics, shall be taught. It is interesting and easy to trace the trade-marks of capitalism all through our present public school instruction; to point out the subtle yet sure perversions of fact and of history; to record omissions of things once taught in the schools, and the addition of things not previously taught. We may also note the introduction of the military spirit and ideal into the public school; the instruction in and insistence upon the child's reverence for patriotism—patriotism, the superstition which our masters impose upon us, in order to keep the workers of the world divided against each other; patriotism, which has come to be little more than crime with the flag over it.

But most insidious of all is the changed motive of public school education that has come by the direction of capitalism. Under the guise of technical or industrial education, we are having the gradual elimination of those smatterings of literature and history which make for crude and yet potential idealisms, and for inspirations of the child, and the substitution therefor of an instruction and training which shall fit the child to be an improved wage-slave. Coming as an educational reform, the so-called industrial training will have as its result the converting of the child into an improved capitalist machine. The boy, and even the girl, will issue from the school with the psychology, as well as the training, that will fit

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him or her to become an improved and even enthusiastic producer of profit for the profit-makers. The end will be to destroy what imagination capitalism has left to the youth, and to combat organized labor with a prepared and trained unorganized labor to take its place. This will be the result, and it is often the conscious motive, of most of our so-called educational reforms.

Now the Socialist is the only man who can deal with the problems of modern education from the viewpoint of democracy, or with reference to the well-being and future of the worker. In England, this has been done by members of the Fabian Society, as well as most ably by the members of the Social Democratic Federation.

What Mr. Hyndman has done so magnificently and comprehensively for India, and what Mr. Simons has in like manner done for Socialism in his treatment of the problem of the American farmer, may be repeated in every field of current discussion. No matter how incidental to capitalist development a current problem may be, nor how its importance to the capitalist mind may be out of all proportion to its importance to the socialist mind, each problem presents an opportunity and a platform for Socialist education and propaganda.

V.

It is the Socialist who must explain, both to the public and to the trade unions, the real significance of trade unionism and its development. The more far-seeing capitalists are losing no time in giving their own interpretation of trade union development to organized labor, while Mr. Parry and his organization, as well as like organizations, are internationally concerting for its extermination. But the shrewder Mr. Hanna, and the more comprehensive type of capitalist mind, have sought the direction of trade unionism; while political adventurers of the type of Mr. Hearst and Mr. Roosevelt—the latter being much the more far-seeing of the two—will accept the trade union for personal political ends. But it is Mr .Hanna's idea, and the highly organized capitalist interests, that will succeed. They represent the necessity of capitalist adaptation. They know better, or will learn better, than to undertake the destruction of the trade union; and they are not interested in mere political adventure. They are only interested in seizing upon, and adapting themselves to, inevitable social developments in order to use them for continued capitalist exploitation. They are prepared to use the trade union exactly as they use the various national governments or the Roman Catholic Church. I have already said that Mr. Hanna and Mr. Gompers had more influence with organized labor than

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Mr. Debs. And through Mr. Hanna and Mr. Gompers, as well as through the good Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Morgan or Mr. Rockefeller can become the directive force in trade union development. Thus we have not only the danger, but already the beginnings, of an alliance between combinations of capital and some of the more highly organized trades for the sharing of the profits to public exploitation.

Now the only man who can meet, or possibly match, the capitalist, in educating and directing trade unionism, is the socialist. He alone knows what trade unionism means; knows its relation to the industrial development of the past and of the future. Only the Socialist can point out the benefits and the dangers of trade unionism to the worker.

On the one side, it is the trade unionist who is on the firing line of the class struggle. He it is who has blocked the wheels of the capitalist machine; he it is who has prevented the unchecked development of capitalist increase; he it is who has prevented the whole labor body of the world from being kept forever at the point of mere hunger wages; he it is who has taught the workers of the world the lesson of solidarity, and delivered them from that wretched and unthinking competition with each other which kept them at the mercy of capitalism; he it is who has prepared the way for the co-operative commonwealth. On the other hand, trade unionism is by no means the solution of the worker's problem, nor is it the goal of the labor-struggle. It is merely a capitalist line of defense within the capitalist system. Its existence and its struggles are necessitated only by the existence and predatory nature of capitalism.

It is the Socialist who should point out the ethics of the sympathetic strike, and especially of the almost desperate opposition of organized to unorganized labor, when the latter would supplant the former in the jobs that are vacated during the strike. The organized worker is really fighting the battles of the unorganized. His instinct is truer in this respect than the intelligence of either worker or capitalist. The unorganized worker who takes the job of the trade union striker does not see that he is committing economic as well as moral suicide. The primal thing upon which the continuous development of capitalism depends is that of having a large army of unorganized and defenseless workers to throw into competition with labor that is organized and defensive. The whole pressure of capitalism is towards forcing the average of workers to the level of the lowest-paid and worst-conditioned worker. The unorganized worker who takes his fellow-worker's job is capitalism's best ally in the perpetual degradation of the whole labor-body. He enforces and re-enforces the

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tendency of the working world to descend to the level of its lowest paid and lowest conditioned; while the striking and organized worker is struggling to lift up the unorganized and defenseless labor; lift up the common labor to the level of labor's best conditioned. The striker is struggling, not only for himself and his fellow-strikers, but for the very economic and moral life of the "scab" whom capitalism uses to defeat the striker. Organized labor has an instinct that far outreaches its intelligence, and that far outreaches the intelligence of the preaching and teaching class,—the instinct that the workers of the world are bound up together in one common destiny; that their battle for the future is one; and that there is no possible safety or extrication for any worker unless all the workers of the world are extricated and saved from capitalism together. The familiar assertion of the right of the individual worker to take his striking fellow-worker's place, to work when and where he pleases, is founded upon a frightfully destructive and unthinking falsehood. The position is essentially immoral and is indeed an unapprehended form of race suicide. And it is for the Socialist to point out both the economics and the ethics of the strike, to the capitalist as well as to the labor mind.

Labor will enter politics, in one fashion or another, in spite of the capitalism represented by Mr. Hanna or Mr. Gompers. If the Socialist movement does not command the attention and support of the organized workers of the nation, then we must expect a national independent labor movement that shall become the mere field of political exploitation. It is upon this that Mr. Hearst has his eye, and probably Mr. Roosevelt as well, to say nothing of Mr. Bryan; and in the end, capitalism will ask nothing better. For the independent labor party will be the gain of ambitious and discredited politicians, the negotiater of compromises with capitalism, and the bearer of disappointment, disaster and darkness, unless the Socialist movement should be the directing soul of that party.

We have reached that point where there is no possible solution of the problem of labor save in the common labor of the world taking over to itself its whole product, as well as all productive resources and machinery. A system which is the organization of a fundamental lie and injustice cannot be so reformed or improved or conditioned as to make the lie and injustice tolerable or secure. The public ownership of the post-office, of the railways, or of public utilities, under the capitalist order and government of things, will only serve to perpetuate the wrong and wretchedness of the system. Public ownership under capitalism is merely an extension of capitalist ownership. The United States postal service, for instance, is administered primarily for the profit of the railway corpora-

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tions, and less and less for the service of the people. We cannot have socialistic reforms or conditions without having the whole of Socialism. Until the workers shall become a clearly defined Socialist movement, standing for and moving toward the unqualified co-operative commonwealth, while at the same understanding and procuring their immediate interests, they will only play into the hands of their exploiters, and be led by their betrayers.

It is the Socialist who must point this out in the right way. He is not to do this by seeking to commit trade union bodies to the principles of Socialism. Resolution or commitments of this sort accomplish very little good. Nor is he to do it by taking a servile attitude towards organized labor, nor by meddling with the details or the machinery of the trade unions. Not by trying to commit Socialism to trade unionism, nor trade unionism to Socialism, will the Socialist end be accomplished. It is better to leave the trade unions to do their distinctive work, as the workers' defense against the encroachments of capitalism, as the economic development of the worker against the economic development of the capitalist, giving unqualified support and sympathy to the struggles of the organized worker to sustain himself in his economic sphere. But let the Socialist also so build up the character and harmony and strength of the Socialist movement as a political force, that it shall command the respect and confidence of the worker, irrespective of his trade or his union obligations. It is urgent that we so keep in mind the difference between the two developments that neither shall cripple the other. The Socialist movement, as a political development of the workers for their economic emancipation, is one thing; the trade union development, as an economic defense of the workers within the capitalist system, is another thing. Let us not interfere with the internal affairs of the trade unions, or seek to have them become distinctively political bodies in themselves, any more than we would seek to make a distinctive political body in itself of a church, or a public school or a lawyer's office. But let us attend to the harmonious and commanding development of the Socialist political movement as the channel and power by which labor is to come to its emancipation and its commonwealth. At the same time let us give every economic and moral assistance to every labor struggle or strike; not make these an opportunity for propaganda or party exploitation, but as Socialists helping the workers to the one end of victory in the strike or struggle. In this sense, the Socialist party must know how to lose itself in order to find itself.

Under all circumstances, Socialism will have to accomplish its mission through co-operation with the experience of the

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working class; through the daily needs and facts, the struggles and recurring crises, that are developing labor's solidarity. Politically empowered labor will make blunders, without doubt; it will be tyrannical at times, and often misled; but this is but a result of the varied forms of slavery in which it has been trained. The workers of the world must have experience in freedom before they can learn the processes by which freedom is to bring forth its world-harmony. Besides, they who produce what the world lives upon have a right to achieve their emancipation for themselves in their own way; and we who live upon their labor must be content to work with that way. It is better that they should make their way to freedom through blunder on blunder, than that some unreal freedom should be handed down to them. We must therefore make sure, when we as Socialists come to the working class, that we come as the servants of its own struggle for emancipation; and make doubly sure that we do not come seeking to use its struggles for the accomplishment of ambitious ends of our own.

V.

The Socialist movement must come speaking the language of the people, the familiar accents of the daily life, and not come in the mere language of economic dogma. We have become almost as prone as the priests to rehearse traditional phrases, very often not knowing the meaning of the phrases we use. Instead of dealing with the facts and conditions before our eyes, in the language of the common life, we repeat abstract propositions that neither capitalist nor workingman understands. We give the impression that Socialism is a social theory to be imposed instead of an explanation of society and its struggles. No matter how profound our philosophy or propositions, we must state them in the terms and words that the people use in work and business if we expect the people to understand us. The effect or authority of a statement is not to be measured by the pretentiousness of its wording. The social revolution will not come through the constant reiteration and re-translation of the doctrines of Marx. It is not to come by declaring from lecture-room, or street corner, or propaganda tract, that there is but one social revolution, and that Marx is its prophet. Nobody tried harder to make clear the need of adaptation in Socialist effort and phraseology than Engels. And it is adaptation we must learn —learn to set forth the principles and facts of Socialism in a very human language. It is, indeed, rather remarkable that we who have insisted that Socialism must come as a working class movement, should go to the working class with a language that is academic; and that we should train the working-

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man to attempt to reach his fellow-workers through an academic phrasing, through a Socialist orthodoxy, that is really meaningless to the educated classes themselves. Socialism is not coming as an orthodoxy, but as a breaking forth of fresh life upon the world. It is the break of human springtime, after the long winter of human slavery. Its language must be as fresh, as sweet to human hearts and hopes, as the first words of the child, or the first bloom of the lilac or the rose.

One result of this persistence in a language that is academic, has been the fatal assumption of the inevitability of Socialism, which I deplored in the beginning of this paper. We have dethroned the other workl Super-God of the churches, merely to enthrone a god of economic development in his place, and to rely upon this god of economic development to achieve for us what we must achieve for ourselves. The whole fatality of human history is this waiting of man for something to do for him that which he only can do for himself. It matters not whether it be a god, or a so-called natural law, or an economic development, or a ruling class, or or what it be—so long as man depends on something outside of himself to bear him to liberty and social perfection, or to bring liberty and social perfection to him, he will continue his way through failure and disappointment. Freedom can never be handed down to man by some invisible power in nature, or in the heavens, or in economic development, any more than it can be handed down by one class unto another class. A freedom achieved for man, even by natural forces or economic law, a freedom achieved in any way independent of man's cooperative choice, would result in paralysis and decadence. The opportunity of nature, the underlying motive of Socialism, is the creation of a social will in the common life that shall direct evolution toward a humanly elected destiny.

To this end, must our American movement translate its efforts and appeals into the terms of American life and experience. This principle of adaptation requires no compromise in the fundamentals of Socialist philosophy. It merely requires that we speak a language, that we work with means, which the country we live in may understand. Our American development and experience have been very diffrent from the experience of the European nations. Our American habit of mind is very different from that of Europe. I am by no means saying that our habit of mind is more desirable than that of Europe; I am merely saying that if we are to change the American mind into a Socialist mind, we must appeal

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to mental states that actually exist in the American, and make our Socialism intelligible to his way of looking at things.

For instance, American institutions and history pivot upon the idea of individual liberty. However false we have been to the idea, however hypocritical or servile we may have become before private wealth, it is still true that our political and industrial experience has been that of the glorified and independent individuality. Now Socialism should come to American life as the real and ransomed individualism. We should present Socialism as the co-operation of all men for the individual liberty of each man. We should send forth the Socialist as the herald and defender of the American liberty which has been so betrayed by capitalist politics and teachings. We should seize the sentiment and dynamic which imperialism has thrown away. We should come proclaiming the Socialist movement as the savior of our lost liberties. We should set forth economic co-operation as a means to the end of complete individual liberty for all men.

VII.

As Socialists, we need to give more attention to questions of efficiency. Martin Luther used to declare that the devil had all the good music and the Christians all that was not fit to sing; and it sometimes seems that capitalism has all the efficiency of administration, and the Socialist movement all the inefficiency and bungling. If we are to present a coherent and conquering front before organized capitalism, we must learn how to so make use of our forces that the right man will be given the right work to do. It is not enough for a man to ostentatiously proclaim himself a Socialist, in order to give him the adminstration of the party, or the editorship of a newspaper. Some things are necessary to the power and success of the Socialist movement besides merely being a Socialist. The success of the movement depends upon the efficiency of organization and administration, as well as upon subscription to Socialist doctrines. We shall never get anywhere through misplaced responsibility, misdirected activity and badly organized public meetings. We must learn how to find a work for each comrade, that is true; but we must learn some sense in giving the work of administration to men who have been fitted by some sort of experience and training to do it. The wonder is that the Socialist movement grows so rapidly with so much bad management. We must learn from capitalism to put a premium upon efficiency; learn to give the various posts of service to men who are fitted to efficiently fill them.

For instance, if a speaker is sent for to come some hundreds of miles to speak at a mass meeting, it is not good sense

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or efficient propaganda to have him preceded by some half dozen local speakers, so that when he arises to speak it is to a jaded and impatient audience, which he must keep until nearly midnight if he is to deliver his message. And the familiar plea that this must be done in order to be democratic, and to avoid personal jealousies, is a wretched reflection upon the comrades themselves. Democracy does not consist in the equal balancing of utterly petty and puerile jealousies. I cannot for a moment believe that such jealousies exist, nor can I think that any number of comrades have so stupid a notion of democracy. If I did, I should despair of what would happen if Socialism should come into power.

And, in every sort of a way, inefficient and disintegrating management, or rather hopeless mismanagement, has marked so much of our Socialist effort, that it is time we began to learn that the success of our movement depends upon efficiency of method and organization, as well as upon noise or soundness of economic doctrine.

VIII.

The Socialist can no longer neglect what we might call the ethical or spiritual appeal. Our healthy distrust of mere sentimentalism, our certain knowledge of the disasters of Utopianism, has led us too far from the flaming altar at the heart of our Socialist movement. That altar is the sense of justice in the common life. It is to this sense of justice we must appeal, if we are to evoke the cleansing revolutionary flame that is to purify the world. It is upon the burning and obvious righteousness of our cause that we must depend for its power to conquer. The Socialist movement must have a spirit as well as a body; it must have a soul inside of its economics. It must take the place of the old religions in its power to command the exalting faith and devotion of the people. Socialism may translate into life, into world-creating energy, that aspiration and idealism which religions have absorbed and robbed the world of. The instinct of justice, the yearning for a universal well-being, the desire for social perfection, is deep in the life of the common man. It is for the Socialist to draw upon this human fund of spiritual instinct and turn it to account. We must show that the economic basis of Socialism is also the sole ground of spiritual liberation and fellowship; the soil out of which ransomed love must grow and blossom in the life of man.

Our movement is founded upon the question of bread, it is true, but not because we hold that man lives by bread alone. It is that until the bread question is solved, through the free and equal access of all men to the means of life, every other question is but a part of the grand evasion, a part of the

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universal impudence, of the world's teachers. It means that until all men have free and abundant bread, no man may begin to fully and freely live. The quality of our economic distribution is the true measure of our spiritual quality. Equality and abundance of bread are the test and source of brotherhood and real spirituality. The Socialist affirms that the question of bread, the question of economic freedom and justice, is the most commanding spiritual task to which man has ever been summoned. Socialism is the spiritualization of the world. It comes as the first actual program for the liberation of the human spirit. For to own another's bread, is to own his soul. They who own the sources and tools of production and distribution, who own the things upon which the people depend, are the substantial owners of the world's thoughts, its laws, its social affections. To try to make a good world, while ignoring the economic basis of life, is but to be a hypocrite and a trifler. The way in which the world gets its work done, the manner and ratio of distributing the products of that work, the equality or inequality of bread and opportunity, are the real and only indices of the world's spiritual or ethical quality. We must show that our economic philosophy is the first actual demand that has ever been made upon man for a practical and common righteousness. We must show to the people, who have so long accepted what is as sacredly right, that the present kinds of righteousness are founded upon brute force, upon sheer economic might; that what is, is might, not right. We must show that, up to the present time, all that the world has called right has been founded in might, and show how the hid and almost unuttered common might must be changed into a righteousness of an altogether new kind. We must proclaim that it is not right that the few are degraded by their over-much, and the many wasted and blighted by the wretched little which they have won by anxiety and struggle; that it is not right that some people should own the things upon which all people depend; that there can be no basis for right living in a society that is the arena of economic competition and inequality.

No one but the Socialist is in a position which gives him any right to appeal to the sense of right. No one but the Socialist can lay the basis and prepare the human soil for a righteousness that shall be real. It is therefore urgent that we should not neglect, much less scorn, the appeal which is ours, and only ours, to the sense of righteousness in the people. It is ours to feed the altar fire at the heart of the Socialist movement until the purified world shall walk in the light of it.

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IX.

Is the human world great enough to match the greatness of its approaching opportunity? Does the spiritual fund that the centuries have accumulated bulk large enough to carry us through the door into the new world which the crisis of capitalism will open? Will mankind go back into the melting-pot, into new dark ages, and history enter another cycle of suffering and preparation? Or shall we enter the world of co-operative labor, of the fellowship that shall bear us beyond our sordid good and evil, of the ransomed love that shall make each human life a world-ecstacy?

It is the Socialist only who can answer this question; and no such question has ever been placed before man; no such test or trial of human worth has ever weighed the quality of men. It is the question which is to weigh the worth of the Socialist movement. If we have the power to be democratic, without being factional and petty; if we have the power to be mobile and fluid in our politics, without evasion or compromise; if we seek the triumph of the Socialist movement, and not merely the triumph of a political party in the name of Socialism; if we have power to forget ourselves in the hope of the good that is to come to the whole; if our effort is toward the creation of power **in** the people and not the gaining of power **over** the people; if the Socialist movement shall present to the world an altogether new and nobler quality of man;—then may we become the creators of the new world wherein dwelleth the justice of love, and its universal liberty.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

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A Municipal Socialist Congress in France.

A MUNICIPAL Socialist Congress was held in January, at Paris, presided over by Comrade Fourniere. Six hundred and fifteen municipalities were represented by seventy-five delegates.

The work had been divided among six committees as follows:

1. Committee on municipal program.
2. Committee on municipal relief.
3. Committee on municipal administration.
4. Committee on the working out of a typical municipal budget.
5. Committee on the abolition of octrois.
6. Committee on various propositions.

The discussions were very interesting; unfortunately owing to lack of space we can only sum them up and indicate the resolutions that were adopted.

THE QUESTION OF THE OCTROIS.*

Through its chairman the committee declared that the suppression of the octrois is desirable, but that it will not be completely obtained without the establishment of a system emancipating the proletarians and establishing a tax on income and inheritances. It is necessary to solve the question according to the best interests of the workers and to the local circumstances.

Comrade Bounet asked that in the Socialist program the suppression of the octrois be clearly indicated. The octrois are no longer retained by any European nations except France and Italy. He disagreed with the chairman and held that the means of suppressing the octrois should be put at the disposal of the municipalities, and that to this end we should demand of the government a system of taxes permitting the municipalities to carry on their activity while taking the burden off the laborers.

It was voted to refer back the report to the committee.

THE QUESTION OF HYGIENE.

Henri Turot presented his report on laborers' dwellings. This question needs to be solved, and at Paris it seems to be near a solution. A committee there has the matter in charge. It is necessary to encourage private initiative, and it is also necessary that the municipality take the initiative.

*The octroi is a tax levied by a municipal government on articles, particularly food, brought into the city. It is thus an indirect tax which bears most heavily on the poor. —Translator.

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He explained the Charnay plan, which can be realized by a loan secured upon the rents to be received. But Charnay wished the tenants to profit by a reduction of rent even to the point of gratuity. The committee thought, on the contrary, that the rent ought to afford a surplus for the construction of new houses, and it modified the Charnay plan in that direction. It adopted the following resolution:

The congress invites the Socialists elected to municipal offices to study carefully the question of inexpensive dwellings for laborers.

Without opposing the encouragement of private initiative on the part of the municipalities, it expresses the wish that the cities themselves resolve to devote at least part of their resources to the building of laborers' dwellings, and that they make a study of financial measures which may result in prompt solutions.

Finally the congress resolved that the Socialists elected to parliament ought to endeavor to secure the modification of such laws as might throw obstacles in the way of these attempts on the part of the municipalities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted with the addition of the words, "Immediate reduction in the rate of rents," from Charnay's proposition.

A certain number of propositions presented by Parrasols, mayor of Sainte-Florine, relative to the approaching congress and to the establishment of a national federation of Socialist municipal councilmen and of a federal bureau of judicial and administrative information, were adopted, as well as a proposition of Dr. Bertrand asking that the new streets of large cities be planted with trees.

MUNICIPAL RELIEF.

René Bounet, chairman of the committee, held that the present relief is only a mockery, and he formulated, as follows, the things desired by the committee:

1. Relief to infants.
2. Relief to children from 3 to 13 years (school restaurants).
3. Relief to the aged and those disabled from work; hospital service at home.
4. Distribution of temporary relief for those out of work or ill, under the care of mutual relief bureaus.
5. Organization of medical relief by the establishment of dispensaries for temporary hospital service, with the free supply of urgently needed medicines; medical visits at home and hospital treatment in serious cases.
6. Finally, immediate secularization of all hospitals.

Orry thought it best to strike out the paragraph referring

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to assistance to those out of work, which in his opinion ought to be assured by the unions and labor exchanges.

Bounet opposed Orry's amendment and expressed the opinion that the assistance of the state is still too far from realization, while the assistance of the municipalities can be determined upon tomorrow by the Socialist municipal councils.

Fourniere was also of the opinion that relief to those out of work should not be included in the municipal budget. The municipality in certain cases will not be able to meet its obligations. Relief of this kind degrades the workers to the level of beggars.

Tessier supported Orry's proposition but preferred that the municipal councils assist the unions for a special out-of-work fund, but Comrade Bourdet observed that the prefect would not authorize this disposition of municipal funds.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

HYGIENE OF DWELLINGS.

On this complex question Colly apologized for offering only a few ideas. He reminded the congress of what had been decided in 1898 at the congress of Fumay. The law on public sanitation demanded by that congress was voted in July, 1902, but all know with what difficulty laws of this sort are often applied. The mayors have the right and even the duty to take measures intended to assure hygienic conditions and public health. This is accordingly a law which attacks the famous principle of the inviolability of property.

The committee therefore considers that the mayors ought to use all the rights conferred upon them by the law of July, 1902.

The question of water especially has great importance. The law of 1902 imposes upon all municipalities the duty of supplying water fit for drinking. The prefects are instructed to watch over the execution of these regulations and are given the necessary power. That is a fortunate provision of the law, since it permits the Socialist minorities to insist on the law being respected by the reactionaries, who care little for the health of the working people.

In the country the residents often have little care for the matter of hygiene; the water supply, the sewage and the dwellings are often very defective. The law ought to permit the compulsory cleaning of certain houses.

It is a sad thing, said Colly, poetically, to see on the slopes of our laughing hills, villages making blotches like a blotch of mud on the petal of a rose; fortunately the purity of the breeze serves as an antiseptic for our peasants.

I declare, he added, that only in the Republican party and especially the Socialist party, do we find any concern for the public

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health. We have seen this at Paris on the subject of the vote on the sanitary regulations elaborated by Navarre, which was rejected by the nationalist majority, but which the committee of the department of hygiene afterwards voted in its entirety. Dr. Bertrand explained that in the schools, not enough care is taken regarding questions of hygiene, and that washstands and shower-baths ought to be in all the schools. If hygienic regulations are to be well applied it is necessary to establish a bureau of public health, it is necessary to unify these services. The respect for private property is also a great obstacle to sanitary measures. Private property, in certain cases, is not only fatal to those who enjoy it, it is still more so to those who live near it if it is contaminated. It is also necessary to provide for the education of the people in hygiene, and the only way to arrive at this is by giving hygiene a very prominent place in school programs.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

Charnay offered a resolution on this subject which was opposed by Brousse and Camelle. Brousse said that on the day when public services should be made free for the laborers it would certainly be necessary to look elsewhere for means to pay the cost of operation of the free services. Certainly, if the tax on real estate were increased we should see the proprietors shifting the charge upon the tenants. If gas were supplied at cost we should be in danger of seeing an injury to such public services as instruction and relief, which are of a more immediate and more general necessity. There are free public services which we ought to enlarge constantly and others which we ought to establish, but we must at the same time assure ourselves of public services that shall be of advantage to the finances of the municipality.

Camelle proposed to decide that the price of gas for Paris should be, for example, fifteen or twenty centimes as a general rule, and that below a certain rate of rent this price should be lowered in a proportion to be fixed upon. In the same way, at the hours when the labor day begins and ends, there are street railways which reduce their rates; why should we wish to share the advantage with the rich, especially if it is a public service? It is necessary to increase the charges on the bourgeoisie for the advantage of the laborers.

Charnay wished to have it stated by the congress that the profit made on public services is an indirect tax. The adjustment of the scale of prices for gas, as well as for transportation, ought to be managed in such a way as to cost the community nothing. It is the consumers themselves who ought to pay the expenses of this management. To transform an enterprise into

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a public service, is not to make a present to the consumers, since this service requires no new sacrifice on the part of the community.

At Paris as regards the transportation service when it shall be scheduled, the city will make a profit of at least five centimes. It is the poor who use it the most, consequently they are the ones who will be hit, it is an indirect tax. You have the right to make it, but it ought to be avowed frankly, with the assertion that indirect taxes are less burdensome to the working class than direct taxes.

Daveau, of Ivry, spoke to the same effect as Brousse and said that the taxes on proprietors really fall upon the tenants; to guard against this it will be necessary to prevent the proprietors from raising rents, but the law does not authorize us to fix this limit.

Colly cited the example of the Metropolitan, where the establishment of two classes of travelers hits the luxurious and is really an actual tax on the rich.

The presiding officer, Blondel, thought there was a misunderstanding. Charnay does not ask that we immediately give up all profits from public services. As for the matter of water and education, those who have no property are not obliged to pay anything, and if lighting is considered as a luxury it is precisely because a high price is charged for it; as soon as the municipalities themselves furnish gas or electric lighting, what today is a luxury will be tomorrow something to be used by everyone. Charnay is speaking more for the future than for the present. Have you the right to levy an indirect tax on those who have no property? You are drawing from the pockets of those who possess nothing, to put into the pocket of all, the rich as well as the poor. You ought to put the means of transportation at cost to everyone, and you have no right to levy any sort of indirect tax.

Charnay then modified his proposition to read as follows:

Whereas, The tax levied on public services over and above the cost price, for the benefit of the municipality, is an actual indirect tax bearing upon all the laborers.

Resolved, That public services be organized in such a way that their benefits be assured at cost to all laborers.

Comrade Brousse read a resolution which was merely a summary of his remarks. This resolution was adopted and that of Charnay was rejected.

THE MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

The following project was adopted:

I. On the political side:

Municipal autonomy for all acts relating to the community.

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Extension of the recognized right of municipalities to establish inter-municipal unions.

Right to apply the referendum.

Legal provisions for salaries to municipal councilmen.

II. On the economic side:

Municipalization of public services pertaining to the community, as transportation, lighting, water-supply, etc.

Limitation to eight hours of the work-day of all municipal employes and laborers, weekly rest-day, minimum wage fixed on the basis established by the labor unions of the district.

Introduction into contracts for public works of clauses imposing these conditions; prohibition of truck store system.

Appointment by municipalities, on the recommendation of the labor unions, of inspectors whose duty should be to supervise the enforcement of the prescribed conditions of labor in all public works, whether operated by the municipalities themselves or by contracts with private parties.

Provision to be made, by payments to the national pension fund, for pensions to municipal laborers and those employed on municipal contracts.

Improvement of the special conditions accorded by the municipalities to the Socialist co-operatives of production.

Suppression of private employment bureaus and establishment of free municipal employment bureaus under the control of the labor exchanges of labor unions.

Municipal aid to the labor exchanges, labor unions and out-of-work benefit funds, in proportion to the number of members.

III. On the financial side:

Suppression of the octrois and their replacement by taxes or duties not burdening the laborers in any way.

Exemption from personal property tax for families paying small rents.

A municipal system of fire insurance.

Establishment of a municipal tax on transfers of lands and buildings proportional to the surplus value acquired by these lands and buildings over and above the labor cost of construction.

IV. Public education:

Free and secular instruction in all grades, and the establishment of professional schools.

Establishment of school restaurants, distribution of clothing, reform schools and boarding schools.

Provision for instruction in hygiene and the establishment of baths in the schools.

School supplies to be furnished free.

Municipal aid to secular higher education (libraries, societies for study and of graduate pupils, popular universities, etc.)

V. Public relief:

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Distribution to those in need (the aged, women, children, the sick, the disabled, laborers out of work) of food, clothing and fuel at their homes.

Secularization of all lodging houses and hospitals.

Medical service and medicines free to those in need.

The aged and orphans to be cared for in families rather than in hospitals.

Temporary relief by payment of rent in cases of need, and the establishment of municipal lodging houses and storage warehouses for household goods.

The establishment of municipal day-nurseries and homes for children whose parents are temporarily absent, in hospitals, etc.

Establishment of relief for destitute mothers and children in proportion to the need.

VI. Public hygiene and dwellings:

Construction by the municipalities of healthful and low-priced dwellings.

The broadening of narrow streets.

Supervision of lodgings, work-shops, water-supply and food sold in the market.

No building permits to be issued to proprietors not conforming to hygienic regulations.

Suppression of the police des moeurs (equivalent to a police service for the "suppression of vice," evidently the abuses incident to this are the same in France as in America.—Translator.)

The various articles of this program were adopted as well as a number of resolutions.

Orry proposed to appoint a committee instructed to organize a federation of Socialist municipalities. This proposition was adopted, as well as a plan of the same author, to condense the work of the congress into a pamphlet and to make an appeal to the Socialist municipalities to cover the expenses of publication as well as those of the congress. This pamphlet should be ready before the elections and should be sent to all candidates requesting it.

The next meeting of the congress is fixed for 1905, to be held in the department of the Seine.

Translated from L'Avenir Social by CHARLES H. KERR.

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Annual Report of the National Secretary of the Socialist Party.

From January 1, 1903, to December 31, 1903.

OMAHA, Neb., Jan. 1, 1904.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party:

Comrades—I herewith submit my report as National Secretary covering the period from January 1, 1903, to December 31, 1903, inclusive.

The month of January, 1903, was included in former Secretary Greenbaum's term of office, and in the interval between then and my assumption of office on February 10, National Committeeman Samuel Lovett, of South Dakota, was in charge as Acting Secretary.

STATE AND TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

There are now thirty-three state and territorial organizations affiliated with the national party. These are Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Vermont and West Virginia were chartered during the year.

The Utah organization was declared not in good standing and its charter revoked by the National Committee on November 10 for non-payment of dues from July, 1902.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS.

During the year 101 new locals were chartered direct by the national office in unorganized states and territories distributed as follows: Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 14; Arizona, 5; Delaware, 1; Georgia, 6; Indian Territory, 12; Louisiana, 10; Maryland, 3; Mississippi, 1; Nevada, 1; North Carolina, 6; Rhode Island, 1; South Carolina, 2; Tennessee, 8; Utah, 1; Virginia, 4; West Virginia, 9; Wyoming, 6, and the District of Columbia, 1.

The thirty-three locals chartered in Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Louisiana and West Virginia have since been merged into the state organizations formed in those states. During the quarter ending December 31, fifty-three locals paid dues to the national office.

FINANCIAL.

The total receipts of the national office from all sources during

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the year were $14,240.99, with expenditures of $14,072.55, leaving a balance of $168.44.

The receipts show that $9,946.06 was for national dues, of which amount $9,223.61 came from state and territorial organizations, and $722.45 from locals and members-at-large in unorganized states and territories.

The average payment for each month of the year was, therefore, upon 15,373 members in the organized states and territories and upon 602 in the remainder, or an average of 15,975 members for each month of the year. The average payment per month during 1902 was upon 10,000 members.

The following table shows the number of members for whom dues were paid during the respective months of the year:

January	14,223	July	17,296
February	11,939	August	17,014
March	14,565	September	14,559
April	16,458	October	20,556
May	12,246	November	17,404
June	11,472	December	24,048

There is now due the national office from the various organizations, $1,417.09, for due stamps and supplies. While some of these accounts are for stamps obtained on credit for use during the current month, yet at least $1,200 of the indebtedness extends over a period of several months, and in some cases for the entire year.

If the actual amount collected for dues by a number of state secretaries during the year had been remitted to the national office the average membership per month would have shown an increase equal to that amount. It is but fair to assume that the actual number of members affiliated with the national organization at this time is not less than 23,000.

NATIONAL ORGANIZING FUND.

The call for contributions to the National Organizing Fund realized $2,509.51. Of this amount, $620 was contributed direct for organizing purposes to various state organizations. The remainder, $1,889.51, was expended through the national lecturers and organizers, with the addition of $1,277.63 received for dues, making a total of $3,687.14.

The grand total expended by the national office alone for organizing during the year was therefore $3,796.34, exclusive of postage, telegrams and expressage.

This sum, however, does not cover the entire amount used for agitation and organization purposes; $4,732.65 was collected direct by the lecturers and organizers themselves through lecture fees, collections and donations, making a total during the year of $8,528.99.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

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Symposium on Convention.

For Clear Cut Constitution and Platform.

EDITOR REVIEW: Below will be found an expression of opinion regarding answers to queries made. I answer in the order named and by number to save space:

First—A growing movement must always be elastic enough to fit itself to the needs that development demands. The Constitution of the Socialist Party, good today, might be almost worthless tomorrow. We are now crippled with an ambiguously worded constitution, and it needs a thorough revision that will bring our party machinery in harmony with the ever-changing conditions. Lack of clearness or specific declaration has compelled many needless referendums and much waste of good energy. Our national secretary should have behind him a constitution for guidance of his work so clear and clean-cut as to remove the last vestige of doubt. Such changes are needed as will tend to produce this result.

Second—A most important question. We should have most clear and definite party pronouncements governing our candidates and controlling their actions, but it should be a strictly *private* affair within our party, and *not* for means of public propaganda. A man nominated on the Socialist party ticket should know that the party is bigger than the man and that it means to control him. He should know in clear terms and in what manner the control would apply, and if it meets with his disapproval, then he can refuse to be a candidate.

Such a "program" should be separate from platform pronouncements and should be *private* for the guidance of our party members and not to invite the vote of half-baked reformers and sun-burnt Hearstites, who later must learn they have purchased a gold brick. All that can be accomplished under capitalism is almost *nil*. The world is not going to be revolutionized by resolutions or the proletariat brought to a state of class-consciousness of the class struggle by wordy mouthings of what we will do if our candidates are elected, when we know beforehand we can do none of these things. To the public the Socialist party can have but one program: The capture of the powers of government by the hitherto oppressed working class, that it may come to the full and complete ownership of the tool of production—capital. To get votes on any other proposition is to invite reaction. For the Socialist party to start out making glittering ante-election promises is to make of itself a joke. Hearsts and middle-class

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democracy (?) have possession of a more complete encyclopaedia of adjectives, and they have nothing to lose but their reputations (now worthless), and many rich government offices to gain. We have but one aim, the Social Revolution, and we must avoid the reactionary. If a man would come to our party ballot-box today because we *promise* much, he would go to the other fellow tomorrow because he *promised* more. It is only the class-conscious, rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool proletariat that is worth anything to Socialism—the man who is once a Socialist, always a Socialist; not for office or power, nor for personal aggrandizement; not for satisfying of personal ambition, but because of the recognition of the class-struggle, and the recognition of the fact that *he* cannot be free until *all* are free, and that he who would be free must strike the first blow.

The "Art of Politics" and municipal program, ward physicians, etc., and so on, seems one and the same thing. We want behind every Socialist ballot a Socialist, and we better be forty years in the wilderness making *real* Socialists than to suffer defeat at the critical hour when we come to cross the River Jordan (kill capitalism) and enter Caanan land (the co-operative commonwealth) to find only that it has been the back-door to hell—and reaction.

Men will only come to a realization of the class struggle as the competitive warfare shall press harder and harder upon them. Better one hundred suffer and die today to bring revolution and life to the whole class than that failure follow tomorrow on today's mushroom growth, and appeals to the voter on a lot of empty promises that can never be fulfilled and which would sap the energy of the revolutionary government to *try* to carry out.

It will take quite as much energy to persuade a capitalist voting mule to vote a "program" Socialist ballot as it will to make a revolutionary one. In the first he blows with the wind, and will be gone tomorrow. In the second, the work is complete, and he has learned the real underlying directing forces of social life.

Third—Every propaganda center should have a "propaganda committee" of well-informed, well-balanced Socialists, whose duty it should be to see and know that each public speaker (or writer) should be competent to teach; effective in manner, and of enough gentlemanly (or womanly) character to guarantee respectable and proper treatment to the public. This committee should have also discretionary power to aid in harmonizing public declarations on fundamental lines, so that the whole voice of the propaganda would ring true to our revolutionary program.

Fourth—Partly answered above. The party in annual convention might with propriety pass resolutions of direction or

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suggestion to party speakers, and on matters of great importance give clear and emphatic utterance to the position of the party thereto. The combined membership of the party should be and is wiser than the individual.

Fifth—They (the farmers) belong to the exploited class of producers, and all that is needed is the defining of our philosophy in terms that can be comprehended by them. They are a larger voting factor than the purely industrial worker, and if we appeal to the latter to help him "see" much greater is the need that we point the "way of escape" for the farmer. What folly to everlastingly "program" for the city industrialist and forget the agrarian "wage" worker. He must be shown wherein and "how" Socialism will benefit him, and we need to enlarge our vocabulary to the extent of remembering that there are vastly greater things "than heretofore have been told" in our philosophy respecting the farmer. Socialism cannot be a factor at the polls until the farmer makes it so. The common platform of exploitation is broad enough and strong enough to hold all—farmer and city worker, trade unionist and scab, Jew and Gentile, negro and Italian, Irishman and German, and many of these are "from Missouri," and it is up to our Revolutionary Party to "show" them where their interests lie. We cannot and must not beg the question.

Sixth—Yes, but in mentioning one class we must not forget "there are others." (See No. 5.) The organization on the industrial field for an alleviation of present needs is a splendid place in which to work out "immediate demands." Then organization on the political field, as expressed by the Socialist Party, is the place to get busy in "real" work. If the Union is a place where the worker may have something to say regarding wages, hours and conditions of his labor, then the Socialist Party movement is the place where this same worker may find it possible to have all to say about the product of his toil.

"Workingmen of the world, unite (at the ballot box); you have nothing to lose but your chains (of slavery to a job) and a world to gain."

CHARLES L. BRECKON.

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The Farmer A Worker.

THERE is no need of any special expression of the Socialist Party toward the farmers. It is only necessary that it be recognized that the farmer is a worker—not a wage worker, but still a worker. And it is necessary, absolutely necessary, that it be recognized that Socialism *does not* appeal to the farmer from the same point of view as it does to the wage worker. The fundamental point of difference between the farmer and wage worker is that the farmer is indirectly exploited, while the wage worker is directly exploited. Also that while the wage worker has a personal representative of the competitive systems before him in the person, firm or corporation that he works for, the farmer has not. It is easy to arouse a personal feeling against the firm or corporation and then transfer it against the system while with the farmer it must be aroused against the system direct, which is very much harder. The farmer is beginning to see that the competitive system is wrong and he is trying to right it, as witness the Populist reform planks, free silver, etc. He does not see clearly yet, but perhaps as clearly as the average wage worker, and he is willing to learn, if Socialism is rightly presented to him.

The Socialist Party has thus far failed in presenting Socialism to the farmer, in that it has not done it in a way to touch his point of view. The speakers and writers of the Socialist Party have so far been mainly wage workers, union wage workers at that, and they have talked and written as they would to wage workers. Now the farmer is interested in shop regulation, unions, scabs, etc., just as he is in a flood in South America, or a famine in India; he sympathizes but he does not understand. The main point that should be emphasized to farmers, but which is seldom touched, is the need of organization. The average union speaker has become so accustomed to organization that he fails to understand that the farmers does not see the need of it. To him it has become second nature, and he takes it for granted that everyone else understands it also. The farmer, on the other hand, by his work, habits and education is taught that organization is not necessary, that what each man is depends on himself alone.

The farmer starts a piece of work and carries it through by himself from start to finish. By so doing he misses the object lesson that the wage worker has always before him; he does not have to depend on his fellow worker.

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In short, it is necessary only that the farmer be shown, not that there is something wrong in the present workings of the competitive system, but that the system itself is wrong, and that it must be destroyed to do away with his troubles. He must be shown that an organization, such as the Socialist Party offers, is necessary to destroy the system. Show him this, and you have a clear, class-conscious Socialist who will stand by his fellow workers, both in the field or the shop, to the end, come what will.—*William Carpenter, Socialist and Farmer, Tulare, California.*

A Referendum on the Platform.

THE following referendum, even if it does not reach its final stage before the meeting of the National Convention, may serve to direct attention to these specific issues and obtain a more complete expression of opinion than is possible through the action of the convention:

WHEREAS, The outcome of the Social Revolution now in progress, depends largely on the unity of purpose and concentration of effort of the Socialist forces, to be secured only by the avoidance of prevarications and side issues, which breed dissensions and complications, and hamper and dwarf Socialist activity and ideals, be it

RESOLVED, That the principles of scientific and revolutionary Socialism stand as the basis of union and test of loyalty to the Cause in the Nation, leaving to individual opinion and belief matters not set forth in this politico-economic program, and to the several states such rights of adaptation of these principles that shall preserve strictly the revolutionary aim and character of the movement, and guard against fusion or compromise or alliance with, or endorsement of, any outside organization, whatever its name or pretensions, and

RESOLVED, That, in keeping with the position thus defined, we call for the omission of the "Immediate Demands" from the Party's National Platform, and the rescinding of the "Trades Union Resolutions" appended thereto; and that such action shall not be construed as implying any hostility to the Trades Unions, but as designed rather to relieve the Party and the Unions from the embarrassment and injustice of the confusion of the aims and methods of the two movements, while leaving the Unions, or to agitate among them as they see fit.

The experiences of Socialist history certainly teach the need of unity in essentials.

In the first place, it will be generally admitted, that all matters not specifically set forth in the party's platform should be left to individual opinion and belief; questions, for instance, of a strictly social, religious or philosophical import, though it may be true that in the last analysis the movement derives its higher sanction and deeper inspiration from these social domains of man's thought and life. The differences in temperament and training among Socialists require the largest freedom in the methods of argument and style of delivery of writers and speakers, as long as they hold to the main thesis. The doctrine of economic determination certainly is true, and of vast

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importance in the Socialist scheme, but it may take the form of the narrowest of dogmas, cutting the mind off from those springs of power in the paths of the air, the regions of sentiment and imagination.

Whatever the serviceableness of the "immediate demands" may be, their value, even from the practical standpoint, is uncertain and variable, while they clash theoretically with some of the main contentions of Socialists; but, being allowed a place in the party's National Platform, they are made to partake of the supreme dignity and emphasis of basic principles, despite the cautionary words that accompany them. These "demands" are easily confused with fundamentals by the unwary, the unthinking and the designing, both inside and outside of our ranks. And it is not surprising that the Democratic and Union Labor parties claim to stand for all that is practicable in Socialism, when they can swallow the "demands" with but a slight change of phraseology. And as the "practical" politician works his way to the fore with the growth of the party, the "demands" will be looked upon as the *via sacra* of the movement (if they are not already felt by some to be its very backbone), and its scientific and revolutionary aspects will appear as wraiths from the land of dreams. Faithfulness to principle, however, does not mean the neglect of opportunity and scorn of the practical, of means fitted to present need and exigency, as long as a true valuation is placed on these attempts at graduated measure which circumstances invite or compel, and the shallows of the coast-line are not mistaken for the deep soundings of the outer sea. But this species of effort, along empirical lines, may be left to the several states, under a regulation policy determined by the party in National Convention and applied through a National Bureau.

The relation of the party toward the trade unions given in the two sets of "resolutions," made so conspicuous in the party press, is indefinite in the last degree, and, after so many attempts of this kind by experts in the business, the question is raised whether it is not time the experiment be made of a total abstention from all official pronunciamentos of this sort. These "resolutions" admit of a double interpretation that gives license to faction and the upper hand always to the ultra-trade unionist. Such experiences as those with the St. Louis Local Quorum and the Boston Convention of the A. F. of L. furnish proof as strong as anything short of a supernatural manifestation, of the need of a radical change in the party's trade-union policy. And this change of attitude need not be from one of friendliness to one of antagonism, like that of the Socialist Labor Party, by any means. There is far less overlapping of the interests of the two movements in this than in foreign countries. Here we have an immense territory, a mixture of races, equal suffrage and state governments, and a more advanced stage of industrial development. It

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needs not be denied that the strike, boycott and label are something of a necessity in American life, but it does seem the very height of folly to seek to weld these methods to those of a revolutionary Socialist party, whose aim is the conquest of political power by means of the ballot, of the intelligent use of the rights of citizenship. And there are good grounds for believing that Socialists would have far more influence in trade union bodies if they did not come with a commission to capture them for the cause. And what do these convention "resolutions" favoring Socialism amount to, anyway? What fruits have they borne in Colorado, where the American Labor Union indorsed Socialism in the most express terms? The trade union constituency is a parti-colored mass, politically speaking, and of many nationalities and all degrees of intelligence; and there may be more unwisdom in lugging politics into the union, no matter whose brand it is, than in trying to keep it out. THEODORE CURTIS.

An Official Working Program Separate from Platform.

NO changes can be made in the matter of party organization, in my opinion, which would be of special advantage at this time. Any change would be either in the direction of less or more autonomy of the different states. The present plan works well.

There should be an official working program adopted for the guidance of members elected to office. It should be separate from the platform, deal only with questions of paramount importance to the working class under capitalism; define the Socialist position clearly on these questions, and leave minor questions and details untouched. This should be an official propaganda document for campaigns and for inducing workmen to join the party.

If a speaker violates or denies the principles we stand for, give the matter the fullest publicity and leave the rest to the intelligence of the membership.

Uniformity in different cities on paramount issues will be secured by the working program. Uniformity on minor questions may not be desirable.

As to the farmers and negro employer of labor, no. As to the negro wage slave, yes. We should make it strong enough to drive every "nigger hater" out of the Socialist Party.

The resolution should be changed to read "The trade-union movement and Socialist political movement, etc.," substituting the word "Socialist" for "independent." WM. S. DALTON.

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The Farmer and the Negro.

AMONG other questions the Editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW asks me: "Should there be (by the National Convention) any special expression of our attitude toward the farmers and negroes?" In the first place it might be pointed out that our attitude toward the farmers and the negroes must be determined by entirely different considerations. When considering the farmers we consider a clearly defined economic question. Their numerical strength makes them a factor to be reckoned with in every plan looking toward the capture of the powers of government. They are devoted to the perpetuation of a republican form of government which in the present state of industry, can only be secured by the triumph of the principles for which the Socialist party stands. They are good fighters and they have felt the sting of capitalist arrogance and the lash of capitalist despotism. We want them and will welcome them if they come to fight with us, but I would oppose any special appeal to them which should involve any equivocation or concealment of the essentially proletarian character of the Socialist movement. Years ago the Omaha platform of the Populists declared that the interests of urban and rural labor are the same, but I am inclined to believe that this was more the expression of some Populist politician's desire to capture the urban laborer's vote rather than an evidence of Populist knowledge of the character and condition of the proletariat. The farmer and the proletarian are alike in that both are the victims of capitalist greed, and that is a bond of comradeship. This bond is being recognized but its strength depends on the clearness with which our farmer comrades perceive that freedom lies in progress toward industrial democracy. We cannot and should not forget that the peculiar economic status of the farmer makes him prone to regard favorably reactionary measures or some forms of State Socialism which promise relief to him but hold out nothing for the working class. There is no reason to doubt, however, that a large proportion of the farmers are able to appreciate the Socialist position and to realize the hopelessness of any real improvement in their condition under Capitalism. We want to reach this element, but I oppose embodying the appeal in our platform.

In my opinion, the Negro Resolution adopted by the Indianapolis convention in 1901 was a mistake. Not that we should shut the door in the face of the black man, but that the resolution was characterized by a sentimental—not to say hysterical—spirit. In effect it was an invitation to the "brother in black"

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to come to our arms and receive a fraternal kiss. The negro, when he is intelligent enough to catch a glimmer of what Socialists are driving at, will come to us without a sentimental appeal. If he lacks intelligence he will misunderstand the appeal if he hears it and class it with the endearing call of the carpetbagger. As a race the negro worker of the South lacks the brain and the backbone necessary to make a Socialist. To make his case a special case is folly because he will return less dividends on the energy spent in converting him than probably any other worker on earth. Some of our comrades find great difficulty in keeping down their effervescing love for the black man, but common sense and not effervescence should characterize our party policies, and common sense can't endorse any special attempt to capture the negro. We are appealing to wage workers, and it is no particular concern of ours whether the wage worker is brown-eyed or blue-eyed, black or white. We deprecate race distinctions and then proceed to emphasize them by assuming that the race of the worker endows him with some peculiar status. Let us not make the mistake of mortgaging the future to make good our predictions concerning conditions under the Co-operative Commonwealth. It may be that our fair-skinned women will be Desdemonas and prefer Othellos for mates, and the fair-skinned men may emulate Solomon and take to Sheban spouses. Then again it may not be so. You never can tell.

CHARLES DOBBS.

Develop Press and Literature.

I FAVOR the elimination of all "immediate demands" and the formulation of a "guide" or program for officials elected by our votes, as suggested recently by Comrade Untermann in a REVIEW article.

I would ignore the trades unions as such and stand the political movement on its own bottom. The negro and farmer propositions are of an entirely different character; we state their position under capitalism, not our "attitude" toward them.

I would abolish the "local quorum," repose more confidence and power in the national secretary, and require action by entire committee if indicated by the character of the matter in hand, or demanded by a certain number of the national committee.

I would abolish plural voting and give the states proportional representation in the national committee if something is required to prevent ill-advised action by immature members from "new" states or territories, which I much doubt. Certainly we are just about as liable to have such representation from any of the "older" states.

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The upbuilding of the party press will be the speediest and surest method of regulating the "agitator" question, and probably the only practical or effective method. With the movement in its present condition and a crying demand for soap-boxers from every section, any volunteer will be hailed with acclaim; when the movement grows larger the field will attract grafters and fakirs, who will imagine it to afford an easy living. In either event, no effective control can be exercised; the best that can be done will be to "repudiate" and "protest"; as the movement becomes clear the locals will do that effectually themselves.

In my opinion, the main thing for Socialists to concentrate their energies upon is the creation and establishment of a powerful press and the distribution of scientific literature, such, for example, as that issued by our own co-operative publishing house, known as the Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Of only less importance is the organization of the party. The two should be inseparably connected, and, if so, no concern need be felt regarding the "control" of agitators; false or utopian propaganda cannot exist, much less flourish, where clear literature is sown.

"Whether the Socialist Party as a whole looks with favor upon the efforts which are frequently made to secure the adoption of resolutions by trade-union conventions endorsing the party" or not is immaterial. Such efforts will be made regardless of any action or declaration of the party, and the fact that they are so made is conclusive that the party "as a whole" has no "look" in the matter, and it should have none. Any convention declaration would only be cited by our opponents to prevent agitation—which is all such efforts amount to in any event—and agitation is as essential to our growth as air or water is to plants. Let the party stand as a party, and concern itself not with things with which it should have no concern. CHARLES HEYDRICK.

The Trade Union Movement.

THE resolution adopted by the National Convention at Indianapolis, July, 1901, defining the attitude of the Socialist party towards the trade union movement must stand. It is in line with the sound policy of the International Social Democracy. Experience has demonstrated its correctness. The supplementary resolutions adopted at the National Committee meeting in January, 1903, are a compromise with a wrong policy, a compromise with the very tactics that have proven so detrimental to the entire Socialist and trade union movement in past years.

Theoretically, on paper, our party policy is correct. Practically, in our every day's struggles, many of our leading com-

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rades are violating the fundamental policy of our party. They are violating the time-tried policy of our international Socialist movement. Their work is unsocialistic, because by their very action they wish to create the impression among the rank and file that they (i.e., these leading comrades) were destined to build a Solomon's temple of New Trade Unionism over night. These comrades—and Comrade Eugene V. Debs is one of them—commit the same blunder as Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and other union leaders of the anti-Socialist variety. President Gompers says: "WE, WE, WE have built up this great trades union movement!"

Some of our Socialist leaders have the same delusive idea as Gompers and Mitchell. While they may not frankly express it, yet they think like this: "WE, WE, WE are the leading spirits possessed of the god-given power to create and build up a New Trade Unionism—a Socialist unionism!"

These friends of ours don't realize their unsocialistic position on this important question. We may find an opportunity to say more on this subject at some other time.

In 1896 the International Socialist Congress was held in London, England. That was at the time when Prof. De Leon's and Hugo Vogt's Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was in full bloom. Said International Socialist Congress put itself on record on the trade union question as follows:

RESOLUTION.

"The trade union struggle of the wage workers is indispensable, in order to resist the encroachments of Capitalism and to improve the conditions of Labor under the present system. Without trade unions no fair wages and no shorter hours of labor. However, this economic struggle only lessens the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will cease when society takes possession of the means of production. This is conditioned on the creation of a system of legislative measures. To fully carry out these measures the working class must become the deciding political power. However, the working class will only become such a political power in the same ratio as its organization, the trade union, grows. By the very organization into trade unions the working class becomes a political factor.

"The organization of the working class is incomplete and insufficient so long as it is only political.

"But the economic (trade union) struggle also requires the political activity of the working class. Very often the workingmen have to assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the free economic struggle. In other cases the legislative gains make economic conflicts by trade union action superfluous. The in-

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ternational co-operation of the working class on trade union lines, especially in regard to labor legislation, becomes more necessary in the same degree as the economic relations of the capitalistic world's market and the conflicts of the national industries develop.

"In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels and Zurich this congress declares that the organization of trades unions is an absolute neessity in the struggle of emancipation of the working class and we consider it as the duty of all wage workers who aim at the emancipation of labor from capitalist wage slavery to join the union of their respective trade.

"*The trades unions, in order to do effective work, shall be nationally organized and the splitting up of the elements in separate organizations is to be condemned. Political differences of opinion shall not be a cause for dividing or splitting up the forces in the economic struggle,* but the poletarian class struggle makes it the duty for the labor organizations to educate their members in Socialist principles."

Our Indianapolis resolution is in full accord with the above resolution of the London International Socialist Congress. The only amendment we might make would be to add: "Differences of political opinions shall not be a cause for dividing or splitting up the forces in the economic struggle of the trade union movement."

Differences of political opinions and a spirit of resentment were instrumental in giving birth to De Leon's Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance.

Differences of political opinions and a spirit of resentment were also instrumental in giving birth to a similar organization in Denver, Colo., a little over a year ago. Both "creations" were not the necessary result of economic conditions, but the work of a few men who were anxious to get back at Gompers and other "leaders." Socialist resolutions cannot hide these facts.

* * * *

Shall we ask the trade unions to indorse the Socialist Party?

No, decidedly no. We should never ask any union to indorse the Socialist Party. The American Labor Union convention indorsed the Socialist Party. Many Socialists throughout the country acted as if the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth would be inaugurated in November, 1904, with headquarters somewhere in the Rocky Mountains. Since then we have had an election in Colorado. You know the result. The Frenchman would call it *"Un blamage pour le Socialisme!"*

As Socialist members of the trade union movement we must insist that the unions come down to the fundamental principles of the labor movement:

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1. Labor creates all values.
2. Labor is entitled to all it creates.
3. Labor must devise ways and means to get into possession of its full products.

These questions must and will be discussed in the trade union movement. Neither Sam Gompers nor anyone else can prevent it. These are trade union questions. Socialism gives the solution to all of them. The very moment these points become clear in the minds of the union men we have gained our point. Socialism then becomes the philosophy of the union movement.

At the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. the Socialists did not ask for the indorsement of the Socialist Party. They asked for the discussion and indorsement of fundamental principles of the union movement and for the discussion and indorsement of ways and means to realize these principles. They did not ask the A. F. of L. convention to reorganize into a political party, but to remind the millions of union men throughout this country of their most sacred duty as wage workers and citizens and to co-operate politically on the same independent working class lines as pointed out by the Socialist Party.

St. Louis, March 19, 1904. G. A. HOEHN.

The May Convention.

I submit the following suggestions for the consideration of the delegates:

As every officer of the party is subject to removal by referendum, let the term of the members of the national committee be four years. Abolish the quorum. Let the members of the national committee select an executive committee of nine from its members. Vacancies to be filled by national committee. New member of executive committee not necessarily selected from state of preceding member.

Abolish the local quorum. It is useless and might become dangerous.

Increase salary of national secretary to twelve hundred dollars a year.

Abolish state autonomy. Highly centralized organic union is the spirit of social progress—of Socialism. Federation is liberalistic, anarchistic, capitalistic.

The headquarters shall be located at Indianapolis, Indiana, until changed by referendum.

The best control and regulation of Socialist agitators in the lecture field is the party press, and the rapidly increasing intelligence of the proletariat. Official interference, unless imperatively demanded, does not commend itself to me at present. These

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conclusions are sustained by a very limited experience as lecturer and as listener. Other comrades' opinions and reasonings might cause me to change my present opinion.

Don't like the municipal committee idea. As our first power, and therefore first conflict with the established political order, will be municipal, I agree with Comrade Simons that our municipal policy is the largest immediate practical question that confronts us. I think our municipal policy should be included in our platforms, stated as broadly as will give it any meaning. I emphatically do not mean that it should contain any demands, immediate or remote, but a statement of the Socialist policy when it has obtained municipal powers.

Municipal plank suggested:

The Socialist party when in control of municipal government under capitalism, will give all municipal offices and positions to members of the party; and will increase the number of these offices and positions as rapidly and largely as possible. It will abolish the contract system; do its own exploiting directly; rigidly enforce the eight-hour law and pay the highest market wages. It will raise the largest possible revenue by the present and improved systems of taxation, and will expend the same in such manner as may most largely and directly benefit the working class. It will acquire and develop all actual and potential "public utilities," and will sell their products at the cost of their production. All of these things can, as is well known, be lawfully done under the present system, and will be done whenever the working class elects Socialist municipal administrations.

No special resolution should be devoted to either the farmers or negroes. The farmers are not an economic class, but a technical industrial group. The negroes are not an economic, but an ethnic or racial group. The negro resolution adopted at Indianapolis should certainly be repealed. If any resolution on the negro question is ever to be adopted it should not be done until the subject has been fully explained and discussed by Socialists, for the purpose of discovering the right Socialist tactic. As is well known, this has never been done. A wrong tactic adopted now on this question may be so enormously detrimental to our cause that I pray you comrades let it await full and free discussion. Leave the question alone until we get to it.

I think the trade unions resolutions should be abolished and nothing further said on the subject by this convention. This conclusion is not only the result of the application of the scientific method to the subject, but is, I think, verified by the facts of our own experience. I am unalterably opposed to including the present or any other "immediate demands" in this or any other Socialist platform. The sufficient reasons for this conclusion will,

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I am sure, be fully and ably presented by other comrades in these articles and on the floor of the convention.

The suggestion of the editor of this review, that we have an annual meeting of the members for the discussion of party policies, is heartily approved. The value of such meetings cannot be overestimated. I suggest next September as the time, Cincinnati as the place, and The First Annual Congress of the American Socialists as the name for the first meeting.

JOSEPH HORTON.

Nashville, Tenn.

The Dues System.

IN my humble judgment the dues system of revenue should be eliminated from practice by Socialists.

We Socialists of Utah have been considerably worried and blocked in our work because of dues. The well-settled portions of the east naturally benefit from the national organization. The mountainous region of the west is one of magnificent distances and national organizers could not economically get along. So Socialism developed through local literature, agents and organizers. I believe the rapid increase of Socialism in the west is partly due to the greater intelligence, zeal and sacrifice of westerners who are familiar with campaigns over stage routes and mountain passes. Since the national organization cannot spend much money to advantage in the west, why should not the western comrades spend some money at home before sending dues east?

The dues system is conducive to a private snap for incapable officers of the party. Had the revenue instead been derived from voluntary contributions, the incapable officers would have quickly been forced to resign and better officers taken the places and quickly restored the good will of Socialists.

The dues system separates the propaganda movement from the party organization. When for any cause comrades have not funds enough to pay dues and till the local field at the same time they have to neglect one thing or the other. If they send too much dues away, they neglect the local propaganda work and the national organization is loser after all, because represented by a few members who fail to propagate in the locality.

The dues system makes it necessary to keep more books and to keep account with members in arrears. A voluntary system would be better.

The dues system is too expensive. It separates the family, since all persons added to membership from a family means an extra expense to the household.

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When a local in an "unorganized state" pays ten cents national dues, the local dues can be no less than twenty-five cents, because supplies and hall rent are to be provided for. If in addition local propaganda has to be done from receipts of dues alone, it is clear that local dues must be fifty cents per month. How can all members of a family then attend as members of the party? How can a local keep the incapable in good standing?

It may be said that the dues system is all right, since it places control in the hands of experienced Socialists. This necessity is passing away, because of the greater than ever diffused knowledge of Socialistic principles. But, did we ever hear of beginners being anything but welcome in the party?

The dues system keeps the timid and loosely connected from holding membership. They might, if allowed to be members for a penny, gradually become more Socialistic, and, seeing the needs of the party, increase their support. Who shall judge if a good Socialist may not have good private reason for not financially supporting the movement one year or more? Sometimes a local is lapsed as a paying organization of the party. If such a local cannot afford to pay the full amount of dues, you might see them give a little less if voluntary, and something would be got out of it.

The advocates of dues system want to imitate trade unions. They ought to know that union and lodge membership is a luxury to many poor Socialists. Many Socialists hold lodge memberships and cannot double their outlays. The scope of the Socialist party is not so expensive and we do not want to compete in the field of those organizations.

I think most of the Socialists will do something when enlightened. Any person out of cash should look upon a dollar a month for the cause of labor's sinking fund as one of the necessaries of life. When pay day comes labor's debt should be paid along with the grocery bills.

If the Socialist philosophy is not attractive as a voluntary proposition, a close corporation will not make it so. I think I am well within reasonable bounds when I say that nine-tenths of the propaganda for Socialism has been accomplished without a dues system, so that the extreme authoritarians have little indeed to boast of after all.

The greatest curse of a top-heavy movement is the loss of individuality. If nine-tenths of the money is spent locally, it means that local comrades get self culture. Reverse and give the biggest portion to national headquarters and you will see nothing but local nonentities. Surely we do not want to imitate the pure and simplers who send dues promptly, but have nothing of locally diffused intelligence to show for their money. Too bad for the vanity of the leaders that they cannot have all our

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money and know the local needs some thousand miles away as well as local comrades! Too bad that they cannot "control" "the propaganda" which is growing over the heads of small intellectual barriers!

* * *

Another close corporation method is the law of expulsion of members. It seems too bad. If a member cannot be controlled in the organization, how is he getting better on the outside. I suppose they cannot be chased off the earth, even if the party wins. Would it not be better, in case of individual inconsistency, that a committee issue a public proclamation to read something as follows: "Comrade Nonentity is a member of the Socialist organization and yet going astray by professing to believe Socialism and aiding Democrats and Republicans at the same time. The comrade mentioned is a candidate on the mixed ticket and you are hereby cautioned to vote for the straight Socialist candidate in opposition to fusion." Fraternally yours,

PETER JOHNSON.

Murray, Utah.

Suggestions for Organization.

IN contributing my share to this symposium, I shall leave the questions of platform and party policy to other comrades and confine myself to suggestions concerning the government of the party organization.

The Socialist Party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense so that the best and most permanent results can be attained.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the party

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at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy, the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the position they hold, that the officials of a state organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against the representatives or members of one state organization interfering with or usurping the duties and rights of other state organizations and their members. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states, except where agreement is specifically made with other state organizations. The qualifications for obtaining and holding membership in all states should be made as uniform as possible, so that members should enjoy the same rights and privileges everywhere. A national party referendum could then be taken with more certainty that the will of the actual dues-paying membership would be expressed. A system of transferring membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

The basis of representation upon the National Committee, should that body be retained, must be set forth clearly and explicity. The duties of the committee and the relation of the National Secretary to the committee should be more definitely outlined. The present method of transacting business is cumbersome and causes unnecessary work and friction. The relations of the National Secretary and the National Committee should be so adjusted that his work can be simplified and his time devoted mostly to the development and necessities of the organization. He should be chosen by referendum of the party membership, and not be responsible to a committee for his election. Certain qualifications should attach to the selection of national committeemen.

Precautions should be taken against the abuse or misuse of the referendum. The growth of the organization makes it necessary that the power to initiate should be restricted, and that propositions be limited in length. A law should be in force a given period before another law upon the same subject can be submitted to a referendum.

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The present system of routing interstate lecturers and organizers loses its effectiveness through lack of definite agreement or understanding between the national headquarters and the various state organizations upon the method of arranging dates with locals. A uniform system should be agreed upon, which will permit of the best results at a minimum expenditure of labor, time and money.

It is essential that the membership be kept fully informed upon the actions of party officials and party affairs generally. The space in our press is too limited to admit of publishing all this information, which is of more or less importance. I believe the time has come when a monthly bulletin can be issued in printed form, this bulletin to be devoid of editorial matter and devoted entirely to financial, National Committee, organizers' and other reports, and the numerous details of party activity. This bulletin could be printed in quantities sufficient to reach every member.

With the further development and growth of the different state organizations there will gradually be less need of national organizers, but the present method of selecting these is not satisfactory. Certain qualifications should be required of applicants, such as length of party service, experience, knowledge of Socialism and details of organization, etc.

In order to avoid the recurrence of the danger of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization be initiated.

Definite steps will have to be taken by the convention regarding the organization of the foreign-speaking workers into the party. The question whether these can be more effectively united into separate autonomous federations affiliated with the national organization, or into party locals and branches direct, will probably be presented, and as it is necessary that these workers be brought into line with the party this question may be one of the most important to be dealt with by the convention. We should be able to reach some agreement with the active foreign-speaking comrades by which their services can be utilized with satisfaction to themselves and benefit to the party organzation.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

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Farmers and Socialism.

FOR the first time in the history of the American Socialist movement, its national convention will be fairly representative of the various elements which make up the exploited class of our population. Every state and territory in the union has now one or more locals paying dues to the national, state or territorial organizations. This will assure us a convention made up of delegates from shop, mine, office, factory and farm, and at least would seem to carry with it the assurance that our declaration of principles and purposes will be broad enough to cover the whole industrial class. It goes without saying that there will be differences of opinion, sharp antagonisms, discussions galore, and that out of it all will come a clearer statement of the position of the party on the questions which confront us. I do not care to discuss all of the propositions submitted, and will confine my opinion to one or two. Being a farmer, the attitude of the convention toward my wing of the industrial class appeals to me more strongly than anything else. I shall favor with earnestness such a definition of our position as will include the farmer in our program. He belongs to and is a part of the working class, but he is not a proletarian, and the word by no stretch of the imagination can be made to include him. We are not, however, dealing with dictionaries, but with capitalism, and the capitalist process includes the farmer in its list of victims, and has directed as much of its attention to his exploitation as to the strictly wage working class. The method is different, but the process is none the less complete.

On the broad ground of revolutionary principles, the conquest of political power by the working class through a political party built along class lines, with which to abolish the capitalist system and establish the co-operative commonwealth, we have a declaration sufficient to include the exploited of farm or factory. If we are to stop here, we need nothing more in the way of defining our attitude toward the trade unionist, the negro, or the farmer. Such a declaration is all inclusive, and in the early period of the movement nothing more was needed. We have, however, passed the first stage of our growth, and have reached the point where the utopian must come down out of the skies and the "predestination" Socialist face immediate details. We are beginning to capture municipalities, and this brings up the question of what may a Socialist administration do in a city or town whose citizens are limited in what they may or may not do by the state legislatures? Usually these governmental subdivisions are limited by charters, differing in the several states

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and territories. Questions of municipal ownership of light, gas, water, abolition of the contract system, hours of labor, conduct of schools, taxation, etc., etc., confront a Socialist municipal administration, and in my judgment should not enter into or become a part of a National Socialist platform, but should be left to a municipal committee, whose function shall be to examine the laws of the different states and territories, determine what it is possible to do, and thus outline a working program for something like uniform action. When Socialist administrations assume control of cities and towns they become employers of labor, and here we touch the question of union and nonunion labor, what use we will make of police powers in strikes, with all of which we must deal. As we enter the southern field we meet the race question, and are thus compelled to define our attitude toward the negro. In like manner, as we invade the rural districts we are confronted with the "farmer question," and we are just as surely compelled to define ourselves here as with the other. I can add to the discussion on the subject only by giving my own personal views, which I submit. I hold that the farmer is being left in possession of the soil by the capitalist class because he can be more exploited as owner or occupant than as direct wage employe. Each farmer produces in competition with every other farmer, and the capitalist class are thus able to keep prices at the point where they return but a scant wage to the producer for his year's work. This reduction of the farmer to the wage basis is accomplished through the capitalist ownership of the machinery of finishing the production and distribution of the farmer's commodities. As a class the farmers can get no relief till this entire machinery is transferred from private to public operation, and as this machinery includes the railroads, packing houses, cotton and woolen mills, etc., etc., it follows that at the point where the wage workers want to take over this machinery to be publicly owned and democratically managed the farmer is equally interested, and the two interests unite. Now this applies to the farmers as a class, whether they be tenants or owners. All that I have written on this question has been along the line of endeavoring to interest the farmer in the struggle of the wage worker, assuring him that only through the emancipation of the wage worker can he—the farmer—hope for any relief whatever. The rural population may be divided into wage workers (farm hands), tenants, mortgaged farmers and farm owners, large and small. I doubt if there will ever be an industrial organization of farm hands, for their ranks are thinning. Rent is the most popular and profitable means of exploitation on the farm, and it is possible, I believe probable, that the tenants will ultimately organize against landlordism, for the latter is increasing rapidly. The present tendency of landlordism is not toward enlarging the unit of the farm, but toward subdi-

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vision. When the industrial struggle of the tenant comes against the landlord master, and it will soon be here, we will find material for the rural local in abundance. Again, however, must the poor tenant wait for state and national success of the Socialist party before his condition can be relieved, and it is very doubtful if any relief can be reached short of the complete overthrow of capitalism. With Socialist success in a township or county will come the administration of public work, but it is of small importance. With success in capturing a state will come some benefit, through public ownership of telephones, electric railroads and similar utilities, but again these things belong with the states, and ought not to be placed in a national declaration. In my judgment all that the National Convention ought to do on the farmer question is to include the farmer in the definition of the working class, and that is all we farmers will at present ask. We certainly do not want a farmer's program for national action, for we have none to offer. Just hang out the "latch string" to us, make us welcome, and we will be content to rally round the proletarian standard.

A. W. RICKER.

Times Bring Change.

TIMES bring change. This startling and sage thought occurs to me whenever I think of the recent mutations in the ideas about social uniformity and variety.

There was a time, and that not very long ago, when it was a common belief among the Socialists that the real struggle between capitalism and Socialism will be for the control of the powers of the state vested in the federal government. And since we, Socialists, never doubt that victory will be ours and that we will finally capture the federal government, it was to our strategical advantage to localize and centralize the powers of state in the federal government to the highest degree. Added to this may be the theory which persists at this day among Socialists that higher social organization means more uniformity and centralization. For this reason we took at a discount mere state offices and viewed with contemptuous condescension the municipal functions and emoluments. The pretensions to sovereignty of the state and even the home rule aspirations of the municipalities were scouted as sentimental and reactionary. Were the powers of government to be stored away in all sorts of out of the way, obscure corners of the land, where we would have to search for them with compass and candle? The idea of scattering the governmental functions all over the country among the vast number of microscopic corporate bodies made us shrug our shoulders with impatience. Were we expected to currycomb the country for the pitiable dribbles of state power vested in capitalistic

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village, towns and burgs? Our own plan of rounding up the whole job lot of the powers of government in one big, federal heap was, certainly, the more scientific and in keeping with our theories; at least we thought so.

But the very first lessons in practical politics made the Socialists veer and tack. It is now safe to conclude that the Socialists will face about on this point. We are now agreed that the control of the federal government is a much more remote possibility for the Socialists than the control of a state or some municipalities. The Socialists may shortly capture many a municipality and even some states. But the capitalists, entrenched in the federal government, will continually make inroads into the powers secured by the Socialists. No doubt, as the municipalities will, one after another, come under the control of the Socialists, the state governments will curtail their powers and functions, and as the state governments will fall into the hands of the Socialists, the federal government will arrogate to itself many of the powers which are now considered as peculiarly within the province of the state governments. Hence it may be safely assumed that the Socialist party will be compelled by the force of events to become a party of state rights and home rule. The tendency to augment the powers of the state government to the detriment of the municipality and of the federal government to the abridgment of the state rights is very pronounced even now. The functions of the New York Board of Aldermen is rapidly being reduced to issuing boot-blacking and fruit stand licenses. An assmblyman from the backwoods seated in Albany has more to say about the administration of the affairs of New York city than an alderman especially elected to look after these affairs. It is everywhere likewise, in a greater or smaller degree. They are agitating now for the enactment of a national corporation law, national insurance law, national divorce law and so on. They argue that what the country needs now is uniformity in its legislation. This after having poured out vials of wrath on the poor Socialists for the alleged Socialist plan of introducing everywhere uniform social regulation. There were not a few Socialist-killers who argued themselves into the belief that uniformity of social regulations is a peculiarly Socialist doctrine and thereupon discovered that variety is the spice of life and the very breath in the nostrils of civilization. The Socialists were roundly denounced by these variety-mongers as so many barbarians, who would attempt to cut all things after one pattern.

There were also quite a number of Socialists who accepted uniformity as a Socialist doctrine, but argued that uniformity is the essence of social harmony.

Now we are going to change places on this question with our friends, the capitalists, as they do in a game of preference.

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The capitalists are ever oftener discovering that the variety in the municipal enactments and state laws results in anarchy. Let times bring change. Variety, once the necessary ingredient of social progress, means now anarchy. The capitalists will not permit anarchy to grow rampant. Hence uniformity of social regulations and centralization of legislation will ensue. The Socialists, in virtue of their political position, will offer stubborn resistance to this regimentation of society. To a superficial observer the position may appear anomalous. But it is only as it should be. Dying social forms must grow rigid and petrified. The new social forms will be as changeable, protean and all-containing as is nature itself. HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

Two Programs.

TWO reports should be made to the convention from the two committees created by the Indianapolis convention, one on a municipal program, the other on a farmers' program.

The delegates should consider both propositions as much as possible before the convention is called to order, for the reports of the committee will only serve as a basis to start the discussion of the respective subjects.

The proletarian character of the American cities, although with very limited authority, furnish an opportunity for a constructive program, vast, far-reaching and comprehensive.

In line with economic evolution, the political conquest of the working class will first take place within the cities. A third of the nation's population are now in towns of over 8,000 inhabitants, and by 1920 there will be (with the present increase) over 10,000,000 more population in the cities than in the country. The rapid increase of the Socialist vote throughout the country at any moment may place us in possession of cities of more than minor importance, with all the grave responsibilities which that would entail. The first administrations of Socialists will contribute greatly to retard or enhance the party strength and therefore are of extreme importance. We may analyze capitalism, academically declare what we propose, but to constructively assume a tangible, practical position is quite a different thing, and that such a constructive policy may receive the full and intelligent support of the party membership, necessitates agitation along lines comparatively new.

The impossibility of the immediate transformation of the small privately owned farms into government property operated upon a vast well-organized scale is pretty well recognized by all comrades. Intermediate to our ultimate aim the Socialists should

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take a position which will assist the farmer proletariat (small landholder), free him from the warehouse, grain elevator and packing-house exploiters, and a program should be adopted applicable to the necessities of farmers, not as a sop, but as an essential step or method leading by the most direct route to complete collectivism.

In my judgment, these are the two great problems of our party today, and a proper solution will result in a coheisve constructive tendency in the Socialist Party and movement in America.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

No Official National Organizers Wanted.

AS TO the matter of municipal programs, it seems to me from what I find in various parts of the country that the party should give some very careful attention to this matter. In many places I find the comrades puzzling over this matter, not knowing what to do; some perplexed by the thought that we cannot do anything. As has been clearly shown by the Socialists in European municipalities, there are many things we can do. The work of the committee appointed by the Indianapolis convention on suggested lines of municipal activity should be continued. Their report should be revised carefully and sent out again. Some such pamphlet as "Socialists in French Municipalities," which might be revised and improved, should be widely distributed as a matter of instruction to our comrades who are eager to learn on these lines.

I do not think that there should be any effort to force the municipal programs into uniformity. But I do feel that we must go before the people of the cities with an intelligent working program. A mere jumble of phrases, dealing in generalities and susceptible of various and ambiguous interpretations, will not suffice. We must be able to present some kind of a reasonable and definite working program.

(2) As to Socialist speakers, it seems to me that we should give them the utmost freedom possible. I think the way to control them is simply not to engage them if they don't talk Socialism. And I cannot see the need of anything more than that. Official censorship and unofficial heresy hunting will only make trouble.

The official endorsement, and official pay of official organizers, and the accumulation of a fund in the hands of the central office, as we have it now, are almost certain to lead to dissatisfaction, possibly to favoritism, or the suspicion of it. These are, perhaps, necessary evils, but it has occurred to me that they might be minimized by turning more of the work over to the

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state committees, and giving the states a larger proportion of the dues they raise to be expended in their own state.

(3) As to our attitude towards farmers, I do not see that anytyhing more is needed or desirable in the propaganda work among the agricultural workers, or small farmers, than a reasonable interpretation of scientific Socialism. If there is need of something to make a reasonable interpretation more general some resolution expressing our view of the application of the privilege of economic determinism in making the interests of the small farmers more and more parallel with those of the wage-earners should be passed. The greatest value of such a resolution, perhaps, would be in clearing the minds of our workers on the matter. I certainly would not favor any modification of our program for the sake of attracting farmers. And what is more, I don't see that it is needed. CARL D. THOMPSON.

Election of Socialists Not Desired at Present.

WHAT changes do you think are necessary in the party organization?

Practically none. The *forms* of organization count little. If the *spirit* of Socialism is present, the mere forms will adapt themselves to the needs of the growing body. As we need changes, they will be demanded and made. The great thing now is to educate the wage workers, create in them an intelligent class consciousness, awake them to action and then organization will follow.

One point in general as to organization: Whatever changes are made should be in the direction of democracy and against all centralization of power. We are not only Socialists, but democratic Socialists.

For this reason, a central party organ would be dangerous, placing prestige and undue influence in the National Committee or National Board of Control.

For this reason, also, changes are to be commended which will safeguard Referendum votes, and explicitly define the methods of taking same. Too often now a central committee is able to manipulate the party will as expressed in the Referendums. The Socialist Party is introducing the Referendum. It should introduce it right.

What, if any, action should be taken towards setting forth a working program for such members as may be elected to office within a capitalist government? Should such a program be attached to the platform, embodied in a separate and explanatory document, or entirely omitted?

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We are not in immediate danger of electing such officials, except in municipalities. In any case, it is more important that such officials be well grounded in the fundamental principles of Socialist economics than that they be supplied with a Procrustean bed of proper things to do, called a "working program."

"Whatever is to the interest of the working class, that I will do," is the one pledge of every Socialist nominee. If he is not intelligent enough to decide for himself what is to the interest of his class in any given conditions, he is not fit to be a Socialist nominee.

In my judgment, it is better that we do not win elections, even in municipalities, for some years to come. The majority of our membership are so raw in the Socialist army and so soaked with capitalist notions of politics and economics, that it will be better for us to pass through several campaigns of *education* before we win political campaigns. In fact, our political campaigns have their chief function for the present as *means of education.*

Have you any suggestion as to the methods of controlling those who represent the Socialist Party on the public platform?

Control them by controlling the *selection* of them. After a speaker is selected, he must be given freedom of expression. Here, again, it is all important that the fundamentals be understood. If a man is educated in the principles of scientific Socialism, his utterances will need no control. If he is not, no methods will control him. He is a ship without a rudder.

I can suggest no better way of selecting speakers than the present. Local and state committees must decide according to their best judgment. They will make mistakes and correct them. The final test will be the educated instinct of the comrade, which will not long tolerate any serious departure from proletarian principles.

What action, if any, should be taken towards securing uniformity of action by Socialsts elected to municipal positions?

Let our Municipal Committee's report be published, embracing a full discussion of this matter. This will serve as a helpful stimulus to such officials toward reaching Socialist decisions on all pending questions. But no "Rules and Regulations" for a Socialist legislator or executive when occupying a capitalist office! If the comrades are so deficient in judgment as to select and elect a "chump," they and the party ought to be punished by his blunders, and so learn better.

Should there be any special expression of our attitude towards the farmers or negroes? If so, what?

Yes, something as follows:

Resolved, That the negro wage slave is robbed of the greater part of his product, the same as the white wage slave, and the Socialist Party is his only hope of emancipation. We therefore

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welcome the negro vote as we do the vote of all wage slaves, without respect to color, sex or nationality, and we advocate active propaganda and organization among the negro population of the United States.

FARMER RESOLUTION.

Resolved, That the small farmer has no hope of deliverance from his present hard conditions except by uniting with the wage workers' political organization, the Socialist Party. The small farmer must recognize that the United States is no longer an agricultural but a manufacturing country, and that therefore the dominant, typical class is the class of wage workers, the one class that must save society. We call upon the small farmers to look beyond their own class, to recognize the supreme class struggle between capital and wage labor and to join hands with that class which alone can bring freedom from all economical bondage.

Should the present "trade union resolution" stand? If not, how should it be changed?

Yes, with an additional resolution, somewhat like this:

Resolved, That the trade unions at this moment stand at the parting of the ways. The capitalist class is making supreme efforts to capture them by spies and hired leaders, by flattery and negotiations, by insisting on the common interests of labor and capital, by alarmist appeals against Socialism and Socialist agitators.

On the other hand, the strategic moment has arrived for the Socialists to outmaneuver these capitalist tactics by making the most strenuous efforts to educate the trades unions in Socialist economics. We therefore reiterate our former resolution and call upon all comrades to join their respective unions with a view to saving them from capitalist control.

We urge our comrades to point out three things to their trades union brothers. (1) That the great combinations of capital in vast industries, embracing many trades, make it impossible for mere trade organizations to succeed as formerly and render it necessary for unions to be organized along industrial rather than trade lines. (2) That the growing power of concentrated capital renders even the best organized labor unions more and more impotent and must make it evident that only by united action on the political field can labor achieve any permanent benefit for itself. (3) That nothing short of the Socialist program, abolishing the wage system itself, will be of any use as a political demand.

HERMON F. TITUS,
Editor *The Socialist,* Seattle, Wash.

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More Socialism in the Platform, More Democracy in the Constitution.

IN reply to the invitation of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, I take the liberty to state my personal views on some matters of importance for our national convention.

PARTY ORGANIZATION.

The present plural vote of the national committeemen is as unfair as was the old system of one vote for each national committeeman regardless of the number of party members he represented. Under the old system, fifteen party members in Oklahoma had as much influence in the national committee as fifteen hundred party members in New York. The present plural vote remedies this defect. But it at the same time introduces a new defect which is fully as bad. In the old system, the minority did not count at all. In the new plural system, the minority vote is included in the representation of the states, but it is cast against the minority. Take it, for instance, that Illinois is entitled to fourteen votes in the national committee. All these fourteen votes are cast solidly for the wishes of the majority who elected the national committeeman; or, if he is not instructed by the majority, he votes on the question under consideration from his own point of view. In either case, he uses the votes of a certain number of party members contrary to their wishes. This is a gross injustice and must be remedied without delay.

One way out of this difficulty would be to elect two national committee members from each state entitled to more than one vote, one to be elected by the opportunist element, the other by the revolutionary element, and each to have in the national committee a number of votes proportional to the number of party members who elected them. I mention these two factions, because nearly all questions of party policy are approached from these two standpoints, and they would furnish the simplest and most permanent line of division. States that are only entitled to one vote in the national committee could not make use of this expedient, however. There would also be the difficulty of leaving still other elements unrepresented that belong neither to the opportunist nor to the Marxian element, as, for instance, the impossibilist element.

Another way out of the difficulty would be to abolish the national committee and national quorum entirely. Personally, I very much prefer this alternative. In my opinion, these two bodies have been more ornamental than useful, and their expenses might have been used to good effect in other work. All

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important questions must be settled by referendum, anyway, and for ordinary routine work, the national secretary and the state committees form a sufficient and far more representative organization. Let us dispense with all superfluous wheels in our party machinery. The simpler it is, the better it will express the will of the rank and file. Let the state committees assume the duties of their national committeeman. Let the national secretary publish his quarterly reports. And let a national convention perform the services of the national quorum and at the same time assign definite subjects to certain comrades, for discussion at such conventions, and we shall accomplish for better results at less cost to the national office than we do with the present form of organization.

PLATFORM.

I am in favor of a scientifically correct, yet clear and concise declaration of principles in place of the present platform. My reasons for this position I have stated in detail in the pamphlet "The Municipality from Capitalism to Socialism" and in the article "Shall We Revise Our Program Forward or Backward?" in the December, 1903, issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. No immediate demands, no special resolutions for trade unions, farmers, negroes, etc. The text of this declaration of principles can be so worded that it will fully cover those classes and emphasize the fact that the Socialist Party seeks to develop the political class struggle in the interest of all proletarians regardless of race, color, creed and occupation, whether organized or unorganized, whether in the store, the shop, the factory, the mine, the field, the office, the school, or the pulpit. It should be urged on the state organizations to make this declaration of principles their platform also in state and municipal campaigns, in place of the great variety of present platforms, many of them fearfully and wonderfully made. And if the next international congress should agree on a uniform international Socialist platform, I am in favor of adopting that platform in all campaigns, whether national, state, or municipal.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTIVITY OF SOCIALISTS FOR PUBLIC OFFICES.

A handbook for Socialists in public offices, making detailed suggestions for uniformity of action under the capitalist system, is indispensable. Each state might appoint a committee for drawing up an outline for the work of Socialists in state and municipal offices, and the national convention appoint a committee to draft suggestions for Socialist activity in Congress. The committee elected by the national convention might at the same time act as editor and compiler of the suggestions made by the states. This handbook would form the basis of our present-

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day activity in office, be a guide for speakers, and serve as a propaganda booklet. With the increasing experience of our successful candidates, the contents of this booklet would be augmented by the bills introduced by us and by summaries of the results obtained in the various public bodies.

PRESS BUREAU.

I favor relieving the national secretary of the burden of press bulletins and press reports. This work can be done to great advantage by a Socialist press bureau in charge of a competent editor. This bureau should receive copies of all correspondence passing between the national secretary and the national committee and quorum; or, if these are abolished, between the national secretary and the state committees. This correspondence should be summarized by the editor of the press bureau for publication in the Socialist press. The press bureau should also collect material for an official history of the American Socialist party, and become the nucleus for such official publications as the party may wish to issue from time to time. Finally, this press bureau might furnish suitable editorial matter and patent insides to the small local papers which the comrades in all parts of the country may succeed in enlisting on our side. This bureau, if properly managed, should be able to pay for itself in the course of a few years. Last, not least, this press bureau should accumulate a party library and archive in conection with the collection of material for a party history. Twenty-five cents from each dues-paying party member will set this bureau on its feet.

Incidentally, I take this opportunity to remark, that a permanent Socialist daily is a pressing necessity for the American Socialist movement. This should be a regular newspaper, similar to the metropolitan dailies, and edited from the Socialist point of view, with a department for party news and a page on scientific Socialism. This daily should find its way into every Socialist home in the United States and form one of the strongest propaganda means at our command. It would not have any official character, but be supported by the individual members, who should furnish the first means for its publication and form a stock company for this purpose. If each of the present dues-paying members of the party would at once devote $2, or as much as he or she can spare, to this purpose, the first number of this daily could be circulated at the coming national convention.

THE CONTROL OF SPEAKERS.

So long as the principle of state and local autonomy is recognized, the party has no means of preventing any local from engaging any free lance speaker they may like. But the national secretary might issue speakers' cards to those who place them-

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selves under the control of the national or state organizations, and make it known that only those are authorized to speak in the name of the party who carry such a card. This would enable the party to decline all responsibility for statements on Socialism made by free lance speakers. Each state committee might act as a board of examination for applicants for speaker's cards.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

An Official Guide for Candidates Needed.

QUESTION NO. 1—The party organization seems to work harmoniously on the whole, and perhaps should not be interefered with. The only thing I can suggest is that the machinery should be simplified wherever possible. In this respect I would suggest that the body known as the National Quorum should be investigated for the purpose of seeing whether it cannot be dispensed with. It seems to me that the National Committee and the National Secretary are in no particular need of such an intermediary. I confess that I am by no means an expert on organization, and only suggest this for the reason that I can see no particular use for this body, though I readily admit that I may be mistaken.

No. 2—By all means detach all "immediate demands," municipal programs, working programs, etc., from the National Platform. They do not belong there and are a source of constant confusion. A guide or manual for the direction of candidates that may be elected, should be issued under the auspices of the Party in pamphlet form. It should be very carefully prepared by the best intellects in the party and submitted to the membership. It would be well also to set forth that it is subject to change from time to time to suit new conditions; that it is in no sense to be considered as binding as the platform, but more in the nature of a general guide. It would be manifestly impossible to cover every point and provide a course of action for every case, where local and municipal conditions differ, and the knowledge of Socialism possessed by the various candidates diverges widely. But this does not hinder the Party from issuing a statement in general terms showing its position on these questions.

No. 3—For National Lecturers, a Board of Examiners composed of membership of National Committee. For local speakers a similar board composed of the City Central Committee in places where there are more than one local. In single locals, the local itself. The examination should cover the fundamental principles of Socialism as an imperative qualification of the applicant, who should also be required to show his abil-

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ity to avoid the most general blunders of novices on the street rostrum. For the position of a National Lecturer, the test of course should be more thorough and more detailed. Speakers who merely "introduce the speaker" may be exempt.

No. 4—Same as No. 2. On general grounds I should say that uniformity in this respect can never be wholly attained, but every effort should be made to secure as much of it as is possible. We may, I think, make up our minds to a constant though diminishing friction on this point.

No. 5—The Negro Resolution should stand. The position of the party towards the farmer should most certainly be explained and publicly stated. It is of great importance at the present juncture. It should be drafted by a committee carefully selected for knowledge of agricultural economics and clear conception of the trend of capitalist development and social evolution, and then submitted to the membership. The method of the exploitation of the farmer through the ownership of the predominant means of production necessary in farming, in the hands of the capitalist class, should be succinctly stated, as a central feature of the resolution. The various consequences arising from this should be mentioned, the whole leading up to the identity of interests between the farmer and wage worker. It will be difficult to boil this down into the compass of a resolution, but it should be attempted, and revised or improved from time to time as the party knowledge increases.

No. 6—The "Trades Union Resolution" needs some small changes in the wording. Cut out the fulsome adjective regarding the waging of the class struggle. We have no need to make a virtue out of a necessity. In the clause, "We recognize that trades unions are by historical necessity," etc., substitute "were" for "are." It could easily be contended that such historical necessity is not altogether applicable to all unions that are being now organized. If such historical necessity holds good today, it makes ridiculous the statement that follows "that it is the duty of every trades unionist to realize" another "necessity," that of "independent political action on Socialist lines.

JOS. WANHOPE.

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A Proposed Platform.

THE Socialist Party, in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them to inaugurate the Co-Operative Commonwealth, under which the workers will receive the full product of their toil.

The most important principles embraced in the program of International Socialism are:

1. The public ownership of all the means of producing and distributing wealth.

2. The democratic control of the same by means of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents; and,

3. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

As the Co-Operative Commonwealth cannot be established in a day, the Socialist Party, on coming into power, will immediately take the following steps, which will finally lead to its complete establishment:

1. All monopolies, trusts and combines, as well as all other institutions conducted for the personal gain of the owner instead of for the common good, will be taxed and the funds thus obtained will be used in establishing a sytem of public industries which will be the starting point of the great "Public Trust," which will drive private business to the wall in the same way and by somewhat the same means as the trust is driving the small business man to the wall.

2. State and national insurance for the working people in case of disability or non-employment will be established, to prevent them from suffering during the reconstruction period.

3. State and municipal aid will be given in the education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, as the Socialist Party realizes that the strength of any nation depends on the education and general character of its citizens.

In bringing this condition of affairs to pass ,the Socialist Party will establish economic equality, by abolishing the economic classes, and in abolishing classes will bring to an end the terrible class struggle with all its sufferings and starvation of the workers, as well as the inconvenience to the consumers.

To me it seems that a platform on the style of the above should be adopted and that a manifesto, explaining it very briefly, should be prined with the platform.

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This manifesto should explain how machinery has taken the place of the hand tools and how it is used to the detriment of the worker. It should point out to the farmer how he, as well as the wage-earner, is exploited of the fruits of his labor. It should point out to the negro that the race question will be settled only when the class war is ended, and it should point out to the unions that, though they benefit the working class to a great extent, they can never expect to lead them to freedom by economic means alone.

This would leave the platform in a simple state and at the same time the people would be given an idea of how we stand, thus accomplishing what we wish. Fraternally,

Chico, Cal. H. B. WEAVER.

Convention Work.

WE ARE probably facing a break-up in the old parties. The Populist Party is disorganized and the Democratic Party seems to be in the throes of dissolution. Some think Roosevelt will split the Republican Party.

In any event, the time is approaching when a multitude of American voters, rebellious at existing economic conditions, and despairing of old parties, will be seeking new political alignment. Many of these will investigate the claims of the Socialist Party.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

These voters will be told that the Socialist movement rests upon the class struggle. The nature of the struggle must then be explained to them. Who are struggling and why?

The opinion exists widely that the under dog in this struggle is the wage earner exclusively, and that the Socialist movement is purely a wage earner's movement. A vast army, however, of those already discontented and those rapidly becoming so are not wage earners; they are tenants, small farmers, small business men and tradesmen, commercial travelers, professional men, etc.

All of these are exploited. Their compensation is a subsistence or little more and their children are candidates for jobs.

The normal political home of all these is the Socialist Party whose "aim is to organize the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party with the object of conquering the powers of government."

The Socialist Party, at its coming national convention, should make it transparently clear that, regardless of subordinate economic struggles between groups of the exploited

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class—farmers and their hands, corner grocers and their clerks, even husbands and their wives—the class struggle is that between the myriad, white, black, yellow or red, who do the world's work, of hand or brain, in overalls or store clothes, in furrow, shop, counting room or wherever; and the handful who intercept the fruits and accumulate the fortunes. The Socialist Party should leave no room for doubt that it wants the whole of the exploited producing class and not a mere section of it.

TERMINOLOGY.

Second, as to terminology. Our debt of gratitude to the mighty warriors for freedom who have battled for Socialism on European soil can never be paid; but, were they with us, they would be the first to tell us that Americans must be reached through American channels. European phrases and modes of expression should be cut out of the vocabulary of American Socialism as relentlessly as Greek, Italian, and other foreign phrases were cut out of the English Department of Harvard University half a generation ago. Unless it would sign its own death warrant, Socialism in America must not even remotely suggest that it is an importation. Americans are proudly self-sufficient, and they will consciously borrow their politics from no foreign people on earth.

"SOCIALISTIC SLAVERY."

Third, as to "phalansteries," "bureaucracies," "industrial armies," "regimentation," etc.

The writer was kept out of the Socialist movement for years, and that after having waded through shoals of literature, because he believed that under Socialism every competent worker would be obliged to work for the public. Let us make it plain that we contemplate nothing of the sort. The producers must control, exploitation must end, toil must be rewarded, idleness punished and involuntary poverty abolished; the millionaire scum at the top and the tramp dregs at the bottom of the social sea must disappear; but individual liberty and initiative, so long as they avoid forms socially or individually hurtful, will be enlarged rather than diminished under Socialism. The extent to which Collectivism is to be carried will be determined by the voters as we go along, and the individual's option to work for the public or in some other way will be guaranteed.

THE LAND QUESTION.

Fourth, as to land. Do Socialists want all the land, city and country, agricultural and mineral, plain and mountain

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forest and grazing, business sites and residence sites, to be publicly owned and administered? If so, when do they expect to see this program carried out?

Yet land must not be used for purposes of explotation.

The solution is simple. All land the public want they will take over as fast as they want it. Land left, meanwhile, in private hands will be subjected to the ground-rent tax. That gives the public time to consider the complexities of the land question, but stops the stealing on every square inch, from ocean to ocean, from lakes to gulf and throughout the isles of the sea.

THE MONEY QUESTION.

Fifth, Socialist silence on the money question must be broken if the Socialists are to control America. Let us take the bull by the horns and do it now. We must have a medium of exchange. It must be divested of all exploitive features and it must do the work. Finally, it should harmonize with Socialist philosophy. We do not believe in making new systems. We believe in taking the systems which evolution has made ready to our hands and adapting them to our social needs.

The national banking system gives us the machinery almost complete. The coming central bank and branch banks will round it out. This system we must take over as we expect to take over the other permanent trusts; and we must utilize it for the public good rather than private profit. The volume of exchange medium we will regulate to meet the needs of society.

Whether we believe in bank notes, greenbacks or labor checks, all the essential requirements of either system are in this way met.

STEPS TOWARD THE GOAL.

Sixth and finally, how shall we attain Socialism? On this point there seems to exist much crudity of thought. Some Socialists seem still to scout political action; others, nominally accepting it, fight every practical political proposal. Can it be that the anarchism which Marx combated in Europe still lurks in the Socialist Party of America?

Are we agreed on a few fundamentals?

Socialism must be established by political action.

It cannot be established in spots; it must be universal or non-existent.

Yet some communities may be far in advance of others: New Zealand, e. g., distancing Turkey.

Socialism can be established nowhere until the producing classes secure control.

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Nor can it be established then until they understand what to do and how to do it.

In establishing Socialism in the U. S. national measures must be enacted in the Nation, state measures by the state and municipal measures by the municipality.

Little can be done by the Nation till the producers control House, Senate, Presidency and Supreme Court.

The producers cannot control the Senate until they first control a considerable group of states.

But when the Socialists carry a state the Socialist movement in America will face a crisis. The Socialists may fail to improve their opportunity. If so, they will discredit the movement throughout the country and, perhaps, retard it many years; or they may rise to the occasion and thus give to the movement a mighty impulse.

The American state is autonomous. In purely state affairs it is theoretically, and, in large measure, actually, as independent as is France or Holland.

An American State under Socialist control could go far toward establishing the co-operative commonwealth within its borders. It could put into practical effect almost all of the "immediate demands" of our national platform. In Kansas, e. g., it could establish popular government, including initiative, referendum, recall, woman suffrage and home rule for cities; provide employment, at trade union hours, wages and conditions, for its own unemployed if not for others; establish public industries and utilities, including electric car lines, telephones, coal mines, oil wells and refineries, gas wells, salt wells, and agriculture under the direction of its agricultural college and experiment station, selling the products to its own people at cost; it could enact and enforce income, inheritance, corporation and land-values taxation, insure its working people against lack of employment, sickness and want in old age, and provide a complete educational ladder for all its children from kindergarten to doctorate without a penny of charge to the individual.

Socialists would thus make a Socialist administration so popular as to insure its continuance and thus, in time, make the state a Mecca for the exploited of all other states whom it saw fit to admit. These other states, to hold their populations, would be driven to follow the example of Kansas. This, in a few years, would insure to the Socialists the U. S. Senate. Then when we secured the Presidency we would also have both houses of Congress. Next, by a law reorganizing the U. S. Supreme Court, we would obtain control of that body. Then, without stopping for "immediate demands," we could proceed to establish Socialism on a national scale. Finally,

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as Kansas by doing its duty became a Mecca for the exploited of the U. S., the U. S. itself, would, in turn, become a promised land for the exploited of the world and thus force the world to follow its example.

Here we have, in rough outline, the path to international Socialism, and every step in line with American tradition and constitutional habit. Can we agree on this program? If not, can some one suggest a better one?

THOMAS ELMER WILL.
President, American Socialist College; Secretary, Socialist Party of Kansas.

A Short Platform Wanted.

YOURS of February 22nd at hand and would say that in my opinion our platforms are much too long and go into far too many details. If I were drawing up a platform I would probably limit it to a declaration of a general demand for the co-operative commonwealth.

Our conventions waste hours of time over minor points in drawing up a platform and ten minutes after it adjourns everybody forgets all about the whole matter until we meet again at the convention the following year. As to a working program for such members as may be elected to office within the Capitalist government, I would say that the drawing up of any such program is so very difficult as it must meet different cases in different places that I would advise nothing of the sort be done. For instance, as a general proposition we would say that no franchise for a street railroad should be given to any private corporation, but that it should be held by the city and that any railroad to be built should be operated and owned by the city.

In some places this might be modified to suit public sentiment by allowing franchises to be given where the rate of fare would be fixed at three cents and the hours of labor at eight and the wages of employees at $3.00 a day. Such a compromise to certain Socialists would be a most traitorous act and to others would be the height of wisdom. In some western cities where the population is scarce and where a town might not be able to build a railroad at all, yet there is a great demand from all classes for such a railroad, if a Socialist in office should oppose the giving away of the franchise or even of the imposing of any such restrictions as indicated above which would prevent the building of the railroad, he would be denounced by every one as an enemy of the community, so I say it is hard in a Capitalist world which is full of contradictions for an elected Socialist to follow any course laid down

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by the Socialist convention which will adequately meet every situation.

It is well known that I am not in any sense an opportunist in the sense that I would favor measures which tend to gradually bring in Socialism, but I am decidedly an opportunist when it comes to making propaganda. I do not believe in Socialists doing anything which so ostracises them from the community in which they live that they are not able to get an audience. I believe that we should have Socialism at once and I think we can and will have it in a comparatively short time. I think the great mission of the Socialist is to get before the public and let them know what we want and why we are going to get it. Everything which prevents the Socialist getting the ear of the public is so much the worse for Socialism.

I should say nothing at all as to the farmer. It is too complicated a problem. I think the farmer, when the next depression in agriculture comes, is going to be very ripe for our propaganda as he will be ripe on revolutionary lines and not on opportunist lines.

As for the negro, I think the less slush and slop we Socialists indulge in about our red, white, black and yellow brothers the better. Failthfully yours. GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

Some General Suggestions.

AN EX-SLAVE HOLDER ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

In fulfillment of a duty which I feel I owe to the colored race, the Socialist Party, Comrade Debs and Comrade Untermann, I add my hearty approval to their articles as given in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. To me it seems that Comrade Untermann's suggestion as to a universal socialist programme will prove the life of our party and will greatly facilitate our action.

As to Debs, he voices my sentiment on the negro question verbatim, and I have reason to believe that he has extracted the Tom Dixon rot from the head of the "staunch socialist."

I speak from my own knowledge of our negroes. I was born inside of the same enclosed yard that they were born in, nursed and cared for by the older ones while a helpless kid; fought and scratched with them as we grew up, until the law of man (not God's, as I was taught) made me their cruel master. Then I proved cruel, and I beat them without cause, believing I was their superior. But time proved, to their eternal credit, and to my eternal disgrace, and to the eternal shame of my race, that the negro was our superior.

Now for facts as I know them. I left a colored woman with my wife to protect and care for her at a time when this section was alternately occupied by one army and then the other. This woman, on being told that some white women had been insulted by a soldier—this very negro woman—went to my wife with a huge butcher knife in her hand, saying to her: "Miss Samantha, if any man dares to insult you while Marse Jo is gone, I'll be durned if I don't wash my hands in his blood; I don't care

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a durn whether he be Reb or Yank." Show me, if you can, such devotion among the white race. Mark you, I was then away from home fighting to keep her and her race in this miserable state of bondage.

Again, in the year 1863, my brother and I were fed by a man that our father had raised and on whose back we had placed stripes. This very man, Jerry, risked being punished to bring to us in camp food such as we had been strangers to since we had left our homes. Think of this, all you nigger haters! Jerry paid us in kindness for our cruelty.

Again, do you not know that during the war, if the negroes had been what you suppose and as mean as I acknowledge I was at that time, they would have taken advantage of our absence and could have massacred every woman, child and aged man in the thirteen southern states. All, all was at their mercy. Did they seek retaliation? No. But to my certain knowledge they continued to protect and care for the mistress and little ones.

Yes, thank God, I, like Debs, can say that my sympathy and praise goes out to the colored man, and I have no apology to make to any living man or dead. I thank God, that if I knew this man Jerry, that fed my brother and me, was still living that I would willingly walk through more mud and rain to shake his old black hand than all the Clevelands, Roosevelts and such like on earth. Mark you, this man Jerry was sold a short time before the war began, and at the time he was doing this generous act of kindness to my brother and me he was owned by ex-Governor Neel S. Brown.

I am determined to defend the colored race's political and economic rights in spite of all the "critics" in and out of Hades. As to their social right, I will say that I would by far rather be associated with a nigger that would feed me than with a white man that would starve me.

Tullahoma, Tenn. JO. H. BAXTER.

NO DUES.

I would suggest the following for the consideration of the party: Discontinue the stamp system, and substitute a system similar to the one adopted by the American Labor Union recently; that is, the monthly card system.

For instance, the national secretary would have printed for each state a number of membership cards, being numbered consecutively. These would be turned over to the state secretaries, who would be held responsible for them; they in turn would send a certain number to the local secretaries, holding them responsible for these cards.

I believe that the collection of dues would be easier under such a system than what it is at the present time; it of course would also be a greater expense.

This system would require but very little accounting.

Fraternally, JOHN HAGEL.

Oklahoma City, O. T.

SOME RESOLUTIONS.

I favor the removal of the immediate demands from our platform, and the incorporation of all demands agreed upon in a set of resolutions.

And I want to say, too, in support of my proffered resolutions, that the first will place our party in an impregnable position to the vicious assaults by the church; and I wish I might urge this particularly, because of the fact that our convention convenes on Sunday, as in the campaign we could then point out that, not only is Jesus the Lord of the Sabbath, but also the churches make a regular practice of holding their convention meetings on Sunday. In further contention for the propriety of this resolution, let me ask that we turn to the sixth chapter of Matthew and read the fifteen concluding verses of that chapter, and we will find that these fifteen verses contain not only the law, the whole law, which Jesus laid

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down on which to found his kingdom, but we find that these verses hold not only the fundamental basis but the whole policy of socialism; because, when the full sense and meaning contained therein is all summed up in small compass, it cannot be seen otherwise than that this law decrees that all mankind were not only created equal but we are here commanded to remain, permanently, on an exactly equal basis of rights.

The second resolve, it is believed, will prove a most excellent vote getter, and will be undeniable evidence that we socialists not only preach and teach, but believe and want to practice an exact equality of human rights.

Resolved, That the Socialist Party insists upon a government by strict philosophy of Jesus." That "socialism is the enemy of capitalism," which clearly Jesus also was, and that "the church, both Catholic and Protestant, in its support of modern capitalism, antagonizes the political program of the working class, and sets itself at variance with" and in open hostility to Jesus and the law He has laid down on which to found His kingdom; and

Resolved, Shat the Socialist Party insists upon a government by strict majority rule; therefore we demand that an initiative and referendum law be enacted in such form as to make the will and wish of the majority as expressed at the ballot box the supreme and sovereign law and court of last resort; and

Resolved, That the Socialist Party regards any increase in the present salary of the president of the United States as uncalled for and unjust, and that it would be more propitious to diminish the said official's salary to $25,000 per annum rather than increase the same at all.

Muscatine, Iowa. CORWIN LESLEY.

CONSTRUCTION, NOT DENUNCIATION NEEDED.

Comrades:—A half century of observation and experience confirms the writer in the opinion that the platform of the Socialist party should be directed to tearing down the opposition and building up a better system. Leave out all or as much reference to present conditions of class to be benefited as possible.

Every intelligent and conscious person so to be benefited realizes his condition without being constantly reminded of it.

I think that keeping their condition before them in the platform (I know this to be my condition) has a tendency to repel rather than to draw towards the movement. I do not like to have my misfortunes paraded before me at every step. I prefer to look hopefully to the future. I think that is the general disposition. Socialist literature should be devoted largely to contemplation and planning for the socialist government. The hope for better things in the future is inherent in man. It prevents self-destruction many times.

It does not seem that Socialism should indorse or meddle with any movement or organization, whatever, except Socialism. It offends some who belong to the Socialist movement otherwise. There are many in sympathy with the movement who have nothing in common with trades unionism. Many laudable movements have been spoiled by trying to ride too many horses, seeking to straddle too many mounts. Socialism wants nothing else. Leave out all reference to trade unionism. It is not Socialism. But a small part of Socialists are trade unionists. Trade unionism is all right battling with present conditions, but has no part or parcel in Socialism. I inclose structure for platform. Fraternally,

A. L. PURDY.

Wellsville, N. Y.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

I would like to see incorporated in the next platform of the Socialist party a declaration in substance as follows: "We declare religion to be

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a private matter,'' taking our stand neither for or against any religion, church or sect whatsoever.

I believe that such a plank should be inserted for the following reasons:

First, that the Socialist party is an economic movement and not religious.

Second, that the party has enough to fight in capitalism at present.

Third, that if a religion or church be wrong, it is the province of infidelity, atheism, materialism, etc., to prove it so, and vice versa if the latter be in error, it is for the former to furnish the proof, and in neither case is it the work of a political or economical party.

Fourth, that while churchianity (not Christianity) has opposed all great social evolutions, yet when they have been established churchianity has readily adjusted itself thereto, and there is no reason to believe that it will be otherwise in regard to Socialism.

Fifth, that if we mean business and are really anxious for the co-operative commonwealth, we will gain our end quicker by concentrating our guns on capitalism alone, otherwise we will not only make another enemy and elicit their united fire, but will give them a good reason for opposing us, and thus increase their morale.

Sixth, if we accept battle and take up arms against churchianity we will not only gain members from that source much slower than at present, but will actually lose a large number of earnest class-conscious Socialists. I know this from positive assertions.

Seventh, by adopting such a plank we would not lose a single skeptic, nor elicit their antagonism, while it would take away the effective thunder from priest, preacher and layman.

Eighth, such action would be perfectly fair to all parties and would permit of all working for Socialism.

Ninth, such action is called for both from utterances from the pulpit and by a large class of Socialistic writers, who invariably take particular pains in their works on Socialism to attack the church, or fault, ridicule or snarl at its teachings.

E. L. RIGG.

Glenn's Ferry, Idaho.

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EDITORIAL

The National Convention.

The present number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is one of which we feel that the Socialist party of America may well be proud. It constitutes the most thorough attempt ever made by any political party to work out the details of its organization and policy in a democratic manner. The large number of contributions represent every phase of thought that will appear at the convention, and the wide circulation which this number will receive makes it certain that these opinions will have great influence in determining the work of the convention and the future policy of Socialism in America.

We shall not attempt to consider editorially all the questions that have arisen in the course of the discussion. It would appear that unfortunately one of the principal struggles of the convention will be over the question of "immediate demands." I say "unfortunate" because of the ridiculous insignificance of this question compared with many other problems concerning methods of propaganda and work that must be settled. Our opinion on this, which coincides with that of several of the contributors, has been often expressed before. We believe that some sort of an explanatory document should be issued for the guidance of such officials as may be elected to office on Socialist tickets. We *will* elect these officers during the next two or three years, whether we *wish* to or not, and it would be cowardly on our part to shirk the responsibility for such election. But such election does not give the individual elected any great amount of brains in excess of those he had before election. To permit him to use his own judgment as to what he shall do is to adopt the very unsocialistic doctrine that he is more capable of formulating a program that the entire party membership, including himself. To give the control over to a committee is only a triflingly less undemocratic. Either method would be much more dangerous than the adoption of a similar plan in our party administration which would give to the national secretary or to the national committee absolute power unrestricted by any constitution. Such a plan may be all right for democrats and republicans, or for the politicians who wish to practice the same tactics within the Socialist party. But for those who believe in democratic management and Socialist principles, such methods are out of consideration. At the same time we have no use for any attachment to our

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platform which will enable any one to claim that any change within capitalism constitutes socialism, or any part of socialism. For that reason we are now, as we were at the time when there were no more than half a dozen other persons with us, against "immediate demands" as a part of our platform.

The first offices which we will capture will be municipal ones, and, strange as it may seem, it is our opinion that one of the most important things for a NATIONAL convention to do will be to arrange for the directing of MUNICIPAL affairs. We give elsewhere in this number a summary of the work done by a convention of Socialist municipal councillors in France. This is done, not so much because of the suggestion for a municipal program which accompanies the report (since there is much in this which we oppose and little of it suited to America), as simply to show the methods by which the Socialists of that country are working out their plans for municipal administration.

On the question of internal organization of the party we believe that the following plan meets some of the objections which have been urged against our present method: Let each state elect as many national committeemen as it is entitled to under the system of proportional representation. These committeemen may, or may not, as the states choose, also act as a state committee. Let one member be chosen from each state who shall act as national committeeman when it is necessary to hold a meeting of the committee and who shall have but one vote. Insert a provision in the constitution that on the demand of any two committeemen at a meeting of the national committee any action taken at the meeting shall be referred to a referendum of the entire committee. Since 90 per cent of the business is done by referendum, taken by mail, it makes but little difference whether there be 45 or 500 members on the committee. This is one alternative. The other is to abolish the local quorum and national committee entirely and substitute the various state committees with the proviso that any action of the national secretary may be called in question and a referendum of the state committees initiated by any state so desiring. It seems to us that the main object should be the concentration of administration and the decentralization of authority. Bearing these principles in view the details are of less importance.

Concerning farmers, negroes, trade unions, etc., it seems to us that the national platform should simply be so framed as to include all the producers of wealth whose interests are in accordance with that of the modern proletariat, and if this is done, all special distinctions may be left out. This applies also to national, race or sex organizations. The national organization should be made broad enough to include all those accepting the program and principles of Socialism, and every effort to divide Socialists within those lines should be frowned upon. The organization of Italians, Poles, Bohemians, Germans, negroes, or of women as separate organizations is something which cannot but be fraught with the possibility of harm and promises but little good. Surely if our solidarity cannot be expressed in our organization it never can remain anything but a dream.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

After months of negotiations the bituminous miners have voted to accept a reduction of 5½ per cent in wages, this being a compromise on the demands of the operators from a 12 per cent cut, and, therefore, all danger of a strike in the soft coal fields is over. That the rank and file were opposed to accepting a decrease in wages and only voted to come to the operators' terms at the earnest request of the national officers is generally understood. In the address to the members, when the referendum vote was called for, they were informed that the organization was in no position to conduct a national strike under present industrial conditions, and that to throw down their tools and fight the operators at this time would merely invite disaster and ruin. During the joint conventions the miners' officials had laid especial stress upon the fact that the operators are receiving a higher price for coal than ever before, and this fact, as well as the prevailing high living rates, did not warrant a decrease in wages at this time. The operators were further given to understand that a cut in wages meant a lessened purchasing power, which in time would result in overproduction, industrial stagnation and hard times and misery. So, with or without a strike, we are in for a season of economic depression and its train of evils. The disadvantages of which the miners complained before agreeing to the reduction are still here. The living rates are not only not decreasing, but actually increasing, and the plea of the operators for a lower wage scale in order that they might be enabled to sell coal cheaper and stimulate consumption was so much buncombe, and it is questionable whether the operators will lower prices and the miners secure the steady work which they have been promised for making the sacrifice. Incidentally the "fool dinner pail" has had a couple more holes knocked into it despite the loyalty of the vast majority of miners in sticking to the old parties, and the lines of the class struggle have become plainer. "I do not believe there is an irrepressible conflict between labor and capital," is a favorite expression of John Mitchell, but what his belief may be and what actually is don't "jibe" just at present, although the miners' officials and the operators had their feet under the same table, looked each other in the eye and had a heart to heart talk. Just because some one may not believe the world is round doesn't follow that it is flat. The "irrepressible conflict" was here before Mitchell was born, and it will not stand still or disappear altogether because he commands. Whether it be through strikes and boycotts, or conciliation and negotiation, the conflict between labor and capital for higher wages on the one hand and higher profits on the other is irrepressible, and will so continue until the system, the cause, is removed by labor acquiring control of the governing power and using it to retain for itself the wealth, from which profits and capital come, produced by labor. While the miners may have lost in the industrial struggle they can strike to good advantage at the ballot box this fall by voting with the Socialist party. That party declares that the miners shall have as a "fair share" of the wealthy they produce, not a reduction of 5½ per cent or an

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increase of 10 or 20 per cent, but all the wealth they produce or its equivalent.

Since the miners have been forced to accept a lower wage rate—although never better organized than at present—many union officials, as well as the labor press, are beginning to wonder whether unbridled capitalism will attempt to make a clean sweep and compel the workers in other branches of industry to agree to a reduction. The miners are engaged in the industry upon which all others rest; they are the foundation; they are right down in nature's storehouse. Having consented to work for less wages, the miners opened the door to the conquering capitalists, and the latter will not be slow in taking advantage of the opportunity to show Brother Labor how to do "business." Much interest is taken in the probable action of the iron, steel and tin plate workers, who hold their annual convention in Cleveland next month. As has been stated in a former issue of the REVIEW, the United States Steel Corporation has given notice that a reduction in wages will be enforced when the present scale expires this summer, and that the unions will no longer be recognized, but the open shop principle will be introduced in all the trust plants. The iron and steel workers, judging from the discussion among the rank and file, are not inclined to accept the new terms that the trust magnates are aiming to dictate without a struggle, and it is a question whether the national officers will be able to influence the men to make the concessions demanded as easily as in the miners' case. Indeed, it is claimed that President Shaffer will lose his official head this year because he has not displayed sufficient firmness in dealing with the employers. Just who will be his successor it is difficult to determine, as there are a number of candidates in the race, and it is even rumored that Mahlon Garland, ex-president of the amalgamated association, is to resign his political job and again go to the head of the organization. Garland would be the candidate of the conservatives, who argue that he possesses the confidence of many influential iron and steel magnates, and, therefore, would be able to gain better conditions than the trust now offers.

In this connection it is worth noting that the National Civic Federation has again come into the public eye. That aggregation has been greatly strengthened by the acquisition of the brightest particular star in the industrial firmament. Mr. Andrew Carnegie will fill the late Senator Hanna's shoes. This was decided upon at a dinner given in New York recently by Mr. Oscar Straus in honor of the iron master, and the dispatches announced that "among those present" were James Duncan, W. D. Mahon, Mahlon Garland and several other "labor leaders." No capitalists were mentioned as being in attendance—just at this juncture they occupied a back seat. The fact that only "labor leaders" were named as feasting with Carnegie is significant, as is also the further fact that Mr. Theodore Shaffer announced in an interview that he would not sit at the same table with Mr. Mahlon Garland. The latter gentleman does not represent organized labor at present. He is busy "keeping politics out of the union" and playing the game himself, and, putting two and two together, it looks as though we are soon to witness another great "harmonizing" act—a regular Damon and Pythias performance—in which the suspected heavy villain, Carnegie, will turn out to be a real hero and rush to the center of the stage and save somebody or something. For several weeks before the New York dinner the capitalistic press bureaus were busy manufacturing a character for Mr. Carnegie. It was explained that if he had been in the country during the Homestead strike that struggle would never have proven a disaster for the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, and from which they have never recovered. But the poor man, unfortunately, was hunting and fishing in his Scotch preserves by day and dreaming of triumphant capitalism in Cluny Castle at night. There is no record that the telegraph and cable lines were all broken, and that he could not send a message to

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his wicked partners, Frick & Co. It is recorded, however, that he did reply to a message sent to Scotland to the effect that he would not interfere in the great Homestead strike, and from that day to this the Carnegie mills have been non-union and dicated wages in the iron and steel industry. From every point of view Carnegie is a valuable addition to the Civic Federation. He has so much money that he is compelled to give it away to build churches and libraries for fear of being crushed by a burden of cares. Therefore, like Senator Hanna, he can easily pay Secretary Easley's salary of $10,000 a year, as well as provide sumptuous offices and meet the drain of a private pay roll. And all for the sake of harmony and the glory of labor, Lord bless us! Let us hope and pray that Frick and Parry will also find room in the happy family.

The various national associations of employers and citizens' alliances continue to push their "open shop" campaign in a vigorous manner. The announcement of the iron and steel trust that unions will no longer be recogized has lent great encouragement to the Parryites, as also the declarations of metal trades bosses and building contractors in different sections of the country. The victory of the marble workers' bosses has been followed by a defeat of the typefounders by their employers and a lockout of the lithographers throughout the country. In Pittsburg the building trades lost their fight against the open shop policy, and struggles are on in New York, Cincinnati and many smaller places, with others threatening. Very properly capitalists are giving credit to President Roosevelt as being "the father of the open shop." The contractors of New York and Pennsylvania and in some parts of Ohio and Michigan have taken official cognizance of this fact and in eulogistic resolutions the president is praised for having enforced the open shop policy in the government printing office in the decision in the famous Miller case. Roosevelt's Anthracite Strike Commission also decided in favor of that principle, and United States Labor Commissioner Wright followed the precedent in rendering awards in cases in which he acted as umpire in the anthracite region. While President Roosevelt may give comfort to the Parryites and pretend to stand for "all the people," it is not likely that the thinking trade unionists of this country will disband their organizations and wax enthusiastic over Teddy and hail him as a new Savior. The unionists will continue to do business at the old stand, come what will, and will also learn to use their political power instead of voting it into the possession of their opponents. The lines of the class struggle are being more sharply drawn by the capitalists and their politicians this year than ever before, and there may be a strike at the ballot box next November that will be heard pretty well around the wor'd.

The Socialist party will undoubtedly be the only party that will go on record on the open shop proposition. As this number of the REVIEW will contain a symposium relating to questions that will probably come up at the national convention on the first of next month, I am of the opinion that the declaration regarding trade unions should be reaffirmed, with such additions that will make plain the hypocrisy of the open shop agitation, and the blame for its widespread publicity should be placed where it belongs. No doubt many other matters of interest to the membership and the working class generally will be discussed and acted upon, but few are more important at this time than the open shop issue. The life of union labor is largely at stake in this struggle, and we will not permit the surrender and disruption of organizations, industrial or political, without a fight to the finish.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A SOCIALIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

A daintily printed booklet bearing this title has just been published, and a copy will be mailed without charge to any one asking for it. It explains in full detail the plan of organization of the co-operative publishing house, and shows the personal and the general advantages of subscribing for its stock.

The publishing house is the property of 830 Socialists, none of whom draw dividends, but all whom have the privilege of buying an increasing variety of books at cost. They have voted to extend this privilege on equal terms to 4,000 more Socialists. The one important thing to accomplish now is to find the 4,000 subscribers to buy the stock. The money thus raised will put the work of the publishing house on a basis where it will not be dependent on the life of any one individual, but will grow with the growth of the Socialist movement.

If you are not a stockholder, send for one of the booklets and consider whether you cannot subscribe at once. If you are a stockholder, send us the names of others who are able to help in the same way.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE REVIEW—CLEARANCE SALE.

We have on hand a limited supply of back numbers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, including a few of every issue except that for September, 1900, which can be had only in the bound volume. Our supply of other issues is very unequal, and to close out quickly our surplus of those of which we have the most we will send to any address three copies, our selection, for 10 cents, and more at the same rate. For one dollar we will mail thirty different issues, no two alike. Larger orders will have to include duplicates. Please notice that where the purchaser specifies particular issues the price will be 10 cents a copy or $1 for twelve copies, with a discount of one-half to stockholders.

THE REVIEW FOR MAY.

The May number will contain a full report of the work of the convention of the Socialist party of America, including the platform, the resolutions adopted, and a summary of the most interesting discussions, together with

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brief sketches of the personalities of the candidates of the party for president and vice-president. This number will thus be of both historical and propaganda value. Orders for extra copies must be sent in at once, accompanied by the cash, since only enough copies can be printed to supply the probable demand. Price, 10 cents a copy; to locals that are not stockholders, 7 cents; to stockholders, 5 cents.

BOOKS BY DR. HALPHIDE.

While our co-operative company is making no new investment in the publication of any but Socialist books, its managers realize that most Socialists are interested in books of a general scientific character, and we therefore welcome the opportunity to give the benefits of co-operation on valuable books of this sort. Such an opportunity has lately offered in the case of two books by Dr. A. C. Halphide, of Chicago, entitled respectively "Mind and Body" and "The Psychic and Psychism." These books deal in a really scientific way, from a materialist viewpoint, with topics which are too often treated with a mixture of quackery and hysterical mysticism. "Mind and Body" deals with the phenomena of hypnotism, and includes simple, scientific directions for inducing the hypnotic state, which are of more practical value than the widely advertised courses of instruction for which large sums of money are charged. "The Psychic and Psychism" deals with the phenomena of clairvoyance, and offers a rational explanation for such of the alleged facts as are not pure humbug. Both books are well worth reading; they contain facts that are new to most physicians, while they are written in a style intelligible to the ordinary reader. The price of each book is one dollar, postage included, while our stockholders are entitled to the special rate of sixty cents by mail or fifty cents by express.

AMERICAN PAUPERISM AND THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

This book, by Isador Ladoff, which was first announced some months ago, and which has been somewhat delayed in the printing, is now ready. It is a book of unusually timely value for the campaign of 1904, considered both as an educational and a propaganda work. The author has put an immense deal of labor into an analysis of the census of 1900, and has brought to light a host of facts such as the capitalistic manipulators of census figures would have wished to keep concealed. The book constitutes one of the most powerful arguments for the support of the Socialist party of America that has yet been offered. One remark in passing may not be out of place. Comrade Ladoff's earlier work, "The Passing of Capitalism," was a collection of detached essays on various topics, some of which set forth the so-called Bernstein or opportunist view. The position of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW on this question is well known, and we do not wish to reopen the discussion here. We merely wish to correct a misapprehension in some quarters by pointing out that "American Pauperism" is in no sense an opportunist work, but deals with topics on which all Socialists are agreed, so that we can without hesitation recommend it for

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propaganda as well as for study. It is the ninth volume in the Standard Socialist Series, and is the largest book yet printed in the series, containing 246 pages. Price, 50 cents; to stockholders, 30 cents by mail or 25 cents by express.

LOW PRICED PROPAGANDA LEAFLETS.

In response to many requests, we have reprinted five popular propaganda leaflets, each containing four pages, the right size to slip into a letter, and offer them at the uniform cost price, to stockholders and non-stockholders alike, of 60 cents a thousand by mail and 30 cents a thousand by express at purchaser's expense. The titles are "Labor Politics" and "Compensation," by A. M. Simons, and "Who Are the Socialists?" "Socialism Defined by Socialists" and "Why Join the Socialist Party," by Charles H. Kerr. Each leaflet bears on the last page the words "You are invited to a Socialist meeting at ———," with a blank space underneath for stamping the time and place of meeting. For the convenience of comrades who are located where rubber stamps cannot be obtained convenintly, we have made an arrangement by which we can mail a two-line stamp and inking pad for 30 cents, each additional line of printing 10 cents. A plan of propaganda which has proved effective is to get permission from the city authorities to hold meetings on one particular corner one evening each week for several weeks. Then have a rubber stamp made with the words "Corner Main and State Streets, Saturday Evening at Eight," or whatever the place and time fixed upon may be. Then order a thousand each of the five leaflets, and distribute one kind each week for five weeks, of course stamping each leaflet before it is put out. The cash outlay of this experiment will be only $1.80 besides expressage, and it will almost certainly make a success of the series of open air meetings.

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The International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

Vol. IV. May 1, 1904. No. 11.

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EDITORIAL—The Work of the Convention
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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS:

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV MAY, 1904 NO. 11

Report of National Secretary.

COMRADES: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist Party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization, believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interests this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from day to day, will continue to give birth to problems which will demand the earnest attention of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and compactness of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. More than ever Socialists must realize that before they can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of a political organization representing the interests of the working class, and it is to this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist Party organization must be the means of fitting its members for the larger duties and greater responsibility that the future holds for them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective local, state and national organizatios. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field and they should elect as their officials and

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representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of co-operation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The lecturer or writer will always flourish and receive his proper meed of public reward and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced,

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but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways through which they could perform valuable service to the movement—ways relatively as important as those sought for, although offering fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impersonal and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the development and exercise of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist Party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encourage-

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ment and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist Party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority, wherever and whenever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and of the prevalence of the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere perhaps in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungovernable authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere, there will be fewer locals disband after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, when the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization is as yet practically new, and difficulties have been presented as a consequence which, with a revision of the constitution and the development of the organization, should gradu-

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ally disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document, and it was natural that it should be faulty in construction, although basically correct.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist Party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest dgree of democracy consistent with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense, so that the best and most permanent results can be obtained.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the party at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy; the other denies democracy to the extreme and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the position they hold, that the officials of a state organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representatives or members of one state organization interfering with or usurping the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in organized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibility lies, except when agreement is specifically made either with

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other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist Party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of recognition of transference of membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganizd state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Eagerness to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized states and territories until conditions make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The present form of the national committee elected from the various state organizations is objectionable and should be abolished. The principal objection lies in its fostering of factional divisions in the party. The national committee is supposed to represent the entire party and to act upon matters affecting all the states, while at the same time its individual members are only responsible for their action to the respective state organizations which elect them, so that the party has absolutely no jurisdiction or control over any or all of them. Experience has also already shown that it is impossible to devise a basis of representation upon the committee which will permit of equal representation from all the states. The size of the committee makes the method of transacting business cumbersome, exhausting and expensive.

As a substitute for this I would suggest that there be a National Executive Committee, to consist of seven or nine members selected by referendum of the party at large, regardless of section, with each and all members subject to recall. This would give the entire party membership the choice of its administrative body and ensure representation to the locals in unorganized states and territories which have now no voice in the councils of the party, although contributing financially to its support. The National Secretary should be under the direct supervision of the National Executive Committee, but elected by referendum of the party membership. The acts of the committee upon all matters referred to it

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could be published regularly in a bulletin issued for that purpose and furnished to every party member.

THE REFERENDUM.

The initiative and referendum involves a principle too sacred and valuable to be used lightly. Recently two referendums were taken upon the same subject within thirty days of each other, and as a result there are now two contradictory clauses in the present national constitution. The provisions for initiating referendums should be changed to conform to the growth of the organization and propositions should be limited in length. A law should be in force and effect at least ninety days before another law upon the same subject could be initiated and submitted to a referendum.

ORGANIZATION AND AGITATION.

The work done by the national organizers during the past fifteen months has been productive of much good and seems to have given general satisfaction. The expense incurred in placing and keeping these organizers in the field has been greater than will probably be the case in the future, as the ground covered by them was mostly new. The financial support given them has been encouraging and gratifying, although in a number of cases the comrades at various places did not appear to realize the great responsibility borne by the national headquarters for these organizers. The idea seemed to prevail that because the organizers traveled for the national organization there was no need of rendering any financial assistance. If the national office had unlimited resources at its command this belief might be warranted, but the contrary is true, so that this word upon the matter may not be amiss.

As the different state organizations develop they will be able to employ their own organizers, and the necessity for national organizers will become lessened. The present method of selecting national organizers and lecturers could be improved upon, however, by the requirement of certain qualifications upon the part of applicants, such as length of party service, special knowledge of Socialism, and the details of organization, etc.

I take the liberty of proposing to the convention the creation of the office of General Organizer. The activities of this official would not be restricted to any section and his services would be available at all times for the purpose of representing the national organization whenever occasion would require personal investigation and action. There has been need of such an official several times during the past year, and it is my opinion that sooner or later one will have to be selected. The duties of this official would cover a wide field and his work could be of great value to the party.

Propositions will probably be made at this convention for the

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formation of the foreign-speaking workers into separate federations to be affiliated with the national organization. This is a matter which should receive your careful consideration, as it is necessary that the national party secure the active co-operation of the workers of all nationalities in the movement against capitalism. Whether it would be better to have federations as proposed, or to have these workers organized directly into locals and branches of the party, is a new question which the convention will have to pass upon in some specific manner so that a definite line of action can be pursued.

NATIONAL LECTURERS.

Until recently the condition of the party organization made it impossible to have very much system in the arranging of tours for party lecturers who had formerly usually traveled at high expense to the locals and oftentimes at great inconvenience and hardship to the speakers themselves. To remedy this I have attempted, in accordance with instructions from the National Committee, to formulate a definite system of lecture work which would enable the party locals to engage capable lecturers at a normal expense, while guaranteeing these lecturers sufficient remuneration for the labor and time expended.

While this work has been fairly successful, yet it has been attended by difficulties only to be appreciated by those in the national office and into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter here. Some of these difficulties could be obviated by the adoption of definite rules to govern the routing of interstate speakers and which rules would preserve the integrity of the state organizations within their respective boundaries, while also facilitating the general arrangement of engagements with the locals.

This would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense which have been caused by state organizations assuming the work of routing lecturers and organizers when they were unable, for various reasons, to perform the work properly. The blame for this state of affairs has been mostly directed at the national office, when the facts are that in almost every case the routing done by the latter has been more satisfactory in every way. With the facilities now in use, speakers and organizers can be routed from the national headquarters much more economically than otherwise. Especially is this true of those states in close proximity to the seat of the national headquarters.

The effort to establish a lecture system such as I have outlined caused the circulation of a report that I was attempting to form what was termed a "bureaucracy" a national headquarters for the purpose of victimizing certain speakers and driving them from the field. I take this opportunity, the first presented to me, to state that this report was entirely unwarranted; that I was not actuated by personal motives of any kind; that I had no other purpose than

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the co-ordination of the party forces upon a scale which would guarantee economy and better results in the future. Regardless of contrary opinions, a system for handling Socialist speakers must be perfected if we are to keep step with the forces which we recognize and proclaim to be at work in society.

During the infancy of the organized movement, when pioneer work was the rule and Socialists were widely scattered and isolated from each other, the question of control of speakers did not arise, except in well-organized sections of the country. But since the party has developed into a national organization the question has arisen and provoked discussion. This is a healthy sign and should be taken as an indication of growth. The question can only be settled in one way, and that way is the one in harmony with the law of organization and co-ordination. Those who assume to speak for the Socialist Party should be prepared to accept the control of the party. If the Socialist Party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be held responsible to the party; the local workers to the local organizations, the state workers to the state organizations, and the national workers to he national organization. The question of remuneration is a minor one which will gradually adjust itself.

SUPPLIES.

Changes in the form and quality of organizing and other supplies have been made from time to time and a normal price charged in order to bring them within easy reach of all state and local organizations. Various circumstances have prevented us from furnishing locals with sets of books for officials, although the forms for these books have been ready for some time. If ordered in large quantities for cash, the books can be secured at a nominal cost, but so far the state of our finances would not warrant the incurrence of this expense. A set of books for state secretaries have also been devised and when put into use will go far toward systematizing the work of these officials.

BULLETINS AND REPORTS.

The issuance of weekly bulletins and reports chronicling party affairs and activity has proven of such value that steps should be taken to extend the service. It is essential that the membership be fully informed upon the action of the party officials and party affairs in general. The space in the Socialist press is too limited to publish all of this information, which is of more or less importance. I believe a month bulletin should be issued in printed form devoid of editorial matter and devoted entirely to financial, national committee, and organizers' reports, and other details of an official character. The bulletin could be printed in quantities sufficient to reach every member. This would not prevent the continued issuance to the party press of a weekly bulletin reporting current items of immediate importance.

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EXPENSES OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

I would also suggest that means be provided for the payment direct through the national organization of the expenses of delegates to the national conventions. A general assessment of a nominal sum from each member for this specific purpose and levied before the convention would undoubtedly furnish a sufficient amount to cover these expenses, thus ensuring representation from all the states. The basis of representation could be changed, but a more general attendance would be secured. The adoption of this proposition would place all aspirants for election as delegates in the different states upon the same footing and eliminate the tendency to select delegates because of their ability to defray their own expenses to and from the conventions.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The Socialist party press is gaining steadily in numbers and influence, and with its further development will become a most potent factor in shaping the destinies of the movement. Without doubt the general literary and spiritual quality of the press is improving and Socialists are rapidly realizing the urgent necessity for a press than can fittingly represent the Socialist party. The practice of beginning the publication of local papers before the condition of the movement warrants their continuance has a tendency to detract from the general effectiveness and stability of papers with established circulations, besides making for the dissipation of the limited resources of the comrades. It is much better to increase the usefulness of papers already in the field than to embark upon undertakings which have little certainty of prolonged existence.

The sentiment for an official organ to be published by the national organization,may justify me in stating my views in opposition to such a proposition. I believe also that the existence of an independent press free of party control, except in localities where published, is one of the strongest safeguards toward protecting and preserving the party's integrity that we have today. Such a press provides a sure medium for the expression of individual opinion, thus guaranteeing free speech and criticism and preventing the creation of the censorship which has hitherto almost invariably grown out of the placing of official organs in the hands of party officials. In this field, at least, we can afford to have competition, and the survival of the most fit will depend upon the increased knowledge of Socialism and the intellectual development of the Socialists themselves.

CONCLUSION.

I have not considered it necessary to repeat what has already been included in my last annual report. A summary of the financial condition of the national office is herewith appended. If the

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showing therein made seems unfavorable, the comrades will bear in mind that the expense recently incurred by assisting the party in Colorado and in the Milwaukee municipal campaign has been especially heavy. Economy will be exercised during the next two months with the expectation that the national campaign will be entered upon free of debt.

I take pleasure in again expressing my appreciation of the co-operation rendered me in my work as your National Secretary by the assistants in the national office, Comrades W. E. Clark, Chas. R. Martin, and James Oneal. They have worked capably and faithfully for the party's interests, and this slight recognition, although inadequate to the proportion of their services, is the least that is due them. I cordially acknowledge also the courtesy rendered toward the national office by the national committee and quorum, the party press, the national organizers and lecturers, and the comrades generally throughout the country.

To you, the delegates to the most representative Socialist convention that has ever met on this continent, I convey my congratulations upon the progress manifested by your presence here today. The further advancement of the Socialist cause in America is conditional upon the character of your deliberations and the actions arising from them. Beginning a new epoch in the movement's history, with the social forces that make for change working in complete harmony with the Socialist philosophy, with the opportunities for hastening the oncoming Social Revolution presenting themselves on every side, we should give to the task assigned us the best thought and devotion of which we are capable, deeming nothing less than that worthy of the cause having for its realization the emancipation of the working class of the world and the ultimate freedom and happiness of all mankind.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1904.

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National Platform.

I.

THE Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic; and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast ma-

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jority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers from the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully con-

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scious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing

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the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage for men and women and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and

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for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America; and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedomand blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

GEORGE D. HERRON, Chairman.
G. H. STROEBELL.
M. W. WILKINS.
THOS. E. WILL, Secretary.
BEN. HANFORD.
EUGENE V. DEBS.
VICTOR L. BERGER.
WILLIAM MAILLY.
H. F. TITUS.

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The National Constitution.

ARTICLE I—NAME.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II—MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 1. Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed connection with all other political parties and who subscribes to the principles of the party, is eligible to membership. Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other political party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist party.

Sec. 2. A member who desires to transfer his membership from a local in one state to a local in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer.

ARTICLE III—MANAGEMENT.

Sec. 1. The affairs of the Socialist party shall be administered by a national committee, its officers and executive committee, the party conventions, and the general votes of the party.

ARTICLE IV—NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. Each organized state or territory shall be represented on the national committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory is entitled, the national secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year.

Sec. 2. The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall not be more than two years.

Sec. 3. The national committee shall meet in regular session in all even numbered years when no national conventions of the party shall take place. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of the members of the committee. The dates and places of such meetings shall be determined by the national committee.

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Sec. 4. Expenses of the national committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

Sec. 5. Between the sessions of the national committee, all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

Sec. 6. The national committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE V.—DUTIES AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call national nominating conventions and special conventions decided upon by referendum of the party; to arrange rules and order of business of national convention subject to the approval of the convention; to make reports to national conventions; to receive and pass upon all reports and actions of the executive committee.

Sec. 2. The national committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

ARTICLE VI.—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Sec. 1. The executive committee of the national committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the national committee, from the membership of the party, but no more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the executive committee shall be one year.

Sec. 2. The executive committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the national secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the national secretary, and transact all current business of the national office, except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the national committee expressly reserved for the national committee or the general vote of the party.

Sec. 3. The executive committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the national committee.

Sec. 4. The executive committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the national committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the national committee.

Sec. 5. Between sessions of the executive committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

ARTICLE VII—NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Sec. 1. The national secretary shall be elected by the national committee; his term of office shall be one year. The national

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secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of $1,500 annually.

Sec. 2. The national secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the national office subject to the directions of the executive committee, and the national committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the national office, and the work of the lecture bureau, the literature bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office.

Sec. 3. The national secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such a way as the executive committee may direct, monthly bulletins containing a report on the financial affairs of the party, a summary of the condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations of the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment.

Sec. 4. The national secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper transaction of the business of his office.

Sec. 5. The national secretary and members of the executive committee may be removed from office at any time by a majority vote of the members of the national committee.

ARTICLE VIII—THE LECTURE BUREAU.

Sec. 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lectures on the propaganda of Socialism.

Sec. 2. The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization, and it shall have the right to make arrangements for the lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party.

Sec. 3. The national committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

ARTICLE IX—THE LITERATURE BUREAU.

Sec. 1. The national committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of Socialist literature.

Sec. 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others a stock of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right, with the approval of the committee, to publish works on Socialism or for the purposes of Socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodical.

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Sec. 3. The profits of the literature bureau shall go into the general funds of the treasury.

ARTICLE X—CONVENTIONS.

Sec. 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for president and vice-president of the United States are to be held.

Sec. 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership.

Sec. 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the national committee.

Sec. 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate-at-large, and one additional delegate for every 200 members in good standing, provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he or she is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented.

Sec. 5. The railroad fares of the delegates in going to and coming from the place of convention shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expense shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.

ARTICLE XI—REFERENDUM.

Sec. 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the national secretary to a referendum of the party membership, upon the request of twenty locals in five states or territories, or any smaller number of such organizations having a membership of at least 2,000 in the aggregate.

Sec. 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the national secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for forty-five days, within which time amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of thirty days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter.

Sec. 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for a referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

ARTICLE XII—STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Sec. 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which

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may have lapsed, shall be under the direction of the executive committee, and in conformity with the rules of the national committee.

Sec. 2. No state or territory shall be organized unless it has at least ten locals with an aggregate membership of not less than 100, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution.

Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto, and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other party or political organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to further the interests of candidates of such party or organization; nor shall any candidate of the Socialist party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the national committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. The state committees shall make monthly reports to the national secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

Sec. 6. The state committees shall pay to the national committee every month a sum equal to 5 cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

Sec. 7. On the complaint of any national committeeman or of three locals in any state of any act on the part of such state organization in violation of the platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken, acting under rules of the national committee, to the end that such organization shall be brought into conformity.

Sec. 8. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

ARTICLE XIII—HEADQUARTERS.

The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the national committee.

ARTICLE XIV—AMENDMENTS.

This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided.

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Report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, assembled in Chicago, Ill., May, 1904:

Comrades: Your Committee on State and Municipal Program beg leave to submit the following report:

We wish first of all to call the attention of the Convention to the fact that the report of this committee is unanimous. This is contrary to the expectations of the members of the committee, but is the apparently natural outcome of the discussion which took place in the sessions of the committee.

We wish, secondly, to express the opinion of the committee that nothing in this report, if adopted by the convention, is to be considered as otherwise than suggestive, or as being in any way mandatory or binding upon the various state and municipal conventions; since the various states and municipalities have their own characteristic economic development and political situation.

In view of the difficulties attending the work of those elected to public office to represent the Socialist party, as already developed in the experience of such officials, and also in view of the problems attending the proper preparation of state and municipal platforms, your committee have adopted the following resolutions, and transmitted a copy of them to the Committee on Constitution:

Whereas, the Committee on State and Municipal Program regard it as essential that the Socialist Party should have a permanent Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the National Headquarters.

Therefore, be it Resolved that we, the Committee on State and Municipal Program, recommend that in the constitution of the party, provision should be made for the organization of a Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the National Headquarters, and recommend that the following provisions become a part of the constitution of the party:

Section A: There shall be elected at each national convention a committee of nine (9) on State and Municipal Affairs.

Section B: The committee shall have power to fill vacancies occurring among its members during the interim between the meeting of the national conventions.

Section C: The object of the committee shall be that of an advisory committee to suggest lines of activity to local and state officers and to assist them in securing data and in the preparation of resolutions, ordinances, bills and such other legal measures for the carrying out of the Socialist program as may be necessary, and

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also to advise the party, where it may desire, in the preparation of local and state programs.

Section D: The Committee on State and Municipal Affairs shall, on the approval of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, at such times as may be deemed advisable, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the National Headquarters, and his compensation shall be fixed by the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

Section E: The expenses of the Committee on State and Municipal Affairs while attending its meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

STATE PROGRAM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY—PREAMBLE FOR STATE PROGRAM.

STATE PROGRAM.

The principles of the Socialist platform cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist party is a minority party. The work of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations under present circumstances must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit of and in the interests of the working class. In presenting and advocating such measures the Socialist members of the state legislatures and of local administrations must bear in mind the fact that they are fighting on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement and the Socialist party. They must defend the interests of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation. Socialists in state legislatures and local administrations may well be guided by the advice of the permanent Committee on State and Municipal Program provided by the National Constitution of the Socialist party.

The following suggestions are made as a preliminary basis for the activity of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations, with the understanding that they are not mandatory, binding, or anything else than suggestive.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Freedom of speech and expression of opinion by teachers and students.

Free text-books for teachers and pupils; uniform text-books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools, and to private schools on request.

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The choice of text-books to be left to a committee composed of teachers and students in all institutions above the grade of high schools.

In history and economics, the proletarian standpoint to receive equal consideration with the capitalist standpoint.

Compulsory education for both sexes up to the age of 18 years.

Co-education in all branches of science, and manual training for both sexes to be continued through all grades.

Adequate provisions for harmonious physical culture and development through a systematic course of gymnastics and open air exercises, a minimum time for such exercises to be made a requirement for students of both sexes throughout all grades.

Extension of the public school system to assure equal educational opportunities to all classes in all branches of learning, public supervision of all educational institutions to secure an equal educational standard.

STATE MILITARY LAW.

The repeal of all militia law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities; and members of the state militia to be exempt from all other military service.

The right of privates of the state militia to elect their officers; and state militia to be confined within state limits.

Federal troops to be prohibited from interfering in disputes between capitalists and laborers.

CITIES.

The autonomy of all municipalities in the matter of the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.

PUBLIC WORKS.

For the purpose of employing the unemployed and educating citizens in co-operation, the state to inaugurate a system of good roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irrigation, state farms in connection with agricultural experiment stations, and to build homes to be rented at a price not exceeding the cost of production and maintenance.

The contract system to be abolished in all public works and such work to be done by the state directly.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

All persons above the age of 60 to be exempt from labor, and to be entitled to pensions of not less than the current minimum wage.

SICK AND DISABLED.

Adequate facilities to be provided, at public expense, for the care and maintenance of all sick and disabled persons.

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TAXATION.

A graduated income tax and graduated inheritance tax to be imposed, such revenue to be used solely in the interest of the working class, not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Public control of the entire liquor traffic.

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS.

Railroads and all other corporations operating under public franchises to be placed under state control ,and to have their rates fixed by law.

THE COURTS.

The abolition of all court costs and sheriff's fees in the commencement of suits, and the abolition of all costs for appealing cases to the courts of last resort.

The establishment of free legal departments.

Sufficient courts to secure speedy trials.

PRISON SYSTEM.

1. The present brutal system of treating criminal persons to be replaced by a system of pathological treatment. This includes the abolition of the prison contract system, death penalties and isolated confinement, and the substitution therefor of sanitariums in rural localities with adequate healthful open-air employment, and treatment corresponding to modern scientific psychological pathology.

2. A juvenile court to be established. No child under 18 years to be considered a criminal, nor to be confined with older criminals.

SUFFRAGE.

The right to vote not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or public labor.

Women to have equal political rights with men.

Residence qualifications for all elections not to exceed sixty days.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

An eight-hour day and a minimum wage, uniform for both sexes.

Free state employment agencies.

All specific laws detrimental to the working class to be repealed, such as conspiracy, anti-boycott and anti-picketing laws; and the abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes.

Trial by jury in all cases by which a person may be deprived of liberty.

INSPECTION.

Public inspection of all factories and institutions employing labor.

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LAND.

All land held for speculation, and all land not occupied or used by the owner to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of 10 per cent on the assessed valuation, as fixed by the owner.

All public forest and mining lands to be developed under state direction and control directly, and farm lands to be open to use with public assistance.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The initiative, referendum and imperative mandate to be put into operation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF LOCAL SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATIONS WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY.—

PREAMBLE FOR MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Socialist representatives in municipal administrations should always bear clearly in mind the scientific basis of the Socialist Municipal Program. Under capitalism the municipalization of public enterprises has been compelled in the interest of the business man. The graft of a few has come to interfere with the graft of the remainder of the business world, on account of the development of machinery vital to municipal life. There has followed as a result of this what might be called municipal capitalism, which would operate these publicly owned industries for the purpose of reducing the taxes of present property holders.

It must be borne in mind that Socialism will operate these enterprises in one of the three following ways:

First. All service absolutely free of cost to the public, paid for out of the general fund. Instance, the roads and streets, police service, and the free water supply of New Orleans.

Second. Service at cost of production. Instance, the usual theory of water supply, and of the United States Postoffice.

Third. Service furnished at a profit to the municipality, the profits to be used for the benefit of the whole community. Instance, the taking of water works profits for the perfection of fire department and extension of parks, bath and play-ground systems.

All other measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increase of intelligence, strengthening of their bodies, securing independence or certainty of livelihood for them, are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all and securing, as far as possible, the limitation of those powers financial, legal, social and political which have accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class will tend, of course, to make the victory of the working class more easy at every step.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION.

I.—Changes in Instruction.

1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children of proper age.
2. Manual training (not trade schools) in all grades.
3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in education with close connection with things, according to principles of modern pedagogy.
4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as base.
5. Establishment of vacation schools.
6. Adequate night schools for adults.
7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II.—Changes Affecting Teaching Force.

1. Adequate number of teachers (small classes in all schools).
2. Normal school training required as minimum qualification for teaching.
3. Right of trial for teachers before dismissal.
4. Pensions for teachers when superannuated or disabled.

III.—Care of Children.

1. Uniform free text-books for all schools, public and private, on demand.
2. Free meals and clothing.
3. Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and for contagion.

IV.—Equipment.

1. Adequate buildings, numerous, not too large.
2. Ample play-grounds, with physical instructor in charge.
3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits accompanied by teachers.
4. Baths and gymnasiums in each school.
5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblages.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation.
3. Pension for all city employes when sick and disabled.

II.—Industries Suggested for Ownership.

1. All industries dependent on franchises, such as street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.
2. Bakeries, ice-houses, coal and wood yards, department stores, slaughter-houses where they are needed.

I.—Principles of Management.

1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.

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III.—Municipal Autonomy.

1. Municipal autonomy for the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.
2. Issuance of bonds for this purpose up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation.
3. Issuance of debenture bonds, secured by plants to be acquired or built.

WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT.

1. Police not to be used in interest of employer against strikers.
2. Free legal advice.
3. Abolition of fee system in all courts. Trial by jury without extra expense.
4. Abolition of fines as alternative to imprisonment.
5. Establishment of Municipal Labor Bureau for investigation, inspection and report upon conditions of labor.

GENERAL MEASURES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF.

1. Establishment of useful works and extension of public functions to give work to unemployed.
2. Free medical service, including free medicine.
3. Adequate hospital service with no taint of charity.
4. Homes for aged and invalid.
5. Night lodgings for men out of employment and without homes.
7. Pensions for all public employes.
8. Free public crematory.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.
2. Public disinfection after contagious diseases.
3. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash-houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores, and such things as care of public health demands.
4. Adequate system of parks, public play-grounds and gymnasiums.

FACTORY LEGISLATION.

1. Special laws for protection of both women and children in both mercantile and industrial pursuits.
2. No child under 18 may be permitted to work at any gainful occupation, including selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

HOUSING QUESTION.

1. Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.

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2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation—no return for ground rent to be demanded.

3. Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to proper standards of light, ventilation and overcrowding.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

1. Direct employment by the city—abolition of contract system.

2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower than standard trade union rate.

TAXATION.

1. Progressive income tax, such revenue to be used solely in the interests of the working class, and not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

2. Taxation of ground rents.

3. Exemption of household furniture and laborers' homes up to $2,000.00.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for workers of the city.

2. Publication of a municipal bulletin, containing complete news of all municipal activity.

E. UNTERMANN, Chairman.
JOHN M. WORK, Secretary.
COMRADES STEDMAN of Illinois, GAYNOR of Wisconsin, REYNOLDS of Indiana, KRAYBILL of Kansas, KELLY of Massachusetts, and ATKINSON of New York.

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List of Delegates.

Alabama—F. X. Waldhorst.

Arkansas—Wells Lefever, Wm. Penrose.

California—J. L. Cobb, P. Deutzman, Sam. Robbins, W. W. Wilkins, Paul H. Keller, H. M. McKee, J. J. Patton, N. A. Richardson, H. B. Weaver, Bertha Wilkins, S. Stitt Wilson, C. W. Woodbey.

Colorado—Wm. Ash, A. H. Floaten, Ida Crouch Hazlet, Guy E. Miller, R. A. Southworth.

Connecticut—Cornelius Mahony, Eugene Toomey.

Idaho—E. B. Ault.

Indian Territory—W. I. Whitelatch.

Illinois—B. Berlyn, Sam. Block, Chas. L. Breckon, Jas. H. Brower, E. E. Carr, John Collins, Wm. Dalton, D. McEachern, A. W. Mance, Theo. Meyer, Thos. J. Morgan, J. E. Phelan, D. M. Smith, Jas. S. Smith, A. M. Simons, S. Stedman, M. H. Taft, E. Unterman.

Indiana—Wm. Barrett, Eugene V. Debs, A. T. Cridley, Matt Hollenberger, James Oneal, S. M. Reynolds.

Iowa—John W. Bennett, J. J. Jacobson, Carrie L. Johnson, John M. Work.

Kansas—W. R. Parks, Mrs. E. G. Cogswell, Mrs. Luella R. Kraybill, Water T. Mills, W. S. Neal, Thos. E. Will.

Kentucky—Thos. McGrady, A. L. Nagel, F. L. Robinson.

Louisiana—Wilbur Putnam.

Maryland and District of Columbia—Wm. A. Toole, S. L. V. Young.

Massachusetts—James F. Carey, Herman Brandt, H. A. Gibbs, John J. Kelly, J. A. Keown, Geo. E. Littlefield, Alex. Hayman, A. B. Outram, Dan. A. White.

Michigan—Wm. L. Benessi, C. J. Lamb, Jas. H. McFarlan, John A. C. Menton, Wm. E. Walter.

Mississippi—Summer W. Rose.

Minnesota—M. A. Brattland, A. N. Gilbertson, S. M. Holman, Nicholas Klein, Geo. B. Leonard, Thos. H. Lucas, Ed. Bosky, E. B. Ford.

Missouri—E. T. Behrens, Wm. M. Brandt, Fred H. Dilno, W. L. Garver, G. A. Hoehn, Carl Knecht, Caleb Lipscomb, T. E. Palmer, Geo. H. Turner, Hugh J. Raible, J. H. Rathbun.

Montana—C. C. McHugh, W. G. O'Mally, J. H. Walsh, John J. Hirt.

Nebraska—P. J. Hyland, W. E. Clark, J. W. Hawkins, Wm. Mailly.

New Hampshire—Jas. S. Murray.

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New Jersey—Peter Burrows, Wm. Glanz, Carl Kronenburg, W. L. Oswald, Charles Ufert, Jas. M. Reilly, David Rubinow, G. H. Strobell.

New York—Warren Atkinson, G. P. Bush, Wm. Butscher, A. P. Byron Curtis, Chas. Dobbs, Wm. Ehret, P. J. Flanagan, Julius Gerber, Benj. Hanford, Geo. D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, Alexander Jonas, Algernon Lee, Gustave Dressler, Frank Sieverman, H. L. Slobodin, John Spargo, Otto Wegener, H. W. Wessling, A. A. Wayell, H. G. Wilshire, C. P. Hawley, B. J. Riley.

North Dakota—S. E. Haight, Tonnes Thams.

Ohio—Robt. Bandlow, C. A. Bickett, D. P. Farrell, Martin Goss, Max S. Hayes, W. A. Stanton, W. L. Webster, Julius Zorn, C. E. Willey.

Oklahoma—Roy Hayes, J. V. Kolachney, A. S. Loudermilk, A. W. Renshaw, J. E. Snyder.

Oregon—Irene M. Smith.

Pennsylvania—Hugh Ayres, J. Mahlon Barnes, Geo. W. Bacon, Miss Innes Farbes, Louis Goaziou, Chas. Heydrick, Frank Gagliardi, James Mauer, Robert Ringler.

South Dakota—Freeman Knowles, O. C. Potter.

Tennessee—Chas. H. Stockell.

Texas—John Kerrigan, R. O. Langworthy, E. B. Latham.

Washington—O. Lund, Herman F. Titus.

Wisconsin—H. J. Ammon, Victor L. Berger, J. W. Born, W. C. Young, W. R. Gaylord, Jacob Hunger, F. J. Weber, J. M. A. Spence, Ira Cross, Richard Elsner, E. H. Thomas.

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Resolutions Adopted.

COLORADO OUTRAGES.

WHEREAS, The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalistic rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various state and cities, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organizations of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

Under their baleful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subordinate to the military in Pennsylvania, Colorado and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five and that merely at the caprice of the President.

At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil powers; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and when acquitted by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard for personal liberty, has been unlawfully suspended with the result that in a so-called "free state" of our so-called "free republic" there exists a despotism

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greater and more infamous than that which has ever characterized Russian autocracy.

Now, we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private ownership of the means of the common life and renders the wage working class dependent for life itself upon the owners of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their bread, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self-protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the functions of government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

Therefore this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist movement, that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class of all the powers of government and the use of those powers for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life, which alone can free individual and collected man.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

Whereas, The working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of Fraternity and Solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization. And be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world-peace.

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDISTS.

Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

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Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a Comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean-cut Socialism: therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite predetermined salary or fee.

SPEAKERS' SALARIES.

Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and,

Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore be it

Resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents. And we

Recommend, That, as far as possible, locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued.

Adopted by vote of 65 to 51.

NEW YORK DAILY CALL.

Whereas, Daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

Whereas, The socialists of New York announce that they will begin the publication September 1st of the New York *Daily Call*, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class.

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention, assembled at Chicago, May 1, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the New York *Daily Call* and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York comrades having the enterprise in charge.

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION.

The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class take possession of the means of production and distribution and establish their right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must

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consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assist and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles.

Adopted on roll call 107 to 52.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

Resolved, That we declare our unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious open-shop system in governmental institutions, national, state, or municipal, and in industrial establishments generally.

Resolved, That this convention warns the organized workers of this country to be on guard against the attacks upon their funds, individual and collective, for striking, boycotting, picketing, etc.

Resolved, That we declare in favor of a general eight-hour law, and point to the attitude of the old parties upon this question, in Congress, in Colorado, and various other states.

Resolved, That all the signs of the times indicate that the capitalist class of this country through the medium of the Democratic and Republican parties, are seeking to destroy the labor movement by means of injunctions against the movement, and by legislation limiting the rights of organized labor.

Resolved, This vicious work can only be prevented by united political action of labor on the lines of the class struggles.

Resolved, That we call upon the wage workers to join the Socialist party with a view to overthrowing the political condition that makes it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class.

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Debs' Speech of Acceptance.

IN the councils of the Socialist Party the collective will is supreme. (Applause.) Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record, humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not because of any honor it confers—because in the Socialist movement no Comrade can be honored except as he honors himself by his fidelity to the movement. (Applause.) I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it imposes. I cannot but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations; that I may prove myself fit and worthy to bear aloft in the coming strife the banner of the working class (applause); that by my utterances and by my conduct, not in an individual capacity, but as your representative, I may prove myself worthy to bear the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the thralldom of the ages. (Applause.)

It is my honor to stand in the presence of a very historic convention, and I would that Karl Marx might be here to-day (applause); I would that Lassalle and Engels, the men who long before the movement had its present standing wrought and sacrificed to make it possible for me to stand in this magnificent presence—I wish it were possible for them to share in the glories of this occasion. We are on the eve of battle to-day. We are ready for the contest. (Applause.) We are eager for the fray. (Applause.) We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that shall challenge undisputed the approval of the working class of the world. (Applause.) The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of international socialism. (Applause.) Hitherto we have repeated, we have reiterated, we have followed. For the first time in the history of the American movement we have realized the American expression of that movement. There is not a line, not a word in that platform which is not revolutionary, which is not clear, which does not state precisely and properly the position of the American movement. We leave this convention standing on this platform, to throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist enemy (applause), to challenge the capitalist oppressor to do battle for the perpetuation of a system that keeps in chains those in whose name we meet to-day. (Applause.)

There is a Republican Party; the dominant capitalist party of this time; the party that has its representative in the white house; the party that dominates both branches of the congress; the party that controls the supreme court; the party that absolutely controls

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the press; the party that gives inspiration to the subsidized pulpit; the party that controls every force of government; the party that is absolutely in power in every department of our activity. And as a necessary result we find that corruption is rampant; that the congress of the United States dare not respond to the demands of the people to open the sources of corruption from which the lava stream flows down the mountain sides; that they adjourned long before the hour struck for adjournment in order that they might postpone the inevitable. (Applause.)

There is a Democratic party—(A Voice: "Where?")—a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy (laughter and applause); an expiring party that stands upon the crumbling foundations of a dying class; a party that is torn by dissension; a party that cannot unite; a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is appealing to the cemeteries of the past (applause); a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts, by its corpses, by those who cannot be heard in their own defense. (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern Democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have in a modern Republican convention. (Applause.) If they were living to-day they would be delegates to this convention. (Tremendous applause.)

The Socialist Party meets these two parties face to face, without a semblance of apology, without an attempt at explanation, scorning to compromise, it throws down the gage of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

You have honored me in the magnitude of the task that you have imposed upon me, far beyond the power of my weak words to express. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. (Applause.) Responsive to your command I am here. I shall serve you to the limit of my capacity. My controlling ambition shall be to bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes thickest. (Applause.) I shall not hesitate as the opportunity comes to me to voice the emancipating gospel of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaign (applause) as often, and as decidedly, and as emphatically, as revolutionarily (applause), as uncompromisingly (applause) as my ability, my strength and my fidelity to the movement will allow. I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class (applause); no power that does not spring spontaneous from the prostrate body of the workers of the world. Above all other things I realize that for the first time in the history of all the ages there is a working class movement ("Hear, hear," and applause)—perfectly free from the

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sentimentality of those who riot in the misery of the class who are in that movement. On this occasion above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all of the ages has been oppressed, crushed, suffered, for the one reason that through all the centuries of the past this class has lacked the consciousness of its overmastering power that shall give it control and make it master of the world. (Applause.) This class is just beginning to awaken from the torpor of the centuries (applause), and the most hopeful sign of the times is that from the dull, the dim eye of the man who is in this class there goes forth for the first time in history the first gleam of intelligence, the first sign of the promise that he is waking up, and that he is becoming conscious of his power; and when he, through the inspiration of the Socialist movement, shall become completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalist system and bring the emancipation of his class. (Great applause.)

To consecrate myself to my small part of this great work is my supreme ambition. (Applause.) I can hope only to do that part which is expected of me so well that my comrades, when the final verdict is rendered, will say, "He was not a candidate for President; he did not aspire to hold office; he did not try to associate his name with the passing glories, but he did prove himself worthy to be a member of the Socialist Party (applause); he proved his right to a place in the International Socialist Movement of the World." (Applause.) If when this little work shall have been completed this can be said of me, my acceptance of your nomination will have been so much more completely made than I could hope to frame it in weak words, that I close not with the decided utterance, but with the wish and the hope and the ambition that when the fight has been fought, when the task you have imposed upon me has been performed so far as it lies in the power of an individual to perform that task, that my acceptance of the honor you have conferred upon me will have been made and that your wisdom and your judgment will have been vindicated by the membership of the party throughout the country.

From the depths of my heart I thank you. I thank you and each of you, and through you I thank those you represent. I thank you not from my lips merely. I thank you from the depths of a heart that is responsive to your consideration. We shall meet again. We shall meet often, and when we meet finally we shall meet in much larger numbers to ratify the coming of the Socialist Republic. (Great and prolonged applause.)

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Hanford's Speech of Acceptance.

THE Chairman: The Chair will take the liberty of appointing Delegates Carey (Mass.), Sieverman (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.), Berlyn (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Hazlett (Colo.) and Richardson (Cal.) to escort Comrade Hanford to the platform. (Applause.)

The Committee appointed by the Chair then escorted Comrade Hanford to the platform, where, after the enthusiastic applause which greeted him had subsided, he said:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long ways around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long ways around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.)

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many other Comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time. (Loud applause.)

"In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that whenever the party told me to do something I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. (Loud applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right and wrong. (Loud applause.) I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about nineteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype typesetting machine. They put one of them in a printing office and one man got a job operating it and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there

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before this machine was brought in. Well, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing office I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of any enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and wasting my time as others among the workingmen had done, instead of becoming despondent I occupied all my time reading a book or a paper or making a socialist speech on a soap box or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.)

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania while the strike was going on there and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it needed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men or 5,000 men or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other comrades who were with me, and they did so because the men knew that the Socialist Party was in sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists. (Applause.) Now, there was another party that would like to have sent its speakers down to tha field, but they would not have been favorably received, and that was the Socialist Labor Party, and that party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades union. (Applause.) Now you think it is terrible when trades unionists make mistakes, but good Heavens, I would like to know down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make one. (Laughter and applause.) They have troubles, but Lord, look at the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) And they are like us again in this further respect: They have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong to-day they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right.

"Now, Comrades, you have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus has pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth have ever had before. No previous revolution ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people or a little nation of people, but this movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they may be, for all time. (Loud continued applause.) This movement is not only worth living for, but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. (Loud cheering and applause.) To bring about the furtherance of this thing I say to you, let your hearts be true as steel, be steeled to the very back, put your soul and your heart and your whole power into the action, and we will have socialism in our time and in our country." (Long continued applause.)

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Proceedings of the Convention.

THE National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States was called to order by National Secretary William Mailly, at Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., Sunday morning, May 1, 1904. The official call of the convention was read, and Secretary Mailly announced that the Socialist Party of Wisconsin had presented a silver gavel to the Socialist Party for use during the convention. Delegate James F. Carey, of Massachusetts, was elected temporary chairman. Charles Dobbs, of New York, was elected temporary secretary. A credentials committee was then elected composed of Delegates Garver, Hayes, Kronenberg, Titus, Floaten, Bistorius and Lee. Committee on rules was composed of Work, Slobodin, Stedman, Gaylord, Taft, Penrose and Robbins. At the second session, which was called to order at 2:45 p. m., the report of the committee on credentials was received as follows:

(List of delegates is given elsewhere.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The report of the committee on credentials being then called for, Comrade Lee, chairman of the committee, prefaced his report with the following remarks:

"Your committee on credentials has passed upon all of the regular and uncontested credentials presented to it. I will first state that in regard to the decision of the national committee that no states should be entitled to representation which were in arrears beyond a certain time in the payment of dues, the credential committee voted not to consider this matter, but to refer it back to the convention without recommendation.

The committee heard certain contests. There was a protest brought against the seat of J. Stitt Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge presented by Delegate Stanton, of Ohio, in writing, that Comrade Wilson had sent a congratulatory telegram to Mayor Samuel Jones, of Toledo, on the occasion of his election, and that this was such a violation of the Socialistic ethics as should debar him from taking part in the deliberations of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the committee and made the statement that he did not send that telegram; that he did not authorize its sending; that he did not have anything to do with it or know anything about its having been sent until a considerable time afterwards, but that it was sent by Mr. Nelson, of St. Louis, with whom he had been in conversation before that time in regard to this and other matters; and that he believed that Mr. Nelson acted in good faith in sending it and using his (Wilson's) name along with his own. But that as a matter of fact he did not authorize it, did not know of it, and had he known of Mr. Nelson's intention to

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sign his name to such telegram he would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wilson, there being no further evidence or statement of fact upon the one side or the other, the committee unanimously voted to seat Comrade Wilson as a delegate from California. There being two on the list of delegates from California who are not present, and at least one of them, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommends that both Comrade Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates, and ordered the delegates' badges be issued to them. (Applause.)

There was a further question raised in regard to Comrade Wilson's seat and the seat of Comrade M. W. Wilkins as delegates from California. The state secretary in his report to the national secretary had included J. Stitt Wilson in the list of delegates and had included M. W. Wilson in the list of alternates. He had issued regular credentials as delegate to Comrade Wilson, and had issued credentials as *delegate,* with the word delegate underscored, in writing to Comrade Wilkins. It was explained that this arose out of a certain irregularity and conclusion in the districting of the state, the delegates there being elected by district. There being wo on the list of delegates from California who are not present, and at least one of them, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommends that both Comrad Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates, and ordered the delegates' badges be issued to them. (Applause.)

In two or three cases the delegates were unable to present their credentials through some irregularity of the mails, their credentials not having reached them in time. In those cases the committee, having sufficient evidence, as they deemed, of the fact that they were regularly elected, have recommended that the delegate be seated, and if it is the pleasure of the house I will read the list.

In regard to South Dakota, the committee decided that though that state was by its membership entitled to only two delegates, yet it had no authority to seat more delegates from any state than the three, and the committee desire that Comrade Levy, of South Dakota, shall be admitted as the third delegate, yet it understood it had no authority to seat more delegates from any state than the number to which that state was entitled under the exact terms of the call.

The committee finds it necessary to hold a further session to consider contests and irregularities, and it was voted that as soon as this convention has disposed of the present report of the committee on credentials the committee will then hold another session at once, at a place to be announced from this platform, and any delegates who are interested in any cases of contests and will come before the committee may attend it at any time.

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The convention then having decided who should be delegates, proceeded to form a permanent organization. Comrade Carey was elected as permanent chairman for the day and Comrade Dobbs was elected secretary and Comrade Cross, of Wisconsin, assistant secretary. Then followed a long discussion on smoking, which was finally decided by a rule prohibiting smoking during sessions of the convention.

On the second day the convention was called to order at 10 o'clock Comrade Hillquit was elected chairman for the day and proceeded at once to consider the report of the committee on rules. The report was adopted with little debate until the proposition arose to appoint a committee on municipal program. Then a long debate followed, in which the whole question of such a program was brought up, but in the end the committee's report was adopted. It was decided that the convention should open its morning sessions at 9 o'clock instead of 10, as suggested by the committee on rules. On the adoption of the rules the convention adjourned.

At the afternoon session a motion to amend the rules so that a roll call could be had when asked for by delegates from three different states was offered. This was voted down, however, after considerable discussion, and it was decided that only a majority could demand a roll call. A motion was then made to elect a committee on trade unions to consist of nine delegates, and this motion brought up the first hard fight of the convention and one which was to take up more time than any other, although the main debate did not come now and the committee was elected. A committee on program, consisting of Unterman, Work, Floaten, Gaylord, Stedman, Reynolds, Berger, Kraybill and Atkinson, was then elected. The convention then proceeded to the election of the following committee on constitution: Hillquit, of New York; Barnes, of Pennsylvania; Butscher, of New York; Bandlow, of Ohio; Slobodin, of New York; Stark, of Pennsylvania; Berlyn, of Illinois; Mills, of Kansas, and Richardson, of California.

The ways and means committee having the following membership, J. L. Cobb (California), Stockell (Tennessee), C. J. Lamb (Michigan), Guy E. Miller (Colorado), David Rubinow (New Jersey), O. Lund (Washington), John Kerrigan (Texas), H. J. Amman (Wisconsin) and Hirt (Montana), was then elected. The trade union committee was composed as follows:

The Chairman: "Nominations for the trades union committee is next in order." The following were elected:

Carey, of Massachusetts; Hayes, of Ohio; Miller, of Colorado; Hoehn, of Missouri; Collins, of Illinois; Nagle, of Ohio; Kruger, of Wisconsin.

In order to give the committees ample time to work no session was held Tuesday forenoon. The convention was called to order

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at 1:30 and Delegate Richardson, of California, was elected chairman of the day. The national secretary then read his annual report, which is given elsewhere. Then came the report of the resolutions committee. Unfortunately the convention had given some instructions to the committee which were interpreted to mean that they should return all resolutions committed to their consideration with some sort of action. This required them to report upon some rather useless resolutions, which took up the time of the convention. At the night session the report of the committee on constitution was received and it was then decided to print the same before discussions. The report of the press committee then was called for and was read. This committee reported against a resolution received from Local San Francisco and endorsed by several other locals providing for the establishment of a daily paper under the control of the party. This led to a considerable discussion, but the recommendation of the committee was finally concurred in by an overwhelming vote and the convention adjourned. The press committee also had the following recommendation which was endorsed at a later session.

"We would recommend for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau under the control of the National Office of the Socialist Party for the purpose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics.

There are, at the present time, a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but either because of lack of editorial or financial ability are not able to secure the same. In many places, also, Socialists are already considering the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways, either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper, or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control, it will reduce the expenses of publication."

The greater part of the session of May 4th was taken up by a discussion of the constitution. As the committee reported the first section, article 2 on qualifications for membership read as follows:

"Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of 18 years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color, creed or occupation, who subscribes to the platform and declaration of principles of the party, and is of unobjectionable personal character, shall be eligible to membership in the party."

This was amended to provide that only those who had severed their connection with every other political party should be eligible to membership. This led to considerable of a debate but the amendment was finally adopted by a large majority. A debate also

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took place on the question of an executive committee, but the section finally stood as reported by the committee. The next article on which there was considerable discussion was the question of the salary of the national secretary but the recommendation of the committee was finally carried. On Wednesday evening the report of the resolutions committee was taken up and the resolutions given elsewhere in this number considered and the action taken there noted. The report of the committee on trade unions was read at this meeting and the debate begun which was to be the longest of the session. It was taken up again on Thursday morning with Comrade Mailly as chairman.*

The previous question was at last moved and a roll-call demanded which resulted in 107 votes for the resolution and 52 against. The report of the committee on platform was then read.

At the close of the reading of the report on the platform everybody waited for the terrific battle that had been expected throughout the Convention. To the surprise of everyone, however, no one appeared to take up the cudgels for or against. Comrade Taft of Illinois rose and made a small amendment, but there was no second to his amendment, and it was lost. The question was then put to the Convention on the adoption of the platform as a whole, no one arose to speak, and it was put to a vote and carried by an overwhelming majority. Indeed there were almost no objecting voices heard and no one called for a division. The next instant there came one of those sudden breakings of a long strain which takes place when something looked forward to, half in dread and half in hope, has passed by almost unnoticed, and the Convention burst into uproarious laughter and applause.

It had already been determined by previous vote that nominees for President and Vice-president should come immediately after the adoption of the platform. Comrade George D. Herron then took the floor and made the following speech, nominating Comrade Eugene V. Debs for President:

NOMINATIONS.

"Mr. Chairman, and Comrades of the convention, in rising to make what I believe will be the unanimous nomination of this convention, I would like to preface that nomination with a statement of what has come to me in watching the proceedings of this convention, and watching the general development of the Socialist movement, for the two years since our Indianapolis convention. I think I shall go away from this convention very much of an optimist concerning the future of the working class of America. There are greater struggles before us, or before especially those of you who are in the ranks of labor, than perhaps we know. Here in America the conditions of labor on the one side,

*The debate on the trade union resolution was crowded out of this number, but a summary will appear in the June issue.—ED.

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and of capital on the other side, are intensifying with a rapidity and sharpness that no Socialistic economist would have prophesied twenty or thirty years ago. More than in any other nation of the world the lines of economic conflict, the lines of definition between the working class and the capitalist or possessing class, are being clearly drawn, and drawn by the experience of the working class itself; and I have no doubt, although this is not the place for prophecy, but what the great international or world catastrophe—if it is to be a catastrophe—of the capitalist system will be precipitated here in America. (Applause.) I have no doubt but what, in the spread of the commonwealth of labor around the world, that the sun of that co-operative commonwealth will rise here on the American continent, and in this republic. (Applause.) And therefore it has seemed to me more urgent than anything else that the working class of America should become conscious not only of its struggle, not only of itself, of its class, but of its opportunity. There is a sense in which we might say what Marx once said to the workers in the International at Brussels, and say it with more truth, that the destinies of the workers of the world, for perhaps the next two or three centuries to come, are pivoted upon the solidarity and the intelligence and the character of the organization of labor here in America. (Applause.) And it has seemed to me therefore important that here, above almost every other country, the working class, with the pressure of the struggle upon it, and with the preceding advantages of the public school such as they were—that the working class here in America is better prepared than perhaps in any other nation to work out its own salvation and its own destiny. For in the end the workers of the world will never be free until they free themselves by their own united action. (Applause.) No matter what others who may gladly give themselves to the workers' struggle may do, in the end all freedom of all good that is handed down by one class unto another class historically has proven delusive. In the struggle of the Paris Commune, in the struggle of the Lollards in early England, with their ideals of a certain sort of social democracy, and in all history, the subject peoples have maintained a positive gain or a positive freedom wherever they have gained that freedom for themselves; and whenever they have lost, and whenever they have been betrayed, it has been because their cause was committed to other hands than their own. (Applause.)

"Now, I say that the proceedings of this convention and the development of the Socialist movement within the last two or three years, have given me a feeling of infinite relief, especially since I have been here. I feel that the heart and the brain of the working class are sound. I feel that the working class can be trusted in America to work out its own destiny. (Applause.) I feel that

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it will keep faith with its opportunity and its responsibility for the emancipation of the workers of the world. I am sure that, in the intensifying struggle that will bring upon us, in the next four or five years, things of which we do not now dream, that may try men's souls and bodies and faith, try the whole manhood of men as possibly men were never tried in human history—I feel that when that crisis or that day of judgment comes the working class Socialist movement of America will be as great as its cause, and that it will rise up to match its opportunity. (Applause.)

"Now, there is no man in America who more surely and faithfully incarnates the heart-ache and the protest and the struggle of labor for its emancipation or more surely voices that struggle than Eugene V. Debs. (Great applause.) And, Mr. Chairman, and Comrades of the convention, I count it as among the great joys of my life—I do not say honors, because I have had done with them long ago (applause)—I count it among the great joys and opportunities of my life to stand before you to-day and nominate Eugene V. Debs as the candidate of the Socialist Party of the United States for President in our coming national campaign." (Prolonged applause.)

The nomination was seconded by Comrade Carey of Massachusetts and Wilkins of California. Comrade Hayes of Ohio moved that the nominations be closed and that Eugene V. Debs be declared the nominee of the Socialist party for President of the United States, and amid loud cheers, this vote was declared unanimously carried.

Comrade Titus of Washington then made the following speech nominating Comrade Hanford of New York for Vice-president:

"Some of our capitalistic critics have thought that we were incapable, but there is one thing that we have done; representing the working class, we have worked freely together, we have expressed our minds, and we have come to a common mind. This is the only place where such freedom is possible on the American continent in a political convention. (Applause.) We have made no mistake thus far. I have felt, and I think every member here feels the increasing consciousness of membership in a great movement of the world. I think we began to thrill with the common consciousness of a common destiny, and with the highest mission that has ever been committed to any class in the world —its own emancipation and the emancipation of the rest of humanity with it. (Applause.) I have heard it mentioned on the floor of this convention and before that some man or men, some choice among men who were not members of the working class should be made to be placed upon our ticket. I enter a most emphatic protest against any name upon our ticket that is not truly representative of that class that holds the destiny of the world in its hands. (Applause.) We are in a formative period. Our

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party—I had almost said was not yet fully integrated. I believe it would be a mistake to say that. Perhaps one week ago we might have said it truly, but no man could have attended this convention without becoming convinced that this is a party thoroughly integrated, truly unified. It can not be destroyed, unless it makes some stupendous blunder. (Applause.) We have had a working man's convention. Every issue that has been presented here has been decided in the interests of the working class. We have a workingman's platform, and we have a working man at the head of our ticket (applause), and I propose another representative workingman to be associated with Eugene V. Debs. I propose the name of a man who is known from one end of the Socialist world to the other; who has long been associated with the triumphs of Socialism and the struggles of Socialism; who has suffered for Socialism, suffered for what he believes to be the interests of his own class; a man not of the west, to whi I belong, but a man of the Atlantic coast, and I hope his nomination will be made as spontaneous as that of the head of the ticket. I present the name of Ben Hanford, of New York." (Cheers and continued applause.)

The nomination was seconded by Delegates Berger of Wisconsin, Hilquitt of New York, Richardson of California and Dilno of Missouri. Delegate Bandlow then said, "in behalf of the comrades of the State of Ohio, I desire to move that Comrade Ben Hanford be made the nominee of this Convention as our candidate for Vice-president." This was done amid loud cheering. Comrade Hanford was then escorted to the chair and made the speech of acceptance which is given elsewhere.

Comrade George D. Herron then made a report as Secretary for the United States of the International Socialist Bureau. This report is also given elsewhere. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted.

The Friday session was marked with considerable haste. The Resolutions Committee reported some other resolutions, one of these which called for special effort at propaganda among the militia was rejected, as was also one against independent propaganda associations and one against the acceptance of editorial positions on capitalist papers by Socialists. The supplemental trade union resolution, which is published elsewhere, was sent to the National Committee for revision and submission to a referendum.

The following resolution presented by Comrade Titus was adopted: "No candidates shall be put forward by the Socialist party who have not been members of the party for a continuous period of at least one year, provided that this shall not apply to Locals which have been in existence less than one year."

The greater part of this session was given up to the discussion of the State and Municipal programme. It was finally decided

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that this also should be sent to the National Committee for revision and submission to a referendum.

The question of a delegate to the National Congress which had come up on Thursday night was finally settled on Friday morning by the election of Comrade Untermann as delegate and Comrade Hillquit as alternate. Credentials were also given to Comrade Schluetter and the executive committee was authorized to issue credentials to other comrades who might be going to the Congress provided the number of such credentials did not exceed twenty.

The report of the Ways and Means Committee which offered several suggestions for the raising of funds was then received and referred to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee was also constituted a campaign committee with power to add to its membership.

With various resolutions of thanks to persons who had contributed to the entertainment and comfort of the Convention, the adjourned.

Interesting Convention Statistics.

Thirty-six states and territories were represented in the national convention by 183 delegates, among them being seven women (from 6 different states.) All delegates in attendance did not fill out blanks on back part of duplicate credentials. From those filled out the following facts are shown. The oldest delegate was 70 years of age, and the youngest 20 years—there were two of latter age. The average age was between 39 and 40. One hundred and twenty were natives of the United States. Foreign countries were represented as follows: Austria, 4; Canada, 9; Denmark 1,; England, 7; France, 1; Germany, 19; Ireland, 2; Italy, 1; Norway, 2; Russia, 5; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 2. Total of 54. The occupations were: Architect, 1; bookkeepers, 4; brewery workers, 1; butcher, 1; cabinet maker, 1; carpenters, 5; cigarmakers, 6; clerks, 3; confectioner, 1; cooper, 1; clergyman, 1; contractor, 3; dentist, 1; editor, 20; engineer, 1; electrical engineer, 1; farmers, 5; foundryman, 1; groceryman, 1; hatter, 1; hotel keeper, 1; iron and steel worker, 1; jeweler, 1; journalist and writers, 4; janitor, 1; knitter, 1; lecturer, 7; lawyers, 15; merchants, 4; molders, 5; machinists, 4; mail carrier, 1; music teachers, 1; miner, 1; manufacturer, 1; merchant tailor, 1; news agent, 1; organizers and agitators, 5; physicians and surgeons, 5; porter, 1; printers, 16; paper hanger, 1; painters and decorators, 2; pharmacist, 1; proof reader, 1; plumber, 1; patternmaker, 1; real estate agent, 1; store manager, 1; salesmen, 4; students, 3; sawmill operator, 1; stove workers, 3; stone mason, 1; silk weaver, 1; stenographer, 1; sheet iron worker, 1; teachers, 7; telegrapher, 1; tinner, 1; waiters, 3; woodworkers, 2; watchmaker, 1; watch repairer, 1.

Seventy-eight delegates were members of trade unions.

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EDITORIAL

The Work of the Convention.

In spite of threatened factional quarrels, fierce debates and even hints of disruption, the national convention which has just passed into history will probably be known as the most harmonious ever held by an American Socialist Party. There were sharp differences of opinion which found voice in debate, sometimes rather acrimoniously, but the overwhelming majority of the delegates worked together in most remarkable harmony. There would probably have been better satisfaction had the platform and constitution been sent to a referendum vote with provision for consideration of the latter by sections. It was felt, however, by those who opposed this action that there was such pressing need of a working organization for the coming campaign that some details of democratic control might be dispensed with.

When we consider the convention work as a whole, three tendencies are observable. In the first place, the constitution shows a strong tendency towards centralization of management. The national constitution now prescribes the qualification for membership rather than the states. The executive committee owes allegiance only secondarily to the states as such and may be selected without regard to state boundaries. A national lecture bureau and national literature bureau with a press association also under the control of the national committee greatly extend the functions of the national office. If the report of the committee on state and municipal program is adopted by referendum in its present form still another function will be added to the national office. Delegates to the national convention will henceforth have their expenses paid by the national organization instead of by the various states. The salary of the national secretary has been increased and he is given authority to publish a monthly bulletin on party affairs. It is more difficult to initiate a referendum than hitherto and all these things go to show that we are now beginning to get into the midst of a fight where it is absolutely necessary to delegate more authority to a central organization than has hitherto been the case. There are dangers in this, as all will recognize, yet it is believed that the dangers are less than in the opposite policy.

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The second tendency which some of the comrades at least think they saw in the convention was a movement towards the "Right." This was seen in the inclusion of something analogous to immediate demands in the body of the platform, and in some of the discussions. A close examination, however, seems to give little justification for this conclusion, since there are no more of these demands than in the previous platforms, and they are stated even more guardedly. As for the convention discussions, if there was a change away from the customary revolutionary point of view, it was largely due to the presence in the convention of a small body of impossibilists, against whose actions the entire convention revolted. In this connection it was also alleged that there was a tendency to withdraw from the rank and file, which found its expression in the refusal to submit the platform to the referendum and to make the referendum on the constitution operative by sections instead of as a whole. In reply to this it may be said that no convention has ever submitted the platform to a referendum owing to the manifest impossibility of intelligently and consistently working out a platform through the referendum.

The third tendency was the most satisfactory of all. There was a general feeling that the time had come for constructive work, and this found expression in the creation of numerous additional functions to the national office, to which reference has been made above, and in the elaboration of a state and municipal program for the guidance of the Socialist officials which all felt would be elected during the next four years. The state and municipal program is to be further revised by the national committee and submitted to the referendum section by section. This was by far the best disposal that could have been made of it, since this will require still further discussion and education, and these are the things which are most needed just at this time.

One of the most interesting things about the whole convention was the rapid growth in ability to work which developed during its sessions. Nothing could have been more eloquently prophetic of the power of the working class to manage their own affairs. Few of the delegates were familiar with the work of deliberative bodies of this size, and during the first two days the machinery moved rather slowly, but by the third day the entire aspect of affairs had changed, and from that time on few legislative bodies could have acted with more efficiency combined with deliberative democratic consideration, than did this convention.

This growth in ability to transact business was only one of the points in which the convention was of tremendous educative value to the delegates themselves. Indeed, it is probable that one of the very best results of the convention was its educational work upon the delegates, and through the delegates upon their constituency. It is safe to say that no member of that convention will go home without having suffered some important changes in his intellectual make-up. He will have learned lessons of toleration and will have gained a much broader and more intelligent comprehension of the entire Socialist movement than he could have secured in many months' study.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Despite the activity during the past few years to build up the trade unions of this country and the success that was met with in this direction, despite the claims of President Gompers immediately following the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. that by voting down the Socialistic resolutions the capitalists' "sting of antagonism" had been withdrawn, the facts that have developed in the organized labor movement during the last few months stand out bold and plain that upward of a million workers have been forced to take a step backward so far as the question of wages is concerned. Beginning with the capitalistic attack upon the textile workers last fall, when a general reduction of 10 per cent was enforced in that industry, it was but a short time until demands were made upon the miners, the iron and steel workers, marine and longshoremen, glassworkers and others that they also accept decreases in wages, and whereas, a year ago, following the New Orleans convention, the labor forces everywhere, spurred on by the revolutionary sentiment that was manifest in that historic gathering—and that was defeated by only a narrow margin in finding expression in the declaration that to the worker belongs the full product of his toil—demanded and secured higher wages and better conditions, they have been forced from an aggressive to a defensive position, and throughout the country men and women of the trade unions are engaged in resisting the open shop policy, reductions of wages, lengthening of hours and generally inferior conditions. Never in the history of their trade have the miners been better organized than they are to-day. In the great competitive district of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio there are no mines operated by non-union men, and but few in Pennsylvania, while the mines of West Virginia are largely controlled by the same interests that dominate in the states named, and are therefore indirectly represented in the joint conferences. While it is undoubtedly true that the West Virginia mines are used as a convenient club to keep the unionists in check, still those mines are unable to supply but a small part of the market, and even their product could be quite successfully boycotted if the railway and marine workers, teamsters and others enforced the principles of trade unionism. If the miners were unable to withstand a reduction now, what of the future? Are periodical advances gained by continuous sacrifice to be succeeded by reductions again and again? Is it to be a never-ending march up and down the hill of capitalism? The same situation applies to the longshoremen. They, too, are almost in absolute control of the lakes. Without their labor shipping would be practically paralyzed. Yet after weeks of negotiations the latter acquiesce to a 7½ per cent reduction, or 2 per cent more than the miners. The iron and steel workers are still more unfortunate and accept a cut of 18 per cent. The latter are not as well organized as the miners and longshoremen. In years past they relied greatly upon the politicians and their "protection, prosperity and patriotism." Their primitive tools of pro-

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duction developed into scientific and automatic labor-saving machinery, around which gathered trustified capitalism, and these former skilled and high-priced workers are now practically at the mercy of the combines and in a rather sorry plight. The glassworkers are quite thoroughly organized, but are also menaced by the new machinery, and are accepting cuts in the vain hope of being able to compete with iron scabs. Altogether, the outlook in the labor world, where the workers in the principal industries accept lower wages, is anything but a cheerful one, especially when we know that the living expenses are not decreasing proportionately. The cry of the capitalists has been that they wish to "stimulate" consumption by inaugurating a lower price level—and labor, of course, is to stand the expense—and thus ward off an industrial stagnation, or at least postpone it. But as capitalistic philosophy is fallacious and its political economy a snare, the scheme of preventing a depression is quixotic and doomed to failure, although capitalism's profits will be guaranteed while labor is, as usual, victimized. There is no need to engage in abstract theorizing to establish this contention. The present condition in the textile industry proves the viciousness of the capitalistic policy. When the poorly-paid weavers were notified of a 10 per cent cut they were informed that it was necessary in order to "stimulate the market" and insure them steady employment. But now thirty mills in and about Fall River announce that but three or four days will be worked until further notice, or perhaps shut down entirely if "business does not pick up." It appears that the market is overstocked, and, as the wages of the workers are being shaved off, it stands to reason that labor's purchasing power is bound to lessen, and instead of postponing the rainy day it is hastened. It is impossible to make a silken purse out of a sow's ear, or to have a decent and equitable system of weath production where the many are forced to toil for the enrichment of a few, and it is about time that the great mass of workers awaken to a realization of the fact that social justice cannot be obtained by accepting the doctrines and rules of the capitalist class and its politicians or its apologists in labor's ranks. It is true, and always will be, that the workers are entitled to the full product of their toil, and although truth may be continually crushed to earth or dragged upon a scaffold, in or out of labor's own conventions, it will triumph sooner or later. And those who antagonize that truth in order to gain the applause of the capitalist class, its press and political hirelings, are bound to meet with bitter disappointments and regrets. The vitality of the labor movement depends upon its militancy—upon its persistency in making demands, and upon its readiness to struggle for better conditions constantly, industrially and politically. No one will deny that the workers have not sacrificed and struggled sufficiently upon the industrial field to deserve better treatment than they are receiving. They have paid dues and assessments together, struck and boycotted together, and have been blacklisted, injunctioned, fined and jailed, and yet all this suffering seems to have had little effect in educating them to strike at the foundation head of oppression—to acquire possession of the powers of government, the law-making, law-interpreting and law-enforcing institutions, and turn the legal enactments, the judicial decrees, the militiamen's bayonets and policemen's club in the other direction—in a word, little or no effort is being made collectively by organized labor—aside from the fight of the Socialist Party—to acquire control of Uncle Sam's governing machinery and enforce it against the robber capitalist class. Indeed, those who have the hardihood to object to being made targets of by capitalism's puppets in political power and advocate seizing the weapon of government in self-defense are sneeringly referred to as being not "good" trade unionists by the alleged "leaders," although the latter, when not hurling abuse at the "radicals," are busy denouncing the outrages of the courts, the militia and police, and for which they refuse to vote and condemn

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others for doing so. There never was a more farcical comedy enacted on or off the stage than the one that is being played at present. No wonder that the capitalists laugh and ridicule the "scarecrow labor vote." The capitalists are perfectly contented as long as they are left in possession of Congress and the state legislatures, the courts and the militia and police. Why shouldn't they be? Their chances of winning in struggles with organized labor are immensely augmented—they control the club and labor is unarmed. They are satisfied to have the contest go on in just that manner forever. Of course the capitalists can and do hold out baits of favorable legislation in order to forestall possible political revolts, but this raises another point.

Everybody knows that the prices of necessities of life have steadily advanced during the past few years. All the financial organs say so, and every one who makes a purchase does not need to read their statistics at that. Anyhow, the organs inform us that prices have advanced over one-third in the last five or six years. True to their class interests, the capitalists, large and small, and their newspapers are busy throwing the blame upon the unions. But the fact remains that wages have not increased more than 20 per cent at the outside; the general average is perhaps nearer the 10 per cent mark. Starting with those "Christian men" headed by Baer, a perfect tornado of abuse has been heaped upon union labor for the price raise, and, of course, the meat trust, or hog combine, flour trust and other trusts down to the meanist little capitalist on the other side of the country, all have joined in the hue and cry. But the fact is, the capitalistic pickpockets began the "stop thief" howl to draw attention away from their own plundering. Mr. Guy Warfield, for example, made an investigation of the anthracite situation for World's Work, and this is what he finds:

"The coal that would have been mined if no strike had occurred was, according to the anthracite coal strike commission, about 25,000,000 tons. Thus the miners forfeited about $25,000,000 in wages. This same commission awarded the miners, when they settled the strike, a wage increase which, including the sliding scale, is estimated at its highest to be 18 per cent. This increases the present wage cost of mining to $1.18 and the total cost of mining to $2.18 per ton, the costs other than wages amounting to about $1. Before the strike the average selling price of coal at tidewater was about $3.60 per ton. A year later this price averaged $4.90 per ton. At $4.90 per ton, with the cost of production $2.18, the operators' profits to-day may be estimated at $2.72. At $3.60 per ton, with the cost of production at $2, their profits before the strike were about $1.60 per ton, or about $1.12 less than now. Since the settlement of the strike the coal companies have produced more than 70,000,000 tons of coal, whicch have been distributed in the market for something in excess of $75,000,000 more than would have been received by the operators at the prices prevailing before the strike. About $75,000,000 additional for their coal as a direct result from the strike—this is the financial prize of the operators. Arbitration or no arbitration, the operator has realized that a strike enriches him."

In plain terms, the miners, on the face of the returns, secured an increase of 18 per cent, while the "Christian men" cleaned up 68 per cent. The fact is the miners were benefited very little. Their rents and prices of necessities have been advanced, many have been blacklisted by the barons and in some districts their shorter workday was taken from them by Roosevelt's "open shop" commissioners. Just to show how this skin game has percolated down through the whole capitalistic family I append the gist of a report that was made by a committee of investigation appointed by the San Francisco Labor Council, which explains how the little parasites grabbed for profits at the expense of union labor. The committee report says among other things:

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"The fruit and vegetable stores and peddlers have raised their prices and tell their customers that they cannot sell at less, as these are union prices. It seems they have an association that fixes prices—the claim of union prices is misleading and is charged up to the union movement.

"Cypress Lawn Cemetery sent to the undertakers a revised price list that covered an increase of 50 to 100 per cent, and stated they were obliged to make the change on account of the demands of the union. The fact is that the union men had been given from 10 to 12 per cent increase in wages.

"Soon after the reed and rattan workers were organized the furniture dealers had their drummers on the road asking more money for their willow ware, saying that they had to because the men were organized. The union had not made any demands whatever.

"The Draymen's Association granted an increase of 75 cents a day to their drivers and charged 10 cents per ton to merchants from the wharves to the warehouses, hauling 50 or more tons per day, and making an increase in their revenue from each team of $5 per day. When asked to explain they told the merchants they had raised prices on account of the raise granted the Teamsters' Union.

"The milk drivers secured a 15 per cent raise in November, 1902, and the dairymen increased the price of milk 66 per cent on the average. Restaurants of the cheaper class have advanced their help on an average of 15 per cent, and the price of meals 25 per cent, saying nothing of the curtailing of the quantity and quality of their meals.

"Restaurants of the higher value have increased wages and conditions equal to 11 per cent and have advanced prices 30 to 40 per cent. River steamboats increased wages to the men $5 per month, equal to 14½ per cent increase, and gave the men 12 hour shifts, which increased their help 25 per cent, making an increased cost for labor of 39½ per cent. They then increased freight rates from 50 to 300 per cent, besides making a charge on returned empty cases equal to the entire pay roll of labor aboard (said empty cases were formerly returned free). Information comes to us from a variety of sources that many merchants in order to make sales at good prices claim that they have to charge the increased prices asked on account of the union, when, in fact, the only part the unions play in the matter is that they increase the pay of labor. These merchants want to add this amount to their profits."

These palpable filchings ought to establish the necessity of collective ownership if nothing else does. Every time any part of the labor army strikes and gains higher wages the capitalistic brood raises prices, in spite of the fact that production is constantly cheapened by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and then the entire labor class pays the difference and much more.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

England.

The Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labor Party have each held their annual conference during the past month. The Social Democratic Federation found itself somewhat disturbed by a few European De Leonites, but dealt with them promptly. By an almost unanimous vote they were expelled from the organizations and their actions condemned.

A resolution was adopted denouncing the British mission to Thibet.

On the subject of Municipalism two motions and two amendments were on the agenda and a most interesting discussion took place. Eventually the Glasgow amendment, slightly altered, was carried: "That this conference is of opinion that Social-Democrats should support all forms of municipal enterprise which tend to substitute socialization for private capitalism; it is of opinion, further, that at the present stage of economic development municipalities will attain the best results by giving the best hours, wages and conditions possible to their employes, and by supplying such utilities as can be charged for at prices which cover cost of production and sinking fund, and leave a surplus to be devoted to further extension; but is of opinion that the using of profits to reduce rates should be avoided as far as possible."

A resolution in favor of unity with the I. L. P. was passed by a unanimous vote.

The following resolutions were then formally proposed and agreed to:

THE FISCAL CONTROVERSY.

"That this conference, recognizing that no tinkering with fiscal arrangements can be of any benefit to the workers, and that so-called 'fiscal reform' is brought forward as a mere red-herring to mislead the working class, expresses its gratification at the apparent failure of the recent agitation, and trusts that the effect will be to strengthen the Socialist movement as the only means for the emancipation of the working class."

THE ALIEN QUESTION.

"That this conference emphatically condemns the suggested legislation against alien immigration, more especially the institution of prohibited areas, passports, and police supervision, which are an attack on the elementary liberties of the subject, and are calculated to play into the hands of the most reactionary powers. This conference further protests against the wholesale discretion as to the admission, exclusion and extradition of alien immigrants placed in the hands of the home secretary by the government bill just introduced."

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CHINESE LABOR.

"That this conference condemns the importation of Chinese labor into South Africa under conditions which virtually amount to a reconstitution of chattel slavery, in the interests of international capitalism, and will tend to the degradation of the working class and the complication of existing social relations and class antagonisms by race difficulties."

The I. L. P. convention, while adopting resolutions of policy very similar to those of the S. D. F., voted down a proposal of unity by a vote of 94 to 38. In the meantime the I. L. P. seems to have considerable difficulty in maintaining even the small portion of Socialism which it sought to introduce in the labor representation council.

Italy.

The great struggle between the two wings of the Italian Socialist party came to a climax at the congress held at Bologna, April 9 to 14. In the opening speech Turati declared that "We call our congress a Socialist congress. This, however, is not true. It is a congress of various groups." In reply to this Ferri said that "Whoever declares that we have no congress of Socialists and who sees only a battleground of two parties certainly has lost all feeling of party unity. All of us have not forgotten that behind those of us who wish unity, there stands an Italian proletariat who knows and cares nothing for theoretical battles."

The final vote showed that 424 sections, with 16,304 votes, supported Ferri's position of anti-ministerialism, while 377 sections, with 14,844 votes, supported the ministerialist position. Ferri reported that the Avanti had now a circulation of 30,000 copies, and that during the time of the prosecution of Ferri by Bettolo it had on some days reached a circulation of 76,000; that it was today on a self-supporting basis.

Portugal.

On January 10, 1875, there was a meeting of the "Association of March 18th" (the Commune anniversary), which was then the center of the labor movement of Lisbon. On motion of Comrade Azedo Guecco, the Socialist Party was organized, thus carrying out what had been projected since 1873, in accordance with the deliberations of the congress of the International Workingmen's Association held at The Hague in 1872. The program prepared by Guecco was adopted. Finally, in 1877, at the congress of Lisbon, the first one organized by the Portuguese Socialists, the program was adopted unanimously by the delgates of all the political labor associations existing at that time.

After four years of vexatious delays the organization was begun. It was still necessary to overcome many difficulties which at every moment arose across the path. From the congress at Lisbon to that of Porto all went well. The associations visibly increased in strength. But after a few months some began to deliberate in secret meetings and the result was that at the congress of Lisbon, in 1879, it was necessary to start the organization of the Socialist Party over again. The moment was unpropitious. The Republican party was working hard to gain control, and to that end it developed a powerful current against the Socialists. In 1880 the two parties were constantly in conflict, so that the congress at Lisbon in 1882 took place under the worst possible conditions. This relentless conflict lasted until 1885, at which time the Socialist Party succeeded in consolidating and developing itself.

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In 1884 a group of "new" elements were formed; it struggled unsuccessfully against the "old"; Guecco was obliged to give up the struggle on account of his health and the "new" comrades soon withdrew, disheartened by the indignities they had to undergo. A new period of conflicts opened for the Socialist Party, and certain important results ensued, among others the disorganization of the Republican Party, the development of the Anarchist forces, the baptism of the dissolving elements to which the name of possibilities was given, opposition to the freedom of laborers, the congress at Paris, and many others. After this difficult period the Socialist Party again reasserted its activity and its importance at the time of the conference of Thomer, in 1895. But this revival was not lasting. New dissolving elements, under the pretext of another "method," brought disunion into the Socialist organizations. The result was still another standstill in the organization of the working class party.

Years passed by. In 1901 the "Confusionists" were routed, and a few months later the conference at Co-imbre gave unity and energy to the Socialist Party. It is now twenty-nine years that the party has existed in this country, enduring many vexations, struggling against numberless difficulties, overcome more than once by treason, but always pressing forward. It has to struggle against the thoughtlessness which is a characteristic of the Portuguese. Time will bring to it the mental discipline which it lacks, and the necessary firmness in action and harmony throughout the movement. But it is very difficult to enlighten the brain of this population which has slumbered for more than seven centuries. There is the colossal task to be realized by the Socialist Party.—From *L'Avenir Social.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Socialism the Nation of Fatherless Children. David Goldstein, author. Edited by Martha Moore Avery, Union News League, Boston. Paper, 374 pp. 50 cents.

This work has generally been passed over by the socialist press without notice. The reason for this is at once apparent to the socialist reader. The arguments are so palpably fallacious and the quotations from socialist authors so flagrantly unfair that the impression which it leaves upon the socialist reader is simply that no one of any intelligence would be affected by it. It must be remembered, however, that the book was not written for people of intelligence. The book is intended for circulation among the ignorant and bigoted followers of theological leaders. It is intended to create a prejudice in their minds which will prevent them from reading and reasoning about Socialist literature. That it might have an effect among such people there is no doubt. The whole aim and object of the book is to show that Socialists are endeavoring to introduce a state of sexual promiscuity.

The author sets himself in opposition to the entire scientific current of the time, denies evolution, denies all the positions by which modern science has placed the 20th century ahead of the 18th, and the Socialists may well be grateful to him in that he shows how necessary it is for any one who would oppose Socialism to take this position and to couple Darwin and Marx in common condemnation. There is a peculiar style about the book which suggests to one who is familiar with the Jesuitical anti-Socialist writings of Europe, that other hands than those that appear upon the title page have had something to do with its preparation. There is a peculiar set of double meanings running through it which characterize all the European writings referred to above, but which have hitherto been absent from the anti-Socialist writings of this country.

The idea is carried throughout the work that Socialism is hypocritical and presents two faces, one to the public for propaganda purposes, the other to converts, and that there is a sort of inner circle wherein the "mysteries of Socialism" are taught to the adepts. To this inner circle only are The Communist Manifesto and the materialistic interpretation of history known. At the same time he rather drops this position when, in order to prove the orthodoxy of these documents, he gives pages of quotations from Socialist papers urging the reading of these same esoteric books. There are other instances of this double-facedness in the book. He neither affirms nor denies, but always insinuates. It is worth while that Socialists should somewhat familiarize themselves with this sort of stuff, since if the present crusade of the Catholic church continues, it is probable that more books of a similar character will appear. It would be the easiest thing in the world to go through the book and pick out ridiculous and erroneous statements, but this would by no means have any effect in

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counteracting the work of the book, since it does not appeal to the intellect but to the prejudice.

It is interesting, however, to see an author who is seeking to pose as the friend of the labor unions and the working class attacking Socialism on the ground that "it makes its propaganda among those men who having the least wealth have the lesser consciousness of citizenship."

The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson, by Thomas E. Watson. D. Appleton & Company. Cloth, 534 pp. $2.50.

The dedication of this book is something which strikes one as either amusing or disgraceful, according to his frame of mind. The idea of looking upon William R. Hearst as a patron of letters and the defender of the "weak and oppressed" and comparing him with Jefferson is both ludicrous and disgusting.

It is unnecessary to state that the author writes as a partisan. This view is not in itself a defect. Most writers do the same, but Mr. Watson is honest enough to avow it and makes no attempt to disguise it.

The work shows much research and careful examination into original sources. Other historians and biographers of Jefferson are scored most roundly if they do not happen to agree with Mr. Watson. In justice to the author, however, it must be said that in at least a majority of cases they seem to deserve his attacks.

The work is written throughout from the small capitalist point of view and probably reflects quite clearly in its opinions the position which Jefferson occupied. It is disappointing to see that the author feels himself compelled to bestow lavish praise upon the lack of an educational system which prevailed in the South in colonial times and upon the institution of chattel slavery.

Much, however, that has been overlooked by the New England historians, who, as he correctly states, has done most of the writing of American history and done it from the New England point of view, is brought out. He clearly shows the existence of class antagonisms in colonial times and rescues from oblivion some of those who stood out against the tyranny of the commercial classes of the sea coast in early times. He also brings together considerable neglected material showing the economic causes that led to the American revolution and does, what almost no other capitalist historian has done, in that he shows the close connection between Washington's personal interest in western lands and his revolutionary activity. He also shows how when the revolution had been fought largely by the armies composed of the working class that the government was constituted in the interest of the commerial classes.

His antagonism to Hamilton, which is of the most virulent sort, has caused him to mass together much valuable material showing Hamilton's close affiliation with the capitalist class and the methods by which he constituted a government of, by, and for that class. When we come to consider his deification of Jefferson, however, the Socialist cannot but disagree. Jefferson was a representative of the southern landed aristocracy, and while it is probably true that he was much closer to the genuinely democratic point of view than Washington, yet, after all, the interests of his class demanded the overthrow of Hamilton, and this could only be brought about by arming the wage slaves of the northern capitalist with the ballot and by the establishment of democratic institutions. At the same time Jefferson's class in the South were saved from any political action of the working class, since their working class was composed of black chattel slaves.

The work is written in a brilliant, even if sometimes bombastic, literary style. As a historical document it cannot be overlooked by any one wishing to familiarize himself with this period of American history.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

With next month's issue the fourth year of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be completed. Looked on from any other point of view than that of dollars and cents, its success has been more than gratifying. Financially, it has been published at a far smaller loss than any other sociological magazine of anything like the same importance. It may be of interest to American socialists to know that the *Neue Zeit*, edited by Karl Kautsky, the most influential socialist periodical in Europe, was published for twenty-one years at a loss, and last year for the first time paid expenses. *Wilshire's Magazine* in a single year expended seventy-five thousand dollars in excess of its gross receipts. Our deficit on the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, on the basis of its present circulation, amounts to only one thousand dollars.

But this comparatively small amount is as serious a burden to our co-operative company with its limited resources as a much larger deficit would be to others. There is no wealthy capitalist behind the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Its continued existence depends on the sacrifices of the 850 stockholders of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Co., nearly all of whom are laborers. To ensure this continued existence, two things are necessary. One is to raise at once a thousand dollars to clear off the floating debt that has accumulated from the loss on the REVIEW last year. The other is to add three thousand names to the subscription list so that there shall be no loss next year.

On April 14 we sent a letter to all the stockholders who were also REVIEW subscribers, explaining the situation and asking for suggestions. Among many prompt and encouraging replies, one was received from Rev. Thomas C. Hall of New York City, which we quote in part:

"Your letter of the 14th is at hand, and I hasten to respond. I am not a 'Marxian Socialist,' but take a warm, although somewhat scientific and perhaps 'cold blooded' relatively, interest in Socialism. This interest is, however, such that I would be gladly of some assistance to the REVIEW, which I would be deeply sorry to see stop. I cannot easily secure subscribers, but I would be one of twenty to give $50 in two installments to cover the $1,000 deficit, and would hope to do the same next year if that insured another lease of life."

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On the same day that this letter reached us, we had a call from a Chicago stockholder, a professional man who cannot allow his name to be used for the good reason that his chance to earn a living would be imperiled if it were known that he is a socialist. Without knowing of Mr. Hall's proposition, he made verbally the same offer, namely, that he would be one of twenty to give $50 each to raise $1,000 to pay off the floating debt incurred on the REVIEW. The suggestion seemed practical, and we at once wrote to a number of those who had previously shown a disposition to help. Only a few replies have had time to reach us up to the date of going to press, but we can definitely announce the following pledges and cash contributions toward the fund of a thousand dollars:

Thomas C. Hall, New York	$50.00
Stockholder, Illinois	50.00
George D. Herron, New York	50.00
W., Illinois	60.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio	50.00
Gaylord Wilshire, New York	50.00
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Mrs. S. D. Whitney, California	10.00
J. O. Duckett, California	10.00
James C. Wood, Illinois	10.00
Dr. H. Gifford, Nebraska	25.00
Total to date	$615.00

Part of the subscriptions are contingent upon the entire amount of one thousand dollars being raised, and it is therefore doubly important that all who wish the REVIEW continued should write at once what they are willing to do. Two of the men whose names appear in this list are farm laborers, and most of the number are people of limited means, who give not because they can easily spare the money, but because they are convinced of the supreme importance of the work.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE REVIEW.

To find new subscribers is a help no less important than to contribute cash. One of our stockholders, Joseph Weiss of New York, writes: "My proposition, which I believe both to be feasible and to meet the existing conditions, as well as to permit of paying a fair remuneration for your most valuable and able management, would be to raise the annual subscription price to $2.50 for outsiders and $1.25 to stockholders, which certainly would be in keeping and consistent with the high standard of socialist literature; furthermore I do not hesitate to predict that the present subscribers are each and every one willing to pay the justifiably increased price for this sort of magazine. No person who appreciates such qualities is going to drop it or do without it for the sake of a mere paltry and trifling increase in the price, which means so much to the management."

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Other comrades have suggested that the price be made one dollar to all alike, instead of fifty cents to stockholders as at present. It is undoubtedly true that the adoption of either of these plans would bring some present financial relief. We do not intend to take either step, however, except as a last resort, for we are convinced that a willingness to read and study the literature of real scientific socialism does not necessarily go along with the ability to pay high prices. The service which the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is rendering to the socialist movement is in that it is circulating six thousand copies each month among enthusiastic socialists who want to know more of socialism, and is thereby helping to create a large body of well-grounded socialists who are capable of explaining socialism to others. It would be easier to pay expenses with 2,000 subscribers at $2.50 or 4,000 subscribers at $1 than with 10,000 subscribers at fifty cents, but to reduce the circulation of the REVIEW would impair its value to the movement. We shall therefore avoid an increase of price if possible. The next few weeks will show. In the meantime we guarantee that every subscriber or purchaser of a subscription card will receive full value for his money, and the best way to make sure of the low rate being continued is to rush in the subscriptions.

A NEW BOOK BY ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

We have just published the first American edition of "God and My Neighbor," by Robert Blatchford, editor of the London *Clarion*, and by far the most popular and widely read of any writer on socialism in the English language. Blatchford's new book is a criticism of the popular, traditional, orthodox theology, and it is a criticism so rational in its spirit and so gentle in its phrasing that it can hardly be offensive to any one. Moreover, the book is in Blatchford's best and strongest style, and will command the attention of any one who begins reading, simply from the admirable literary quality of what it contains.

It is of course agreed that the Socialist Party takes no stand on the question of religion or theology, but leaves such matters to the free choice of its members. Our co-operative publishing house has published books from the Christian point of view, and will doubtless publish more of them in future. This book of Blatchford, while it is an admirable application of historical materialism in simple style, is nevertheless not offered as a Socialist book, but simply as a book that is worth reading by anyone interested in the development of religious ideas. It is handsomely printed on paper of extra quality. The price in cloth binding is one dollar and in paper fifty cents, with the usual discounts to stockholders.

MORE CAPITAL NEEDED.

In the February number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW we announced that the stockholders had voted to authorize the issue of four thousand additional shares of stock at ten dollars each. These are gradually being subscribed by Socialist locals and individual Socialists, but most of the subscribers are paying in monthly instalments of one dollar, so that no great amount of capital has yet been made available for use. The preidential campaign has opened, and there will without doubt be an im-

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mense demand for propaganda literature. Our capital has not been and is not sufficient to enable us to supply this demand, and the consequence is that we have been obliged to utilize our credit to the utmost to carry the present stock of books and pamphlets, and that we shall not be able to increase the supply this year as it should be increased, without some substantial additions to our capital. Ten dollars invested now in a share of our stock will do an important service to the cause of Socialism, apart from the individual benefit to the person or the local making the investment. We will not take space here to explain this benefit, but will mail to anyone upon request a copy of the booklet "A Socialist Publishing House," in which the co-operative organization of the company is fully described. There are probably several hundred readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW who are intending to take stock some time. We wish each of these would realize that now before the campaign is fairly started is the time when the money is most needed.

As we go to press we have a letter from Comrade A. A. Heller of New York, in which he says: "If you were, for example, to issue pamphlets, little easy expositions of Socialism, and send them broadcast, I should gladly join you. If you were to organize a system of mailing literature to individuals or clubs or associations, where it would most be appreciated, at a nominal cost, or no cost at all if necessary, I would make the following proposition: I will subscribe, lend or give $100, if you can raise $900 more for the same purpose. In fact, I'd be willing to give that amount for any good use, provided it will not go to sink more money for an ineffectual undertaking."

Here is a practical suggestion that if acted on will immensely increase the efficiency of our co-operative company during the presidential campaign. To secure the contribution offered by Mr. Heller, it is necessary that nine hundred dollars more be contributed. Many small sums will count as well as a few large ones, and one comrade who has lent a considerable amount of money to the company authorizes us to say that for every dollar of cash contributed during 1904, either to the REVIEW fund started by Mr. Hall, or to the propaganda fund started by Mr. Heller, he will contribute a dollar from the debt due him. Thus every dollar contributed this year will count doubly toward putting the company on a cash basis, where it will be owned absolutely by the co-operative shareholders, with no claim against it from any individual. This will make the future of the company secure, irrespective of the life of any one man or any few men.

Do not delay action in the matter. If you are not yet a stockholder, make yourself one by sending ten dollars for a share, or if that is not possible, then a dollar or more as first payment on a share. If you are a stockholder, send your cash contribution or pledge toward the REVIEW fund of one thousand dollars and the propaganda fund of one thousand dollars. Remember that every dollar you send this year takes two dollars off the liabilities of the company. Address

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A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

Vol. IV. June 1, 1904. No. 12.

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Socialism and the Socialist Movement.*

SOCIALISM is a word having two distinct but related meanings; primarily, it is used as the name of a certain philosophy of history and method of interpreting and analyzing social phenomena. In the second place, since this philosophy and method have as one of their principal conclusions that society is evolving towards a co-operative social stage the word is used to designate a co-operative social organization where the means for the production and distribution of wealth are the collective property of the working class, while the goods which are to be consumed become the private property of the individual workers. The philosophy of socialism, as generally accepted by the socialist parties of the world at the present time, takes as its fundamental hypothesis what has been variously called, the materialistic interpretation of history, historic materialism, or economic determinism. This doctrine is stated as follows in the Communist Manifesto:

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; and consequently the whole history of mankind since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution; now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the

*This article was prepared for the Encyclopedia Americana published by Americana Co. and is re-produced here with their permission. The proofs were sent to several European comrades for correction, and have been prepared with all possible care. Several alterations have been made since the article was sent to the Encyclopedia from information received too late for inclusion in the original article. This is specially true of the portions treating of France, concerning which we received later data from Comrade Jean Longuet. We should consider it a favor if our readers would notify us of any errors which may still remain, as it is probable that the article will be reproduced in an expanded form as a pamphlet.

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same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinction, and class-struggles.''

It is maintained that the form in which production is carried on in any society constitutes the fundamental fact which determines all other social institutions. This does not hold that each economic era begins *tabula rasa* in the field of institutions. Each historical stage inherits its institutions from the previous stage and it can only influence, change and reconstruct these or establish new ones alongside of them. These inherited characteristics include customs, laws, ethical standards, public opinion, and in short the whole social psychology and system of social institutions which has been built up throughout the course of human evolution. The analogy between heredity and environment in biology and in the social organism is here very close. Since the appearance of the institution of private property in the instruments by which wealth is produced and distributed, society has necessarily been divided into two classes according as their members own or do not own these essentials for the production of wealth. The struggle of these classes for power constitutes a large portion of the history of modern times. In the Middle Ages land being the most essential instrument for the production of wealth the landlords were the ruling class and social institutions were determined by them in accordance with their interests. When the great transformation of hand tools into factory machinery took place at the close of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, this machinery of the modern factory became the most essential element in the production of wealth, and its owners became the ruling class.

When the owners of industrial capital had gained their victory they set about establishing a society in accordance with their interests. Since the accumulation and organization of capital was the most essential thing at this historical period the owners of capital formed the class most necessary to the basic industrial process. Later on the capitalist class laid down its function as organizer and director of industry and became simply a share-holding class. Hired wageworkers, including manual workers, overseers, bosses, and superintendents perform all the essential social processes. The capitalist class having handed over its function to the working class, the latter becomes not only the most essential, but the only essential class. The material interests of this class involve it in continuous struggles with the capitalists. Sooner or later this struggle is transferred to the political field where the laboring class is represented by the Socialist Party, having as its object the capture of the powers of government and social control in order that it may use them in the interest of that class.

According to this philosophy the social dynamic which compels advance is the continuous improvement of the processes of

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production. Every new invention and every improvement in the organization of industry starts in motion a series of influences which do not cease until they have reached and affected every institution within the society of which they form the industrial basis. During the last 100 years mechanical improvements have multiplied many fold the productive power of each individual worker. But the army of unemployed prevent the price of labor power as a whole from rising much above the point necessary to maintain the efficiency of the wageworker as a producer. Consequently the workers who use these improved instruments receive but a small fraction of the greatly multiplied product. They have no choice under the present system but to accept these conditions. While production is for sale in the competitive market only the cheapest can continue to produce. Hence, if the workers are to produce, and they cannot live without producing, since they have no power of ownership to take from other producers, they must gain access to these highly perfected tools. Hence they compete with one another for the privilege of using them, and of selling their labor to the owners of the tools. They finally accept a wage-contract by which, for the privilege of producing their own wages during the first hour or two of work, they continue at work for many hours more producing additional surplus value for the owner of the means of production which they use. Improvements in production often take other than mechanical forms. The modern trust is, to some extent, to be considered as such an improvement. Socialist writers pointed out over a half century ago the self-destructive character of competition. It was then foreseen that one of the inherent characteristics of large industry was its greater economy as compared with smaller competitors. Consequently the large industry tended to eliminate all smaller competitors within the circle of its market. Improvements in transportation, communication, and storage rapidly extended the circle of the market to national, and for some products, at least, to international dimensions. When, however, there are sufficient plants constructed to more than supply any circle of the market and competition is reduced to a few industrial units, the wastes of competition and the destructiveness of competitive war become so evident that combination is inevitable. The result is some one of the various forms of combination by which competition is stifled and monopoly established.

The wage workers seek political victory in order that they may impress their interests upon the social organism and thereby remove the evils under which they suffer at the present time. Since most of the evils of which they complain spring from the fact that they are debarred from access to natural resources and the instruments for the production and distribution of wealth, their first demand is that such access be freely granted. But free ac-

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cess implies legal ownership and with modern concentrated complex industry this ownership cannot be individual unless all the evils of the present system are retained. Hence we have a demand for collective ownership.

Thus socialism as a philosophy is mainly an analysis of capitalism. As an ideal, as a social stage, it presupposes the capitalist system, since it alone can prepare the way for socialism. This future system, or ideal, is in no sense of the word a scheme whose adoption is asked for by the socialists. It is simply the next logical stage in social evolution. Socialists do not attempt therefore to give any details of that future society since all such details will be dependent upon the decision of a majority of the working class of that future time, and upon the stage of industrial development which has been attained when socialism is ushered in. Since it is manifestly impossible to foresee either of these factors at the present time, any attempt to forecast the details of their outcome would be plainly impossible.

Socialists maintain that the coming society will be preferable to the present one especially for the working class. With a collective democratically managed organization of industry in which natural resources and the mechanical means for the production and distribution of wealth have their ownership vested in society and where production is for the direct use of the producers and not for sale, the wastes of the present system will be largely abolished. Among these wastes which will be abolished are advertising, duplication of plants and power, poor utilization of mechanical progress, disadvantageous geographical location of industries, etc. Some of these are already being abolished by the trust method of production. But at the present time the saving accomplished redounds almost wholly to the benefit of the few owners of the trustified industry. In addition to this socialists maintain that much greater savings would be made under socialism by the utilization in productive labor of the energies of whole classes of the population from whose strength and ability society, at present, derives little or no advantage. This would be true, for example, not alone of the present army of the unemployed amounting in the United States to between one and three million, according to industrial conditions, but also the purely capitalist class whose function of ownership being performed collectively would enable the members of that class to directly assist in production. By far the larger share of that portion of the population concerned in the protection of individual property rights in what socialism would make collective property, such as lawyers, judges, police, private watchmen, detectives, and the army and navy, would also be capable of utilization in the production of material wealth.

Socialists also claim that in a co-operative society the sum

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total of human happiness would be immensely increased by making the production of goods in itself pleasurable. When profit and the competitive struggle are abolished and productive energies fully utilized there will be a possibility of that leisurely artistic creative activity which modern psychology and pedagogy agree is capable of furnishing the most intense pleasure and valuable educational training to the individual worker while, at the same time, producing the best possible goods for the satisfaction of human needs. It is this phase of socialism which has always attracted artists and has given rise to the now extensive arts and crafts movement. It is easy to see in this connection that socialism would offer a much greater field for the development of individuality than is possible for the great mass of the people to-day.

The theory of socialism is itself a product of evolution, the ideal appearing long before the philosophy of society and the scientific analysis of social relations which make possible the realization of that ideal were worked out. Ever since the days of Plato, and especially since the writing of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, men have dreamed of a society which should be a co-operative brotherhood. During the latter part of the 18th and first half of the 19th century Utopian socialism reached a high degree of development and found numerous illustrious followers. Among these were Fourier, Babaeuf, Saint Simon, and Cabet in Europe, and a few years later Greeley, Dana, and Nathaniel Hawthorne in America would be largely included in this class. Robert Owen marked somewhat of an advance on this position. While he founded colonies and pictured utopias, he also set forth many ideas that have since become a part of modern scientific socialism. Lassalle, Rodbertus, and Weitling in Germany, Colins and De Paepe in Belgium also helped to some degree to formulate present socialist philosophy while they still clung to much of Utopianism. It is with the work of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, however, that modern socialism began to definitely take on the forms by which it is known to-day. In 1845 Marx was ordered out of Paris and went to Brussels where he was joined by Engels and where they founded the "German Working-Men's Association" with the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* as its organ. It was while here that they became members of the Communist League and wrote the Communist Manifesto, to which reference was previously made.

A philosophical and a political goal presupposes an organization for propaganda and political activity. The body that is generally looked upon as the ancestor of the present world-wide Socialist organizations is "The League of the Just" organized in Paris in 1836. The aims of this organization were, however, very indefinite and its principal significance lies in its transformation in 1847 into the "Communist League." This change was

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brought about through the influence of Marx and Engels. While the "Communist League" exercised considerable influence on continental labor movements during the first two or three years of its existence, yet it was overwhelmed in the reaction which followed the revolutions of 1848, and by 1853, it had practically disappeared. Its great contribution to socialism lies in the fact that under its auspices was issued a document that for far reaching consequences and lasting influence must be considered one of the most remarkable ever written. This was the Communist Manifesto drawn up by Marx and Engels as a committee of the Communist League in 1848. This work consists of a summary of the philosophy of socialism and has been translated into almost every known language, and still constitutes the most generally circulated work on socialism in existence. New editions and translations appear continually throughout the world. The next great step was the organization of the International Working-Men's Association at Saint Martin's Hall, London, 8 Sept. 1864. A committee appointed by this meeting and composed of 50 members representing six nationalities presented a declaration of principles which was written by Karl Marx and which was unanimously accepted by the organization. Since this declaration has formed the basis of almost countless socialist platforms in different countries since that time, it is worth reproducing:

"In consideration that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not signify a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of class rule;

That the economic dependence of the working man upon the owner of the tools of production, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence;

That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

That all exertions which, up to this time, have been directed toward the attainment of this end have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical cooperation of the most advanced countries;

That the present awakening of the working class in the industrial countries of Europe gives occasion for a new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into old errors, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united;

"The First International Labor Congress declares that the International Working Men's Association, and all societies and individualities belonging to it, recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellow men, without respect to color, creed, or nationality. The Congress regards it as the duty of man to de-

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mand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

In 1845 Frederick Engels had already published "The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844," which was the first work to set forth the materialistic interpretation of history. In 1867 the first volume of Marx's "Capital" appeared which has ever since been the great fundamental text book of socialism. About 1876 Engels published "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," another work almost equally important, although much smaller in size. These works gave the fundamental principles of socialism to the world, and although these principles have been enlarged and applied in countless directions by a great army of writers since then, they have with very trifling exceptions stood the test of time and have suffered little change.

At the last meeting of the "International" anarchistic forces under the leadership of Bakounin threatened to gain control, and in order to avoid this catastrophe the socialists, who were still in the majority, voted to remove the headquarters of the organization from London to New York. There was another purpose in this also. It was felt by Marx and others that since the doctrines of socialism had been included in various National workingmen's movements, and had been somewhat systematized by the discussions of congress, that the time for a great centralized organization was past, and that its disappearance would be the best thing possible. This ends the history of the socialist movement as one centralized organization, and it can henceforth be best studied in its various national manifestations.

Germany.—Owing to the fact that socialism in Germany was to some extent, in advance of the movement in other countries its history is largely typical. It has also furnished many of the foremost writers and organizers of socialism and has, numerically, always been in the front rank of the International Socialist organization. For these various reasons, the German Socialist movement must occupy considerable space in any discussion of socialism. On the theoretical side it is commonly said that German socialism goes back to Fichte and Hegel and Kant for many of its premises. But the first writers who are directly linked with the modern doctrines of socialism in Germany are Professor Winkelblech, better known as "Karl Marlo," Rodbertus and Weitling. Marlo developed the germs of the idea of collectivism and Rodbertus of surplus value and the doctrine of crises as due to over-production. But neither of them carried their ideas to a sufficient perfection to have in any way entitled them to recognition had it not been for the fact that owing to the work of later writers, and economic and political events, these ideas became of so great importance as to lead to the most diligent search into their origins. Wilhelm Weitling is much more closely linked, both in doctrines

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and in activity, with the modern movement than either of the others. From 1830 to 1843 he was active as a writer and agitator in Germany and Switzerland. He was arrested in 1843 and imprisoned. This was but the beginning of a systematic persecution which finally, in 1849, drove him to the United States, where we shall hear from him again, and where he died on Jan. 25, 1871. Yet after all, he was largely a dreamer and Utopian, and it is Ferdinand Lassalle who really must be looked upon as the founder of the German Socialist movement, even though little that was distinctly Lassallean in doctrine remains in the German Social Democracy of today. Lasalle was born at Breslau 11 April, 1825, studied first at the Trade School at Leipsic, and then took up philology and philosophy at Breslau and Berlin, where he passed his examination with distinction. The stormy times of 1848 drew him into the struggles of the working men and brought him slightly in contact with Marx and Engels, although there is little evidence that he was influenced by them at this time. Lassalle did little in the way of active agitation until 1862. He published "The System of Acquired Rights," containing many socialistic ideas, 1861. On 12 April, 1862, he delivered before an Artisan's Association in Berlin his famous lecture on the labor program (*Arbeiterprogramm: über den besonderen Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstands*). in this lecture he set forth many of the ideas that have since become part of the Socialist philosophy. The published copies of this lecture were at once seized and destroyed by the police and Lassalle was arrested. At his trial he delivered, as his defense, his now famous speech on "Science and the Workingmen" (*Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter*). The next step was taken in response to an invitation to address the Leipsic Workingmen's Association, one of the numerous rather indefinite labor organizations which were later destined to become of great importance in the German Socialist movement. Lassalle sent his "Open Reply Letter." In this he set forth his adherence to the Ricardian theory of the iron law of wages. He declared that the only solution of the poverty of the working class was the organization of productive associations of the workers for which the State must provide the necessary capital. To secure this end he declared that "the working classes must constitute themselves into an independent political party, and must make universal, equal, and direct suffrage their watchword. The representation of the working classes in the legislative bodies of Germany—that alone can satisfy their legitimate interests in a political sense." On 19 May, 1863, the Congress of Workmen at Frankfurt-on-Main adopted Lassalle's program, and four days later the "Universal German Workingmen's Association," which was later to develop into the German Social Democracy, was

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founded. Lassalle, however, was destined to see small fruits from his work. After a few months of tireless, energetic, eloquent agitation, with apparently small results, he was drawn into a duel on a purely personal matter, was fatally wounded, and died 31 Aug., 1864. For a time considerable confusion existed. The International Workingmen's Association, whose organization at London in 1864 has already been described, began to have an influence in Germany. Wilhelm Liebknecht was its principal worker. Many of the principles of the Marxian economics which had been accepted by the International, were opposed to the doctrines of Lassalle. This was particularly true of the State-assisted productive associations. In 1867 universal suffrage was granted for the North German Reichstag and the socialists polled between 30,000 and 40,000 votes, electing six members, among whom was August Bebel, who has never ceased since then to play a prominent part in German socialism, and who had been converted by Liebknecht to the Marxian position and the support of the International. In 1869 at Eisenach the Marxian wing organized the *Sozial Demokratischen Arbeiter Partei*. For the next few years the strife between the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans was fierce. This, however, did not prevent the rapid growth of Socialism, and in 1874 331,670 votes were cast for the Socialist candidates. Three Lassalleans and seven Eisenachers, including Bebel and Liebknecht, both of whom were in prison for alleged treasonable utterances during the Franco-Prussian war, were elected to the Reichstag. This great success brought down the wrath of the governing powers, and a period of persecution began, the first effect of which was to close up the breach between the two Socialist parties at the Congress of Gotha in May, 1875. This union was followed by a rapid increase in the Socialist vote, which by 1877 had reached nearly 500,000. Meanwhile Bismarck was bending every energy to force repressive measures through the Reichstag. It is probable that he would have failed in this, had it not been that two insane persons attempted to assassinate the Emperor. Bismarck at once declared that these attacks were inspired by the Socialists, although there was never the slightest evidence to justify this assertion. However, he at once dissolved the Reichstag, and by means of the most inflammatory appeals to public prejudice succeeded in getting a majority subservient to his purposes. A law was forced through which practically outlawed the entire socialist movement. It prohibited the formation or existence of organizations which sought by Social Democratic, socialistic, or anarchist movements to subvert the present State and social order. Provision was also made that where even these very stringent measures were ineffective, any city could be declared in a "minor stage of siege" in which all public activity was

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directly controlled by the police. The Socialists at once determined upon a policy of "shamming dead." The organ of the Socialist Party was transferred to Switzerland, and from there circulated in great numbers throughout Germany. The only attempt at public propaganda within Germany was through the speeches of the Socialist members in the Reichstag. At the first election taking place under this Reign of Terror in 1881, it appeared as if the policy of suppression was succeeding, as the Socialist vote fell to a little over 300,000. From that time on, however, and in spite of oppression, the party grew by leaps and bounds, until in 1890 it polled 1,427,298 votes. It being manifestly impossible to consider a million and a half of voters as outlaws, the anti-socialist law was allowed to lapse in March, 1890, and Bismarck was dismissed as Minister. From that time to the present the Socialist movement has continued to grow.

THIRTY YEARS' GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

YEAR.	POPULAR VOTE.	MEMBERS.
1871	124,655	2
1874	351,952	9
1877	493,288	12
1878	437,158	9
1881	311,961	12
1884	549,990	24
1887	763,128	11
1890	1,427,298	35
1893	1,876,738	44
1898	2,113,073	56
1903	3,008,000	81

France.—The French Socialist movement, largely because of the fact that France was the country in which Utopianism reached its highest point, and because also of the rather backward economic conditions, was for many years split into various factions. In December, 1899, these united, but only for a short time. Millerand entered Parliament soon after unity had been formed, and it was generally considered that such action on his part was contrary to Socialist principles, and a split followed. In September, 1900, the *Parti Ouvrier Francais,* of which Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue were the most prominent members, withdrew from the union. In 1901 they were joined by the Blanquists, having Edouard Vaillant as their principal leader. These two bodies together with some later seceders, organized the *Parti Socialist de France,* and at the same time the other faction organized as the *Parti Socialist Francais.* This party has shown a tendency to further division, as very many of its members are opposed to the opportunist tactics of its leaders. The

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Socialist parties of France have been of rather recent date. The following table gives their vote from their first appearance to the present time:

		Deputies.
1887	47,000	..
1889	120,000	..
1893	440,000	32
1898	790,000	38
1900	880,000	47

Belgium.—In Belgium there is but one Socialist Party, the *Parti Ouvrier Belge,* which was founded in 1885. For several years the franchise was very limited and the Socialists were barred from any effective political action. Accordingly the early years of the party were given up to agitation in favor of universal suffrage. This culminated in a series of great demonstrations and finally in the general strike in 1893, which resulted in the granting of universal suffrage to all males over the age of 25 years. This was much qualified, for in many elections there is a complex system of plural voting by which those possessing property or special educational qualifications have two or three votes, while the propertyless wage-workers have but one. Yet at the first election in 1894 the Socialist Party polled 320,000 votes and elected 28 deputies out of 152. In 1900 this was increased to 463,000 votes with 32 deputies and four Senators. The principal characteristic of the Belgian Socialist movement is the peculiarly close affiliation of the three phases of the working class movement, the co-operative, trade union, and political activity. Practically every trade unionist is also a Socialist and a member of some one of the co-operative organizations.

Holland.—The Social Demokratische Arbeiderspartij was organized in 1894. For some little time the anarchist influences threatened to gain control, but in 1900 the anarchists, with their leader, Domela Niewenhuis, were expelled from the old *"Socialisten Bond,"* in which they had hitherto been dominant, and that organization merged with the Socialist Party. At this time the daily paper, *Recht Voor Allen,* which had been founded by Niewenhuis, became a Socialist journal. The elections held in 1901, in which the Socialists contested 10 districts, resulted in the election of nine socialists to the Lower House with a total Socialist vote of 39,000.

Denmark.—In Denmark the Socialist movement, like that of Belgium, is closely affiliated with the trade unions, and Denmark claims to be the most thoroughly organized country in the world, over 75 per cent. of its working class, including rural laborers, being included in the unions. They also have a very strong co-operative movement in connection with the Socialist movement.

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The following table gives the vote since the formation of the party:

1872	268
1876	1,076
1881	1,689
1884	6,806
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,094
1895	24,508
1898	31,872
1901	42,972
1903	55,479

Italy.—During the time that the German Socialist movement was forming and the International was carrying the doctrines of Socialism into various other European countries, Italy was still ideologically under the influence of the bourgeois liberalism of Mazzini, and conspiratory anarchism as represented by Bakounin. When these two movements died out, all activity among the laboring classes seem to disappear, and all attempts at socialist agitation were brutally repressed. A Socialist Congress under the honorary presidency of Garibaldi was held at Rome in February, 1881. The socialism here set forth, however, was still very indefinite, the principal demand being for universal suffrage. In 1882, in response to an energetic agitation, the franchise was somewhat extended, but was still very restricted. Nevertheless the Socialists were enabled in 1883 to contest 13 districts and elect two deputies. The present Socialist party was organized at Milan in 1891 and the organization perfected at Genoa in 1892. The first election in which it participated was in 1893, when 27,000 votes were cast. This was followed by a period of oppression under Crispi, in many respects analogous to that which took place in Germany under Bismarck. One phase of this, however, was somewhat different. Under the pretence of revision the electoral lists were so tampered with as to disfranchise thousands of Socialist voters, some of whom were even officeholders, and whose qualifications had never been challenged. So far was this carried that, in some districts which were known to be dominantly Socialist, almost the entire population was disfranchised. The Crispi ministry was wrecked on the Abyssinian expedition, and his successor, Rudini, somewhat relaxed the persecution. Two tendencies are apparent in the Socialist movement of Italy, as in several other countries. The orthodox Marxian wing has as its principal representative Enrico Ferri, the well-known criminologist, who is editor of *Avanti.* The leader of the Opportunist group is Philippo Turati. One of the remarka-

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ble features of the Italian movement has been the hold which it has gained among the agricultural workers. This is due undoubtedly to the extremely pitiable condition to which these workers have been reduced. The following table gives the vote of the party, with the members of Parliament elected since 1892:

1895	78,359	11
1897	120,000	16
1900	170,841	31

Spain.—Spain was one of the countries in which the influence of the International was strong. At a Congress held in Barcelona in June, 1870, 40,000 members of the "International" were represented. Unfortunately, the anarchist followers of Bakounin gained considerable influence here, as in Italy, and with the same result that the revolutionary movement well nigh disappeared. This, in spite of the activity of Paul Lafargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx, to whom reference was made in the discussion of the French movement, and who was at that time living in Spain. In 1882 the present Social Democratic Labor Party was organized, and since then has taken part in numerous elections. At the latest report of the party there were 73 groups, with about 10,000 members, and a press of 13 publications. Pablo Iglesias is the most prominent member of the Spanish Socialist movement.

The following table shows the elections in which the party has participated:

1891	5,000
1893	7,000
1898	20,000
1899	23,000
1901	25,000

Austria.—One of the great difficulties which has confronted the Socialist organizations of Austria has been the diversity of nationalities. Socialists have always insisted on discrediting all National antagonisms and jealousies, and as such have run counter to the strong national and race sentiments that exist in all classes of the population. A branch of the "International" existed in Austria in 1867, and in 1869 these organized a demonstration in which 100,000 men marched to the palace to demand universal and direct suffrage, freedom of speech and association, and liberty of the press. This demonstration was met with profuse promises, but as soon as it was disbanded, its leaders were imprisoned, and a period of brutal repression followed, which momentarily annihilated the entire Socialist movement. The present party was organized at a Congress held at Vienna in 1888, and is closely united to a strong trade union movement. Its first effort was to obtain an extension of the suffrage, and it was finally success-

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ful in gaining a sort of class representation by which the nobility and clergy form one class, the great capitalists the second, the small property owners the third, the peasant proprietors the fourth, and finally the proletarian wage-workers were made a fifth class. Each of these classes elect a certain number of representatives. This, of course, means that one man in the first and second class might easily outvote several thousand in the fifth class. Nevertheless at the first election, held in 1897, 750,000 Socialist votes were cast and 15 deputies elected. In 1900 the second election was held, in which wholesale intimidation and threats on the part of the governing classes resulted in the reduction of the Socialist vote to 600,000, and their representation to 11 deputies. A co-operative movement with 170 organizations, including 53,000 members, and with a capital of 17,000,000 kronen, is affiliated with the Socialist party.

England.—Although it was in England that Marx and Liebknecht wrote many of the classics of Socialism, and although England has been looked upon as the classic land of capitalism, still Socialism in England ranks far behind the movement of other countries which it might have been expected to surpass. This has received many explanations. Perhaps the most satisfactory of these is to be found in the fact that domination of the world market enabled English capitalists to grant small favors to her laboring class, and thus prevent any broader demands. The Social Democratic Federation, which is the oldest of the Socialist bodies, was organized in 1879, but did not become avowedly Socialist until 1883. The Fabian Society was organized 4 Jan., 1884. The Independent Labor Party was organized in Bradford in January, 1893. The S. D. F. represents the International Marxian standpoint; the Independent Labor Party more of the Opportunist movement, while the Fabian Society is almost purely an educational organization. A recent development of considerable importance has been the Labor Representation Committee. This is an organization for the purpose of securing representation of labor in Parliament. In the beginning all three Socialist bodies were affiliated, but later the S. D. F. dropped out because the Committee refused to accept the Marxian position. This body, which is now largely controlled by the I. L. P., claims the adherence of 1,500,000 of trade unionists. There has been a strong tendency, however, for this movement to grow away from the Marxian position, and many candidates have been supported by it who did not accept the entire socialist platform. It is difficult to give any exact figures of the Socialist vote in England, since there has been no opportunity to test their strength by any general Parliamentary election. It is commonly estimated to be between 300,000 and 400,000.

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Norway.—Capitalist development was late in appearing in Norway. Political attention was also focused largely on the question of the union between Norway and Sweden, so that it was really not until 1900 that the Socialist party began to have an independent political existence. In that year it polled 7,440 votes, but it did not elect any representatives to the Storthing. In 1903 this was increased to 24,779, and four representatives were elected.

Sweden.—Socialism was really first introduced into Sweden by a tailor named August Palm, who had studied Socialism in Germany. He established a paper to propagate his principles in 1881. The germs of an organization existed. The Socialist movement is in close co-operation with the trade unions, and it has had some trouble with the anarchists, but in 1891 it drove these out, and the Marxian movement became dominant. There are at the present time over 60,000 dues-paying members, but since there is a property qualification disfranchising all having an income of less than 800 kroners a year, the Socialist vote is very small. Nevertheless they have succeeded in electing one member to the Riksdag. In municipal elections they have succeeded in electing several members to municipal positions. They have a large and influential press, including three dailies, one with 15,000, one with 12,000, and one with 6,000 subscribers. They are endeavoring, through agitation and strikes, to secure universal suffrage.

Switzerland.—Switzerland has long been a refuge for exiled revolutionists. It was one of the strongholds of the "International," and Geneva was the seat of several congresses. Nevertheless the party did not take part in elections until in recent years. The following gives the votes at the various elections in which they have participated:

1890	13,500
1893	29,822
1896	36,468

Russia.—The Russian Socialist movement is of necessity secret. It has also been confused in the past with purely governmental reform movements upon the one hand, and conspiratory anarchist organizations upon the other. But in 1898 a Socialist Party was organized on Marxian principles, with an extremely active secret propaganda, and in spite of the fact that Russian conditions are peculiarly favorable to a conspiratory force movement and the anarchist philosophy, the result here, as everywhere else, of the appearance of a Socialist movement has been the decline of anarchist activity. The initiative for the party comes largely from the students of the Russian universities, although in late years there have been extensive movements of the laborers in

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industrial districts. In all of the other minor European nations Socialist organizations are in existence, but in most of them they are rather unimportant, although there are two Socialist representatives in the Servian Legislative Chamber. The Armenian Socialist movement is quite active, and, like the Polish, has organizations throughout the United States and Europe, which help support the home movement.

Japan.—No sooner had capitalism reached an advanced stage of development in Japan than Socialist activity appeared. This was confined to agitation by lectures and pamphlets until 1901, when a Socialist Democratic Party was founded, which was at once suppressed by the government. Nevertheless there is now one weekly and one monthly journal devoted directly to Socialist propaganda, while several other papers are publishing considerable Socialist material and maintaining a favorable attitude.

South America.—In the South American countries there is more or less Socialist activity in Brazil and the Argentine Republic. In the latter country the movement has reached considerable proportions. It was first founded in 1882 by German immigrants, and in 1890 a National organization was effected and a weekly paper established. By April, 1894, there were five Socialist groups, each with its organ, and in December of this year these united in a Central Committee. At the present time, however, the vote is insignificant. The official statistics, which the Socialists claim are incorrect, only record 204 votes as given in 1902, the Socialists claiming that this should be 1,000. On March 13, 1904, the Socialists elected Alfredo Palacios to Parliament. The vote, however, is not yet accessible to us.

Even in China word has recently come of the translation of the works of Marx and Engels into Chinese, and the statement is made by one of the prominent Chinese reformers that the doctrines of Socialism are making rapid headway in that country.

United States.—The industrial condition of the United States prevented the appearance of any strong Socialist movement until within comparatively recent years. The presence of an ever-moving frontier led to a social stratification by geographic stages which was constantly changing, and which, therefore, prevented the appearance of any such continuous class struggle as a Socialist philosophy presupposes. The presence of free land and the expanding market meant a large opportunity for individual advancement, both from the ranks of laborers to capitalist and from small capitalist to large capitalist. The Socialist movement is peculiarly a product of the industrial proletariat, and while the population of the United States remained largely rural such a movement could gain no great strength. Again, the existence of chattel slavery throughout the South, prior to the Civil War, created an economic contest between these two forms of industrial

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organization which overshadowed the still somewhat indistinct contrast between laborers and capitalists. But though these industrial conditions prevented the growth of Socialism in the Eastern sections, they gave the greatest encouragement to the growth of a Utopian Socialism, and so it came about that for many years the United States was the experimental ground on which were tested the various theories of European Utopians. These movements are often confounded with latter day Socialism. They really had practically no connection, save that both have the idea of collective production. But the collective production of the colony is to be a scheme worked out in our present society, while the collective production of modern Socialism is simply one phase of the coming social stage. William Weitling came to America in 1849 and succeeded in organizing something of a Socialist movement in New York in the years immediately following. His movement, however, was of short duration, as was also that of Joseph Weydemeyer, who came shortly after him, and who was a personal friend of Marx and Engels. The Civil War wiped out nearly all traces of both of these movements. After the War the influence of the "International" extended to America. This influence was first seen in the National Labor Union, in which William H. Sylvis was the most prominent worker, and which practically disappeared with his death in 1869. During the next three years numerous sections of the "International" were organized throughout the country, and on removal of the "International" to this country, some attempt was made to revive it, but its last convention was held in Philadelphia 15 July, 1876, and this convention formally dissolved the organization. On 4 July, 1874, the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America was organized, with a rather indefinite Socialist platform. This grew in strength during the next few years, and in 1877 the name was changed to the Socialist Labor Party of North America. Following the extensive labor troubles of 1876 and 1877 this party grew into national prominence, and succeeded in electing minor officials in several States. But it was still too indefinite to protect itself from anarchistic influences which crept in, and which nearly wrecked the party, until finally those influences reached their climax and their end in the Haymarket incident in Chicago. The work of organization had now to be practically all done over again. In September, 1887, the Sixth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, held at Buffalo, N. Y., took up the work of reorganization. The Socialist elements in the labor movement were still rent with internal feuds, but by 1899 a steady upward growth began to be seen. Meanwhile, certain other movements which have undoubtedly contributed to the strength of Socialism had developed. The Greenback Party and the Henry George movement both con-

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tained many of the ideas of Socialism, and undoubtedly proved a means by which many were led to adopt the Socialist position. In 1892 the Socialists for the first time nominated a Presidential ticket, consisting of Simon Wing of Boston, Mass., and Charles H. Matchett of Brooklyn, N. Y. The following table shows the growth of the Socialist movement during the next few years:

1892	21,512
1893	25,666
1894	30,120
1895	34,869
1896	36,275
1897	55,550
1898	82,204

About this time the Socialist Labor Party changed its attitude toward the trade unions and established the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance as a rival organization to the existing unions. But this at once led to an animosity both within and without the party, and, finally, 10 July, 1899, a split starting in Section New York S. L. P. rapidly spread throughout the country, until a large majority of the former members of the S. L. P. had left that organization. Meanwhile, another Socialist Party had grown up alongside the S. L. P. Following the A. R. U. strike Eugene V. Debs declared himself a Socialist, and organized the Social Democratic Party. This quickly drew to itself a large number of persons who had objected to the tactics of the S. L. P. Many of these were persons who had been brought to an interest in Socialism through the reading of Bellamy's "Looking Backward," which had a tremendous sale during the late '80s. The Social Democracy was first organized on 18 June, 1897, at a convention in Chicago. At this time it still retained a demand for colonization and some other features which differentiated it from the International Marxian movement. On 7 June, 1898, at the first National Convention of the Social Democracy, those who were opposed to these principles bolted the convention and organized the Social Democratic Party of America. This party had a very rapid growth in several States, and succeeded in electing in the fall of 1899 two representatives to the Massachusetts State Legislature. After considerable trouble and delay, a union was effected between the Social Democratic Party and the bolting majority of the Socialist Labor Party at a convention held in Indianapolis 29 July, 1901. During the campaign of 1900, while this union was not completely effected, the two parties supported the same candidates, and Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman polled a vote of 97,730. Meanwhile, the Socialist Labor Party vote had fallen off to 34,191. At the unity convention of Indianapolis the name Socialist Party was chosen for the united party. Since

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that time this party has been growing at a very rapid rate, and at the present writing has a paid-up membership of nearly 30,000. At the State election of 1902 the total vote of the Socialist Party reached over 300,000. Numerous candidates were elected to municipal positions. Although the old International disappeared in 1876, quite close relations have been continuously kept up between the various Socialist parties, and in 1889 the first of a new series of congresses was held at Paris. This was followed by others, as follows: Brussels, 1891; Zurich, 1893; London, 1896; Paris, 1900; and the next is to be held at Amsterdam in 1904. At the Paris Congress an International Socialist Committee was formed, located at Brussels. This organization differs from the old International in that it is simply a creature of the great national organizations and a means of carrying out their common ideas, instead of being a great directing and controlling force.

A. M. SIMONS.

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The Japano-Russian War—Its Actual Causes and Probable Effects.

WHAT is it all about"?

Ask this question of any of the Russian soldiers fighting in the far East against Japan, and you will get the characteristic reply:

"Can't tell; the superiors know all about it."

Address the identical question to a Japanese soldier and you will probably receive a similar answer.

The rank and file of the Russian and Japanese army are unsophisticated children of the people—peasants or city laborers. The Russian soldiers most likely before the beginning of the war were hardly aware of the existence of Japan, just as the Japanese soldiers probably were ignorant of the existence of Russia. There could not be any enmity between the Russian and Japanese people.

And yet torrents of human blood flow in the Far East, and millions of dollars, representing untold years of human toil, are wasted in the costly Japano-Russian war.

What is it all about?

It appears obviously that Japan, in starting the war, acted in self-defense. Indeed Russia is a dangerous next-door neighbor. The actual annexation of Manchuria by Russia and the Czar's aggressive policy in Corea were menacing the very existence of Japan as an independent state. The diplomatic negotiations concerning the *casus belli* were conducted by Russia with a procrastination that confirmed the suspicions of Japan. The latter is comparatively too small a country to be able to afford taking chances with a giant adversary like Russia, when the latter is fully equipped for war. To wait till Russia would, under the transparent cover of protracted diplomatic negotiations, prepare for striking the mortal blow would be suicidal for Japan.

Russia in her attitude towards Manchuria and Corea followed its traditional policy of expansion, its "Drang nach Osten."

What are the actual motives of this persistent policy of expansion on the part of Russia?

Reasoning by analogy is frequently misleading, due to the human inclination to presuppose analogies where they do not exist.

England, Germany, France and lately the United States are pursuing a policy of expansion or imperialism.

These are manufacturing countries in which the ruling class is the captains of industry, the owners of the complete mechanism of production and transportation of commodities. The working classes of these countries do not receive the full product of their

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toil and are therefore not able to buy all the goods produced by them. With the increasing perfection of the tools and methods of production this underconsumption of commodities must also increase proportionately. The owners of the tools of production, in order to create profit for themselves, are therefore compelled to look for new markets for their goods or commodities. Expansion, imperialism, is consequently a policy dictated by the class interests of the capitalists.

It is therefore natural for those who do not know Russia to conclude that the Czar's policy of expansion is dictated by industrial considerations. However, such a conclusion is erroneous.

Russia is not an industrial, but almost exclusively an agricultural country with a very sparsely settled population.

In spite of the high tariff policy recently adopted by the Russian government, its manufacture is yet in its infancy and cannot supply the inner market. There is no powerful middle class in Russia as yet.

The ruling class in Russia is composed of officials *(chinovniks)*, of bureaucrats. The bureaucracy is interested in having as many "faithful subjects" as it can get. The hundred and eighty millions of Russian "subjects" are not sufficient for the *chinovniks'* appetite. An addition of twenty millions of "subjects" would furnish a new field for exploitation by an army of police officers, judges, revenue inspectors and such other officials.

The expansion of Russia means the expansion of the power of the bureaucratic class recruited from the ranks of the degenerated gentry.

Not one of the newly acquired territories in Asia proved to be of any economic value to the national treasury of Russia.

The Russian people has nothing to gain in the Japano-Russian war and a great deal to lose in money and blood.

Prince Peter Krapotkin said in *The Speaker* "Looking now upon all the events, I cannot but say that it was a misfortune for the Russian nation that no other civilized nation had taken possession of northern Manchuria. The whole history of that part of the world would have taken another turn, if, let us say, the United States had got hold of this territory. The colonization of the Ameer and that railway across Manchuria have cost immensely to the Russian people; but this territory will never be Russian." It will be invaded very soon by Chinese, Coreans, and Japanese settlers, while Russian settlers will never feel at home in that region of monsoons. More than that. Even as a protection against a possible march of the yellow race against Europe Manchuria would be of no avail. This is why, before the present war broke out, so many Russians advocated that the Manchurian railway, or at least its southern portion to Port Arthur, should be sold to China—a solution which might have been possible then, but now,

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that floods of blood are going to be shed this would be impossible."

That Russia will never be allowed to take possession of Corea by England and the United States is a foregone conclusion.

There is a curious similarity between the present Japano-Russian war and the Crimean war. After three years of fruitless diplomatic negotiations the Russian ambassador left Constantinople on May 21, 1858, and the war started three days later. Russia was unprepared for war.

Silly diplomats, muddle-headed generals and a horde of incapable civil officials instigated and conducted the war. The defeat of the Russian arms proved to be a boon to the Russian people. Sebastopol was the Waterloo of anti-reform Russia. Nicholas I poisoned himself and Alexander II inaugurated an era of wide-reaching reforms. Should the Russian government meet with another Sebastopol, history may yet repeat itself and Russia will be blessed by a speedy termination of the Czar's absolutism with its barbarity, corruption and disgrace.

The loquacious Emperor of Germany called contemptuously the German social-democrats "fellows without a fatherland" (*Vaterlandslose Gesellen*). Obviously there are different conceptions of patriotism. There is an official patriotism embracing the interests of the ruling parasitic minority and there is a genuine patriotism manifesting itself in sincere devotion to the true interests of the toiling broad masses of the people.

Official patriotism is the last refuge of parasitism in social life and leads to brutal wholesale and retail murder. Enlightened patriotism is broader than geographical, political or ethnical lines of demarkations; it embraces in its folds all humanity and leads to peace on earth and good will to men.

A genuine, enlightened patriotism is expressed by the Russian revolutionary movement, which is for peace with Japan, as with all the rest of the world, and against the bloody hand of the White Czar greedily grasping everything within its reach.

ISADOR LADOFF.

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Report of the International Bureau by the Secretary for the United States.

COMRADES OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION:

The International Socialist Bureau was formed as a result of the Paris convention of 1900, and of previous conferences between the national representatives of the Socialist movement in Europe.

The purpose of its formation was to constitute an international bureau, through which the Socialist movement of the various nations of the world might communicate with each other, and cooperate with each other in mutually understood programs and, so far as practicable, in united action.

Brussels was selected as the seat of the International Bureau, and semi-annual meetings have been held since the bureau's formation.

But it cannot be said that the bureau has as yet accomplished much beyond keeping itself on record, or beyond the rather unimportant discussions of details that have occupied its semi-annual sessions. Perhaps its most significant action has been the securing of concurrent action on the part of the Socialist members of the different European parliaments concerning the war between Great Britain and the Boers. Resolutions were introduced by Socialist members into the national legislative bodies at Berlin, Rome, Paris and Brussels, that created no little discussion and considerable British indignation and protest. As a result many public meetings of protest were held throughout the continent.

While, of course, the resolutions had no effect upon the war or its outcome, the pedagogic or propaganda result was very valuable. Some discussion has also been occasioned by the resolution passed by the bureau concerning the lynching of negroes in the United States. I feel obliged, however, to decline personal responsibilities for the resolution as it was worded. It is very different in statement and substance, and is much more extreme, than the report which I sent to the bureau upon the subject.

But, on the whole, it does not seem to me that the International Socialist Bureau has as yet been at all equal to its opportunities. It it not worth while for Socialist men—all of them over-worked in their own national movement—to gather together from the ends of the earth twice a year to hear statistical reports and minor discussions. But it is immeasurably worth while that the International Socialist movement be fused into one great dynamic world-body; that the Socialist movement of all nations shall act together as one voice, and one power, in every great question in every nation; that it shall hold and be the balance of power which every nation must reckon with. The poet's dream of the federation of the

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world and the parliament of man, is germinal in the International Socialist Bureau, and it is only by the recognition of this, and by a larger sense of the bureau's opportunities and significance, that it can justify and develop its being.

I am afraid it ill becomes the member from the United States to speak with such emphasis concerning the possible need and importance of the bureau, as the Socialist movement of this country has taken practically no interest in the bureau's existence, and has paid nothing towards its maintenance. There seems to be some confusion even of the International Socialist Bureau, which is, in theory, in perpetual session, with the International Socialist Congress, which meets upon the call of the bureau, and is a convention, not a bureau, and which meets this coming August in Amsterdam, and to which this convention should elect delegates.

We should also at this convention adopt, or recommend, some method of making a regular annual contribution for the maintenance of the bureau. All that has been paid is the sum of 151½ francs in 1901, and that was by a private individual and for the Social Democratic Party, before the present unity of the Socialist forces had been accomplished.

The Socialist movement of the United States as a movement has paid nothing at all in the four years since the bureau's formation.

I would recommend that the sum of 1,000 francs, or $200.00, be settled upon as our present annual contribution.

Fraternally submitted,

(Signed) GEORGE D. HERRON.

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Concentration of Wealth in the United States.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Theoretical Discussion.

EVERY investigation or treatment of a subject, if it is to be at all systematic, must be carried on from some certain point of view, and be conducted according to a definite method. In one sense it is the point of view alone which serves to differentiate the various branches of science, since all have the same subject matter, the material universe. It is only because certain portions of that subject matter are selected or eliminated and approached with definite ends in view that the sciences differ from one another.

The facts concerning industrial concentration have been presented from the statistical side, from the financial point of view, and to some extent with reference to their effect on other social phenomena. We propose to take a somewhat synthetic view of these various presentations, mainly with reference to the effect of progressing concentration on industrial, political and social institutions of contemporary society.

Even after the field to be investigated has been determined upon and its limits defined, another consideration arises if the phenomena to be considered are sociological. As Senior pointed out many years ago, no one is interested in proving that two and two make anything else but four, or that the law of gravitation or chemical affinity does or does not apply in certain cases. But in the field of social affairs large classes of the community have a very great interest in the truth or falsity of every economic law. This is especially true in modern society with its sharp division of economic classes having divergent interests. No one can avoid being influenced by the prejudices arising from his individual and class interests. He may be unconscious of them, or he may conceal them from those to whom he speaks, but they are none the less there, and hence it is far better that he frankly recognize them and state them, for his own and the reader's guidance.

Throughout this investigation we shall write from the point of view that in our present society working-class interests are alone worthy of consideration, because those interests include within themselves the forces which are making for social progress.

Once that the field of phenomena has been determined upon and the point of view adopted, there remains the question of the method of treatment. In this study we shall follow what is

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coming to be known as the comparative, historical, evolutionary method. That is to say, the phenomena discussed will be treated in their chronological order. At the same time the various lines of development will be compared, and their interrelation pointed out. It will be taken for granted that each event evolves from some preceding one in accordance with the laws of biological and sociological evolution. The industrial development will be considered as the fundamental basis upon which is erected the whole social and political superstructure. Improvements in the methods of producing and distributing goods will be considered the dynamic of industrial evolution. Mechanical inventions and more effective methods of industrial and financial organization effect changes throughout the entire social organism of which they are a part.

The various discussions dealing with the trusts may be broadly divided into two classes, according as they approach the subject from the point of view of the capitalist or the working class. The defender of, or apologist for, capitalism takes for granted the permanence of present class rule in society, based upon the private ownership of the instruments for the production and distribution of wealth. These writers generally agree that competition constitutes the basis and essential condition of industry. Some attempt to modify this position, and to make certain concessions to Socialism. The fact is, however, that capitalism depends upon competition to select those men fitted to its environment. Competition to them is the great regulator, and is disappearance means a transformation of the industrial mechanism based on exploitation. From the time of Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill and his followers of the present day, the doctrine of *laissez faire* has been the only one that has been wholly consistent with the capitalistic system.

Concentration appears to the capitalist writer as abnormal. He attempts to show that it is confined to certain industries. By the theory of "increasing, diminishing and constant returns" he classifies the movement of concentration out of the competitive system. According to this theory there are only a few special industries which follow the law of "increasing returns," that is, in which the cost of production is constantly less, and the profit therefore constantly larger with each increase in the number of units produced in a single industry.

The great mass of industries, says the economist of capitalism, are to be found obeying the law of constant returns according to which there is no particular advantage favoring the large industry. The great basic industry of agriculture is held to obey the law of diminishing returns, according to which the smaller the industrial unit the cheaper the cost of production per unit of product. Having laid this broad, fallacious, theoretical founda-

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tion, he next proceeds to find reasons why there are any industries which obey the law of increasing returns, and which, therefore, tend toward monopoly. It is claimed that only those industries which have "special privileges," such as franchises, patents, trade secrets, limited supply of raw material, etc., really tend toward monopoly. Still, in pursuit of the idea that concentration is an abnormal pathological social phenomena, the "remedies" for this condition are sought. These "remedies," as a general thing, take the form of some sort of restrictive legislation, limiting the power of these "special" industries. Of late, however, such writers have taken another turn and seek to utilize class-controlled governments as a means of owning and operating such industries, hoping thereby to secure the profits for the benefit of the whole mass of competing tax-paying small capitalists. It will be noticed that this method is in strict accord with straight capitalistic economics, as it still seeks to maintain a class of small exploiters, and therewith the whole competitive system. Whether this would be the result or not we will not attempt to discuss here.

The Socialist, on the other hand, looks upon concentration of industry from the beginning as the logical outcome of competition, and the whole process is considered as physiological and not pathological. Nevertheless, most of the socialist writers have treated the subject in a decidedly fragmentary way. The earlier writers, especially Marx, foresaw that "one capitalist devours many," but what they did not and could not foresee was the possibility of the persistence of monopoly throughout a considerable portion of the industrial field during the existence of capitalism. It would have required more than human foresight to have done so. We shall return to this point again. The socialist then looks upon concentration as an historic stage within capitalism. He recognizes the self-destructive character of competition and its inevitable tendency towards monopoly. He sees that combination comes, not in spite of but as a result of competition. He also sees in the concentration of industry and its control by a few non-producers evidence that the last stages of capitalism have been reached, since such a condition is manifestly one of unstable equilibrium. At the same time his interpretation of this phenomena leads him to conclude that the next stage of evolution will be marked by co-operative ownership of the essentials of production and distribution of wealth.

It is necessary to differentiate the methods of concentration. There are two very different ways in which the agggregation of capital takes place, only one of which was foreseen by the earlier socialist writers. This first method is what might be called the method of accumulation by which the capitalist adds to his capital through the surplus value of his workers. As his business grows

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larger this surplus value also becomes larger, both absolutely and relatively. He can produce cheaper, therefore can sell cheaper and compete his industrial adversaries out of existence. This process produces what may be called the "great industry," which is something very different from the trust or monopoly. Indeed, it is during the period when the few great industries occupy the field that competition is most fierce. During the entire period of the growth by accumulation, there is no diminution in the fierceness of the competitive struggle.

This condition brings about another form of concentration. Instead of one industry competing the others out of existence by a gradual growth in power due to added increments of surplus value, the owners of these industries decide to cease fighting each other and unite and divide the surplus value accruing to the entire industry. This growth by aggregation or combination is something peculiar practically to the last decade and in a large degree to America. There is little sign that Marx foresaw this phase of the movement, at least, we have been unable to find anything that could be considered a definite foretelling of it. This movement must stifle all competition in large portions of the industrial field, and cannot but have important effects on the entire economic structure of a society built upon competition.

Certain conditions are essential to each stage of concentrated industry. These conditions like concentration itself may be divided into two classes. The first are those which are essential to the growth of the great industry; the second, those which pave the way to the combinations of the great industries and the stifling of competition. As preliminary to the first stage, the most essential thing is a perfected factory system. The factory system has been so often described by Marx, Hobson and a host of other writers that a mere enumeration of its principal features must suffice here. The establishment of a factory system presupposes the use of improved machinery for production and the application of some form of power aside from the physical strength of men in the operation of that machinery. It demands a division of labor with high specialization of product for each individual worker, which leads inevitably to the next necessary stage, an aggregation of employes into industrial armies with overseers, superintendents, etc., and implies as a corollary the training of workers in technical schools for these special tasks.

The factory system implies a decrease of waste through the use of by-products, purchases on a large scale, uniformity of operation, etc. These savings, it will be noted, are of a different character from those brought about by the second stage of concentration—that of combination of previous competing industries.

A second condition of the growth of the large industry is a wide circle of the market, that is to say, the extent of territory acces-

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sible in a profitable manner to the seller of the product must be very great. In a country as large as the United States, there may be several separate circles after this stage has been attained. Within each such circle a single "great industry" reigns, which interferes but little with those occupying other circles. Such a condition is manifestly one of unstable equilibrium. Soon the circles overlap; then they merge into a great national circle, within which competition may continue for some time, since its boundaries, being to a considerable degree physical, are much more permanent than those of the previous smaller markets.

This implies improved transportation facilities and the possibility of storage and preservation of the product. With a highly perishable product, the risks incurred in handling a great stock has hitherto tended to keep the unit of production smaller than in those lines where storage is possible. Whenever methods have been discovered by which a hitherto perishable product can be stored and shipped to great distances, the result has been an immediate and great increase in the size of the industrial unit. One of the most striking examples of this fact is to be found in the handling of meat products.

The boundaries of the market must remain approximately the same for a long enough time to permit the larger industry to outcompete the smaller firms. If the boundaries of the market are constantly shifting, and particularly if they are continually growing larger, new opportunities for the smaller competitors will be always appearing. It will be difficult to eliminate the new and smaller plants which will continually spring up on the margins of the expanding market. This fact is of especial importance in the United States. So long as there was a manufacturing frontier for any industry, new competitors were constantly springing up in in this new territory. These competitors often grew with the territory where they were located until they became of sufficient strength to hold their own with the earlier established industries. It was only when an intricate and comprehensive railroad system made possible a uniform market throughout the United States and something approaching a uniformity of industrial development was reached throughout the country that the permanent growth of the large industry was assured.

Another condition essential to any great growth in the size of the industrial unit is the possibility of a large amount of surplus value. This is really a consequence of a perfected factory system and the large circle of the market to which reference has already been made. Until the margin of unpaid labor became great, the increment of growth per industrial unit was still so small that it was impossible for one industry to dominate the entire industrial field of any one country. When, however, the productive power per individual worker was increased by the appli-

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cation of improved machinery and modern factory methods of production and distribution, the profits of capital became so great as to permit a rapid growth in the income available for capitalization and extension of the plant.

A fourth and not unimportant condition of the growth of the great industry was the introduction of the corporate form of organization. The corporation furnishes an impersonal legal organization, which is unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, is capable of indefinite expansion without disturbance of its internal relations, and most important of all, allows a combination of the capital of a large number of individuals without the necessity of reconciling their personal differences. It also permits the employment of an organized force of superintendents and managers of industry. Hitherto managing and organizing talent could only be utilized when it was coupled with the ownership of capital. Through the corporation such talent can be utilized for the capitalist even though the possessor of the desired talent is propertyless.

The great industry was a natural preparation for the next step, the combination of several industries into one great industrial giant. This second stage in concentration presents not simply quantitative but qualitative differences. The conditions which gave rise to it, as well as the methods of organization, and the social results are in many ways decidedly different from the preliminary conditions, forms of organization, and social effects of the concentration of industry due to accumulation. The stage just prior to the union of competitive firms is generally marked by the fierce competition of a few large firms. This competition is in many ways different from the competition which prevails previous to this stage. Earlier competition was looked upon as something permanent, as a steady regulator. The competition which leads to monopoly is a fierce struggle for final mastery and not for momentary advantage. Indeed, it is generally termed in the popular accounts a war, or a battle, rather than competition. Combination is almost always preceded by an overproduction relative to the restricted market of capitalism. This is an indication that sufficient plants have been constructed to more than supply the demand within the circle of market reached by these plants.

Another absolutely essential preliminary to widespread combination is the development in a very perfect manner of what has been designated by the French as *"haute finance."* By this is meant the manipulation and organization of the stock market as distinguished from the managing of industry. The class of men who are designated as "financiers," and who soon come to have the supreme power over industry, forms a wholly different class from the industrial capitalist. The expert knowledge required of them has nothing to do with the technical operation of industry,

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or even with the organization of men, methods and materials, but only with the buying and selling of the securities which represent ownership. This implies a highly developed banking system and widespread extension of credit, the establishment and thorough organization of stock exchanges, and, in short, all the paraphernalia which is today concerned with the handling of industrial paper. The final flower of this system is the promoter. This man is as completely divorced from industrial operations as can be imagined and, indeed, in some degree stands in the same relation to the owners of stocks and bonds and the ordinary capitalist as these capitalists do to the captains of industry—the superintendents and managers.

The combination of industries and the consequent elimination of competition has its own definite effects in the industrial field distinct from those brought about by the great, but still competing, industry. The savings which it accomplishes and which are peculiar to its form of organization are those which accompany and are inherent in competition. These savings arise from the doing away with duplications, to some extent of advertising, from effective and economic localization of industries, dismantlement of less productive and utilization of the most effective plants, the combination of related patents, trade secrets, methods of work, etc.

This process of combination is in itself an evolution, consequently it does not attain its perfected form all at once. In the beginning, loose alliances, "gentlemen's agreements," friendly arrangements as to prices, etc., are formed. These being relatively unstable and unsatisfactory are necessarily temporary; indeed, they are generally little more than the first preliminary fencings by which the relative strength of the combining parties is determined, and are constantly broken, in order that questions of strength may be settled by an appeal to the competitive battle. Each time, however, that this battle is closed by an agreement the articles of combination are stronger than previously. The agreement as to price is succeeded by various forms of pools in which the profits are taken out of the hands of individuals to be re-distributed by joint action. This form of organization, which still permits the withdrawal of any member who either feels himself aggrieved or strong enough to engage in the industrial battle, is also temporary and soon gives way to what is properly known as the trust form in which the first step is taken toward depriving the individual owners of all right of ownership in their former plants. Under this system the stock in the various combining corporations is placed in the hands of trustees who then vote that stock as a whole and control the business as a unit. Even this form of organization was not found proof against the legislative attacks of the small capitalists who still remained within the competitive field and who saw their mar-

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gin of profits being narrowed by the formation of monopoly. Repeated legal attacks taught the trust organizers the weak points in this earlier form of organization, and finally led to the more perfect form which now generally dominates. This consists of a purchasing company organized in some State having very flexible incorporation privileges which permit the purchase of the stock of other corporations. This purchasing corporation then buys at least a majority of the stock in each of the companies it is proposed to consolidate. The directors of this purchasing corporation then elect themselves the directors of the constituent corporations and amalgamation is complete. Whether further steps will be necessary or not it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that we may look forward to a final stage in which there will be a complete dissolution of the constituent companies and direct purchase of the plants by the single consolidated corporation. Indeed, this has already been done in many industries.

Another step of which we can already see the beginnings is to be found in the integration of great allied industries as distinguished from competing industries. We see signs of this in the miscellaneous industries owned by the United States Steel Company and by many railroads. This movement has already advanced much further than is commonly recognized.

In the process of final consolidation two stages are also to be distinguished. These stages have little importance industrially, but much financially and socially. The first of these is what might be called the speculative stage. In this the promoter and financier who are concerned with the management of the industry seek to get their main income, not from the surplus value of the workers engaged in the industry, but from the multitude of small capitalists who can be induced to purchase shares. This is the period during which the common stock is unloaded upon the market and great bonuses are received by underwriters and promoters.

The second stage is what may be called the investment stage. By this time the water has been squeezed out of the stock, the smaller stockholders have been completely exploited, "the shearing of the lambs" has been finished, and the really great source of income is tapped—the surplus value of labor. From this time on dividends come without break from the exploitation of the workers concerned in the industry. All the numerous economies due to the elimination of competition as well as those common to the great industry in general, together with those which have inhered in the factory system from the beginning, are all made to flow directly into the hands of the owners of the stocks and bonds of these gigantic instruments of industrial exploitation.

We shall find the whole industrial field passing through these various stages in a fairly regular order. Certain great basic in-

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dustries like those concerned with the transportation and storage of goods are the first to enter upon this line of evolution. The railroads of this country, for example, passed through the first competitive stage, then through the amalgamation of connecting lines into great industrial units, each competing in fierce rate wars ending in pools, combines, and even closer forms of organization until the present practically monopolistic stage has been attained. On the financial side, we see all the speculative floating of watered stock, the shearing of the smaller investors, the reorganization and final readjustment on an investment basis with consequent enormous dividends. A few of the industrial trusts have already finished this course of evolution. Most of them, however, are still at some of the earlier stages.

The concentration of industry has had the most widespread social effect. It has entirely changed the relative strength and manner of fighting of the capitalist and the laborer, is reacting upon the organization of the working class and fundamentally affecting all the problems of organized labor. It has had an important and distinctive effect upon the class-state of capitalism. New duties are demanded of the governmental machinery, new methods of bending it to the will of the ruling class are being utilized, and in many ways the forms of government are themselves altered. New functions are created, new departments formed and old ones materially changed. Political struggles which so far as the dominating parties are concerned reflect the conditions of the capitalist class have been profoundly affected by these new industrial phenomena.

In the field of education, philanthropy and the minor social institutions the effects have been equally far reaching. The press, pulpit, and lecture platform have felt the influence of these changes in the industrial basis upon which they stand. It will be our aim to analyze and explain these various facts as they appear during the progress of concentration in industry.

MAY WOOD SIMONS,
A. M. SIMONS.

(To be Continued.)

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Trade Union Debate.

DELEGATE GIBBS, of Massachusetts, spoke in opposition to the committee's report, but stated that he had resented the insinuation that those who are opposed to this report are also opposed to the trade union movement. "I would not do one single thing to lessen or weaken the bonds of fraternal union which exist between trades unionism and the Socialist movement. I speak in opposition to this motion because I believe the time is coming rapidly, if that time is not already here, when the Socialist movement must cease making any special appeals to any particular part of the working class, and must recognize the fact that our sole mission is to the whole of the working class. It is perhaps unfortunate that I am obliged to speak from the standpoint of the despised professional. It is true that I am obliged to wear a longitudinal crease in my pants, but I do it for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a horizontal crease in your overalls. It is true that I am obliged to wear a clean shirt for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a dirty shirt. It is true that I am obliged to carry around a professional title in front of my name for exactly the same reason that your fellows do not wear a title. But I want to say to you that when my grocer sends his bill he sometimes makes a mistake and puts the 'Dr.' after my name instead of in front. I am not proud of these things, however; these are simply the badges of my servitude. I recognize the fact, in other words, that my profession has been reduced to the dead level of the wage working class. I despise that term, for I am a working man myself. I learned the A-B-Cs of Socialism standing in the rag room of a paper mill at 11 years of age, when I was obliged to stand upon a salt box to reach the top of the table that I worked at, and I have been perfectly at home upon a salt box, a soap box, a shoe box, or any other old kind of a box ever since. In other words, my capitalist friends builded better than they knew, and that is the way they made a Socialist orator out of me. While I speak from the standpoint of the orator I deplore the taunts or sneers that have been flung at us by our trade union friends. I will not fling them back. They can't hurt me with that brickbat, because I wear an armor of intense loyalty to the working class movement which cannot be penetrated by any such mere taunts as those. When the work of this convention shall have been completed we will both stand together, clasping hands together, standing shoulder to shoulder for the working class movement of the world. Following the logic of arguments that have been made, we ought to indorse,

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for instance, organizations of the farmers and of the doctors—because if this convention lasts much longer some of us will need a doctor. We ought also to indorse the organization of ministers, because they will be needed at the funeral of capitalism. I am opposed to this motion in its present form. I believe we should maintain our friendly and sympathetic attitude towards the trade unions, but we should simply from this time on 'gang our own gait,' hew straight to the line, and let the chips fall where they may."

Delegate Hanford of New York then spoke as follows:

"With the single exception of possibly Comrade Gaylord of Wisconsin I do not think that the speakers have dealt at all adequately with this question. We seem to go on the basis that the so-called Socialist Party of the past went on that the trade union is only for us to take or leave, or do what we please with it. We know perfectly well that the Socialist movement is not that kind of a movement. We go out and tell men and women that you have got to come to Socialism for your salvation, but why can't we understand that in the time intervening until the day when Socialism shall come to pass a man has got to live in order to establish Socialism, and that the race has got to survive or there will be no race to enjoy Socialism. (Applause.) The trades union movement deals with this question here and now. True not for all, but for as many as it can and it is going to continue. You can read the history of the last hundred years, and I can tell you that had it not been for the force brought to bear by the trades union movement in resisting the encroachments of organized capitalism there would have been no working class to go into Socialism. (Applause.) Now, let us recognize that as a fundamental fact, and I doubt if anyone here can dispute it, and I know that it cannot be disproved.

"Now let us see what the Socialist Party in this country did. Only a few years ago they adopted and put in resolutions which were unanimously adopted, substantially the remarks which were made by the eloquent comrade of Illinois (Spears) and by several other comrades here. They unanimously adopted a proposition like this: 'This bogus trade unionism lies impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class," and so on. There is a page of that resolution, and then at the bottom they said, 'Let the Socialist watchwords everywhere be "Down with trade unionism pure and simple," "Away with the labor fakirs," "Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P."' And what became of the men that passed that resolution? (Cheers and applause.) All there is left of the organization that composed that resolution is this little old red book. (Applause.)

"This question of trades union is not at all a question of wheth-

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er you like or dislike it. It is here, and don't you think for a minute that because of the Lattimers or the Hazletons that you will even put a brake on the wheel of progress of the trades union movement. Their very defeats will make them stronger. Their defeats in the last analysis will be found victories. Are you going out on the stump and tell these trades unions that because some particular organization is offered by a labor fakir that its body is composed of labor fakirs? If you do that will you be allowed to talk to that organization on the line of educating them in Socialism? Not on your life. What you have got to do is to say this: 'You know the truth perfectly well, and that is, that in the trade union men may be corrupt, officers may go wrong, but you do know that the rank and file will not consciously go wrong except for one reason, and that is lack of light to see the right.' When you have said that then you can put the light before them. They have got to make mistakes, but the organization that survives to-day even though wrong, will be right to-morrow and still survive." (Applause.)

This discussion ran on until the afternoon session of the fifth day of the convention, the final speech being made by Delegate Titus of Washington who spoke as follows:

"I have been listening here to this discussion and the people who are opposed to this trades union resolution have struck me as being entirely impracticable in their arguments. (Applause.) I want to ask you what would happen to the labor class if there were no trade unions? (Applause.) It is a fact that under present conditions, under capitalism the motto must be, 'Get all you can.' (Applause.) Now I want to disassociate myself entirely from the 'Impossibilists.' (Applause.) Not that I disassociate myself thereby from those who stand for the strictest Marxian program but I believe in getting what you can under present conditions before seeking to abolish the whole thing.

"Now one other point and I have done. The main reason for our going in with the labor unions is not to make them political bodies, we don't want any politics in labor unions, not at all (applause) but the main reason for going into labor unions is to educate them for Socialism. Right now when Samuel Gompers is in league with the Civic Federation to capture some two million or three million wage workers who are organized for capitalistic alliance, to work for capitalism, in alliance with it, to defeat the rest of the working class by means of organized labor when capital is trying to capture organized labor, let us bring a counter stroke. The most strategic move for us to take is to go into the unions as individuals and educate them so they cannot be captured by capital. Nothing but the education of the working class will accomplish that." (Loud applause.)

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Japanese Socialists and the War.

RECOGNIZING that war always brings with it general misery, the burdens of heavy taxation, moral degradation and the supremacy of militarism, the Japanese socialists have stood firmly against the popular clamor for war with Russia, and done their best to point out that all Russian people are our brothers and sisters, with whom we have no reason to fight. But the entire Japanese populace was intoxicated by the enthusiasm of so-called patriotism. Even workingmen did not realize what a deplorable thing war was for them, and dreamed that in some way their condition might be bettered.

While the nation, however, is congratulating itself over the naval victories, the economic effects of the war have begun to be felt on all sides in such a way as to justify the socialist's prophecies. The families whose breadwinners have been required for the army are suffering for want of the necessaries of life. The demand for goods used in daily life has already fallen off in many directions, so that numerous factories are closed and manufacturers have been bankrupted. Hundreds of thousands of workmen have been thrown out of work and are only living through the scanty gifts of charity. At Nishidin, a district of the city of Kioto, famous for its silk industries among foreigners, tens of thousands of unemployed weavers are living to-day on a rice gruel provided by rich philanthropists. Even this help will soon be withheld from them because of the great number of beggars, it is claimed, such a feast attracts. The poorest quarters of Tokio exhibit the most deplorable poverty and suicides and other crimes are increasing day by day.

To be sure the subscriptions for the war bonds were nearly four times as great as were needed, until the whole world was astonished at the ability of Japan to raise money at home. But the method of raising this, so far as I can learn, was largely compulsory to almost the same degree as the collection of taxes. The authorities throughout the country visited every house to persuade the communities to subscribe toward the war fund. Those who refused to accept this "official order" were denounced as unpatriotic. A peasant living in a village near Tokio is said to have been forced to subscribe 200 yen and having no money he attempted to secure the necessary funds by robbery, and was arrested.

All these facts, however, are not simply overlooked but are definitely concealed by the press corrupted by the bribery of capitalists and bankers. The House of Representatives was also frightened by the threat of government coercion and became a

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very faithful servant to the Cabinet accepting, in its entirety the bill proposing to increase the already heavy taxes by 60 million yen.

Indeed, the Japanese government really represents only the capitalist and landlord. The securing of universal equal suffrage becomes, therefore, the most important work for the Japanese socialist and the very existence of the Japanese Socialist Party depends on the outcome of this question. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Socialist movement should meet with violent persecution. When the *Heimin Shimbun,* a weekly socialist paper opposed the war and the increasing of taxes, all copies of that issue were confiscated by the police, and the Tokio District Court of Justice, decreed the suppression of the paper and sentenced Comrade Sakai, one of the editors, to three months imprisonment. The case was at once appealed to the higher court of justice, so that the publication of the paper was allowed to continue and the term of imprisonment reduced to two months. Comrade Sakai began to serve the sentence on April 21st and at the time of writing this is still in prison at Tokio.

There are a few socialists in this country who are preaching socialism to the workingmen and the students. They formed a Social Democratic party on May 20, 1901, which was instantly suppressed by the government and the newspapers that published the Manifesto of the party were confiscated. But the foolish governmental policy proved to be the best means of waking up the people, and the Socialist Association, which has since been formed, is becoming the centre of the labor movement.

At present, there are two socialist papers in Japan, the monthly *"Socialist"* and the weekly *"Heimin Shimbun,"* the former is owned by Comrade Katayama, who is now in the United States seeking to organize the Japanese immigrants of that country. The latter is published by the several members of the Socialist Association to which the present editor belongs and has a circulation of about 5,000 copies.

The regular meeting of the Socialist Association is held at the office of *Heimin Shimbun.* These meetings are devoted to lectures and debates. Monthly public meetings are also held for the promulgation of socialist opinions on current politics. It must be remembered that all of these meetings, however, are under close supervision by numerous police officers and secret spies, who have authority to stop the speakers, or dissolve the meeting, in accordance with an obnoxious law entitled, "a law for preserving public peace."

The utterance of the words, "revolution," "democracy," "organization" or "strike" by any of the speakers is a penal offense. In this respect the Japanese government is certainly fifty years or a century behind the governments of Western Europe. The

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ruling power of Japan is, on this point at least, no less barbarous than that of Russia. The Czar is merely the head of the religious organization of his country, but the Mikado pretends to be God himself. Every school in Japan is a church in which the picture of the Mikado is worshipped and the religion of so-called "patriotism" preached. Some socialists insist therefore that social democracy can only be realized through the downfall of Mikadoism. But where sovereign power has rested upon a single head for several thousand years and most people have never even dreamed of changing the present dynasty, it is alarming to the whole country to attempt to introduce democracy even in the smallest degree. Consequently, we must wait patiently for the right moment. The realization of our idea is only a question of time.

D. KOTOKU,
Editor of *Heimin Shimbun.*

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Plans for a Study Class in Sociology.

ONE of the great disadvantages under which the working class labors is that the intellectual, as well as the mechanical and physical resources of society have been monopolized by the ruling class. This is shown not so much by direct muzzling of sources of instruction, or even deliberate distortion of fact in text books, although both of these play a very large part, but still more by virtue of the fact that education is made the possession of a small cult. Many things are being done in our Universities today, dominated though they be by capitalism, that are thoroughly revolutionary. Nearly all of the fruits of scientific investigation are of especial value to the working class in their struggles for better conditions. Yet these facts are as completely unknown to the great mass of laborers as though they never existed. They are generally couched in scholastic verbiage which requires special training to interpret, and even if the workers had leisure to master this vocabulary, it would still require a tremendous waste of time if each individual were compelled to seek out the facts he wanted amid the bewildering wealth of printed matter which in turn is concealed in an infinitely greater mass of literary chaff. Hence, the need of some sort of systematic guidance and popularization. Really, this guidance and popularization is about all that is performed by the instructor in the average university.

Socialists have long felt the necessity of some sort of an institution in which such investigation and interpretation could be carried on with the direct view of presenting those facts of special interest to the producing class. It is manifestly impossible for the socialist at the present stage to think of competing with the great Universities of capitalism in many lines. But, fortunately in sociological work, it is possible to approximate very closely to the facilities of the best Universities since no expensive plant is required for this sort of work.

The work of education for those who are to fight the battles of the working class has become too great to be any longer carried on without division of labor. The socialists of other countries have recognized this and in the "New University" of Brussells and the "Free Universities" of France we see institutions which have been formed for this work. In no country in the world, however, is there a more pressing need for thorough systematic educational work in this direction than in America. Economic development has created a widespread discontent, which, while still largely unintelligent, is vaguely reaching out toward the socialist movement. Unless this discontent can be met and assimilated, one of two things will happen, either of which means

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disaster to the aims of Socialism—either the socialist movement will itself be overwhelmed by this confused discontent, and be turned aside from the path of intelligent revolutionary action, or else it will remain apart from the great current of revolutionary thought, and degenerate into a more closed sect, while the actual proletarian revolt goes on without it perhaps to confusion and defeat.

In view of these, and many other considerations of perhaps equal importance it is proposed to establish in Chicago during the coming winter an institution offering an opportunity for thorough, scholarly, systematic study of sociological material, and where especial emphasis will be placed upon those phases of the subject which are of interest to the working class in their struggle for freedom. The following are some of the courses of study which will be offered:

American Industrial History, by A. M. Simons, four days each week. Beginning with the economic causes which led to the discovery of America this course will proceed to trace the industrial development in colonial times, showing the diversity arising in the various colonies from physical and other differences. The mechanical advances will be traced which gave the people of America an ever-increasing control over their environment, and the changes in industrial organization arising from these mechanical advances. Proceeding from this the whole social organization resting thereon will be analyzed, showing the manner in which those changes sprang from the economic development. This will lead to an examination of the political class struggles, arising from the conflicts of economic classes and the various institutions which developed out of these conflicts. Special emphasis will be laid on the struggle between chattel and wage-slavery, concentration of industry, organized labor and the effect of a continuous frontier movement. The work will be carried on by lectures, with frequent examinations and each student will be assisted in the preparation of a paper requiring a thorough investigation of some one phase of the subjects covered.

Political Economy, by May Wood Simons. The comparative historical method will be used in this course throughout. The various economic ideas will be traced historically and their relation to the industrial development of the period in which they arose will be pointed out. Among the ideas so traced will be those of "Wealth, Rent, Interest, Wages, Profits and Value." The ideas of the various writers upon these subjects will be compared with each other and with the socialist doctrines on these subjects. The student will be brought in touch with the principal English, German and Austrian economists, as well as with the writings of Patton, Ely, Commons, Mead and other American political economists of the present day. Two hours each week.

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Socialism, by May Wood Simons. Two hours each week. This course will presuppose a familiarity with the leading socialist classics. The work will consist in a study of the development of the philosophy of socialism first by the Utopians and other pre-Marxian writers, to be followed by a short survey of Marxian economics. Special emphasis will be laid upon the materialistic conception of history and the theory of the class struggle as developed by various writers from Marx and Engels to the present time, including non-Socialists as well as Socialists and particularly the relation of the philosophy of Socialism to Art, Literature, Science and Education. The course will close with an historical survey of the growth of the Socialist movement in Europe and America.

Biological Sociology, by Ernest Untermann. Four hours a week. Beginning with a preliminary survey of the facts of biology, the theory of evolution is traced historically and the contributions made by various writers pointed out. Having developed the laws of evolution which are most general in their application, the subject of comparative animal sociology and its relation to human society is investigated. This leads to a study of the workings of the principles of sexual and natural selection and of heredity under varying economic conditions and systems, and finally to an exhaustive discussion of the materialistic conception of history and its relation to general sociological problems. This course will include a presentation of the results of the work of Darwin, Huxley, Romanes, Weisman, Wallace, Loeb and other great biological writers, insofar as their work applies to sociology.

Anthropology, by Professor Jerome H. Raymond of the University of Chicago. An elementary course on man as the unit of society, and on the evolution of society and social institutions. The general purpose of the course is to point out how man has developed into his present social state, what the influences were which caused this development, and how these influences themselves have evolved. The general subjects discussed are: first, the antiquity of man, and the place man occupies in nature; second, the origin and early development of institutions which have made man what he is, and upon which contemporary society is based, such as language and writing, the arts of life and pleasure, religion and science, mythology and history, the family and social structure. Tylor's "Anthropology" will be studied, supplemented by lectures and assigned readings.

The hours and details of this course cannot be given at the present time as they depend somewhat on other arrangements which must be made. These five courses will require practically all of the student's time. If circumstances permit it it is hoped to add still other courses so as to permit a choice of work to be done.

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In addition to the day work of the school, there will be a series of evening lectures probably occupying at least three evenings per week for the benefit of those who are employed during the day. Among the lectures which have already been provided for in this department will be a series of twelve by Professor Jerome H. Raymond on "European Capitals and their Social Significance." These lectures are part of the regular Extension work of the University of Chicago and have been given by Professor Raymond in various cities throughout the country, and have been endorsed by all who have heard them. They offer in an extremely entertaining manner a survey of the various social movements in Europe with special emphasis on the socialist activity. They are profusely illustrated with stereopticon views.

Professor George D. Herron will also give a course of lectures on social psychology the details of which will be announced later.

Mr. James Minnick will give several lectures on industrial history illustrated by stereopticon slides. The slides are used to present in most graphic form the statistical facts of industrial development, and also to illustrate the mechanical advance that has been made, together with the social contrasts of present society.

Professor Oscar L. Triggs has also agreed to deliver a series of lectures unless circumstances, now unforeseen, should so occupy his time as to render it impossible.

It is hoped that arrangements can be made to add still further to the teaching force and facilities of the school. However, it will be the policy of those in charge to use the greatest caution in announcements and to promise nothing which cannot be absolutely fulfilled. The further extension of the work will, of course depend upon the support which the school receives. Sufficient is now in hand to justify the announcement of work as outlined above. Since only the most modest salaries will be paid to those engaged in the work, and these are practically assured, every dollar received from now on can go to improving the character of the work. If a few contributions could be received, it would be possible to add some things in the way of equipment which are very much needed.

Each course requires a large amount of reading and independent investigation. Indeed it is now generally recognized that in sociological work the best university consists of an adequate collection of books with an instructor capable of guiding and directing the work of the student. No city in the country has better library facilities for this sort of work than Chicago. The John Crerar Library makes a special feature of works on sociology. Some time ago it purchased the "Ely collection" of books on this subject, comprising one of the most complete

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collections of Socialist and Trade Union publications in the United States. It has received the complete collection of the late Henry D. Lloyd, which he had spent a life time in gathering and which covers every phase of the labor problem and the question of monopoly. More recently it has added to this by a purchase of a European collection of about 30,000 volumes bearing on these same subjects, giving the best collection of works on Socialism and the labor movement to be found in America. The Newberry Library, The Chicago Public Library and the Library of the Illinois Historical Society, are all especially strong in American History, and together furnish all the material that could possibly be used in such courses as are here planned. All of these libraries are absolutely free to readers and can be freely used by the students taking this work. In addition to this the private library of A. M. and May Wood Simons, containing a very complete collection of recent American and European works on Socialism, including nearly all the European socialist periodicals of value to the student, will be placed at the disposal of those taking work in the school.

Still another phase of the work will consist of correspondence courses for the benefit of those who cannot attend the school. These courses will aim to carry the benefits of the work to the homes of the students in so far as this is possible.

The school will open about November 14, 1904, and continue for twenty weeks.

The whole idea of the work will be that of co-operative study for truth by students and teachers in an endeavor to discover and utilize those facts which are of value to the working class of the United States and of the world in their effort to free themselves from the oppression of the present system and to realize the historical mission of their class.

For further information address:

A. M. SIMONS,
MAY WOOD SIMONS.

Melrose Park, Ill.

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EDITORIAL

Has There Been a Swing to the Right?

Since the Chicago Convention the statement has been heard from various quarters that the results of the deliberations of that body constituted a movement towards the "Right." By this it is meant that there was a movement toward the more conservative, opportunist or compromising side. This statement is heard in two quarters. In the first place it is alleged by the defeated "impossibilists" as an explanation of their hostility to the actions of the Convention. In the second place it finds expression in a somewhat bombastic circular letter which has been sent out by one of the advocates of opportunism. When the letter is examined, however, it is found to rest upon the same foundation as the statement previously referred to i. e. the overthrow of impossibilism. But the fact is that this latter tendency has never held any prominent position in American or International socialism and its defeat is not of any great consequence. This tendency was stronger at Chicago than at any previous Convention, and this fact would at first seem to indicate the growing strength of impossibilism. But it is easy to show that its importance at Chicago was due to a series of largely accidental circumstances that almost certainly can never simultaneously occur again. But impossibilism has never constituted the "Left wing" of *socialism*, it is something wholly outside the socialist movement. There is not a line of literature supporting it in socialist classics. Its only counterparts outside the United States were the "*Jungen*" of a generation ago in Germany and the ludicrous imitation of De Leonism which calls itself the S. L. P. of Great Britain. In view of this fact the defeat of impossibilism was simply a proof of the vitality of socialism and of its ability to rid itself of external disturbing factors.

If we take the question of immediate demands as a test, we shall find that in no other country in the world does even the extreme left wing of socialism oppose all statements whatever of immediate activity, and in the second place, these demands are more guardedly and less prominently stated in the present than in any previous American socialist platform. Prior to the Indianapolis Convention, no Socialist Party Convention had ever seriously considered the elimination of these demands. At that Convention the minority fought, not for the dropping of statements concerning the activity of socialists who might be elected to office, but for the elaboration of a programme for the guidance of such officials apart from the platform.

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It might be well to remind some of those who have accused the editor of this REVIEW of having moved toward opportunism since the Indianapolis Convention that he was the one who wrote the instructions to the Chicago delegation, which instructions were unanimously adopted, and which provided for the adoption of such a programme, and also that he was the mover of the resolution for the appointment of a committee on municipal programme; that this committee was appointed on his motion at the Indianapolis Convention and it is the report of that committee which, to a large degree, forms the municipal portion of the programme which has now been sent to the National executive committee for revision and submission to a referendum, and against which some of the very persons who then supported that motion are now levelling their attacks. Hence, if there is a movement in any direction, it has been a movement on the part of the impossibilists away from the accepted policy of the party and of the International Socialist movement. The adoption of such a programme is simply an indication that the socialist party is at work. It is a recognition of the existence of definite tasks and of a willingness and ability systematically to undertake those tasks. To have adopted any other policy would simply have been to acknowledge our incompetency and cowardice. How true this is is shown by the fact that the impossibilists of Chicago, who rejected the programme because it would not be revolutionary, and appointed a committee to formulate and direct a revolutionary policy for the socialist member of the Common Council finally evolved as the one "immediate demand" of most revolutionary importance that this Socialist Councilman should introduce a measure to appropriate $50,000 for the benefit of the sufferers of the Iroquois fire.

The consideration of such a programme as is to be submitted to the referendum is simply an indication of the fact that the socialist party intends to control its officials in an intelligent democratic manner. The only attempt of what might be called the opportunist wing, to make itself directly felt in the Convention was when some of the members of that wing held a caucus to determine the make-up of Committees. If the opportunist wing is to be judged by the result of this effort, then, that influence was slight indeed, for the Convention not only broke the slate to fragments, but publicly rebuked its makers. The fact is that the Socialist Party of America stands in the most intelligently revolutionary and uncompromising position of any socialist party in the world. It has been forced to this position by economic development. It lays less stress on palliatives than any other party of importance in the socialist movement, while, at the same time, it has cast behind it all Utopianism and has no fear of declaring its position upon any question with which the workers are concerned.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

It will be recalled that in previous numbers of the REVIEW mention of the fact was made that the capitalists of the country, having established government by injunction so firmly that it cannot be uprooted except through revolutionary labor class politics, as outlined in the platform and declarations adopted by the Socialist party convention in Chicago last month, are now cultivating a fad to begin damage suits against trade unions and members thereof whenever a strike occurs and loss is inflicted by picketing and boycotting. Ever since the rendering of the decision in Great Britain in the celebrated Taff Vale railway case, wherein the House of Lords, the highest court in the land, held that the railway employes must pay the company $125,000 as damages for picketing and boycotting, and which was recently followed by still another decision in which the miners of the Cadeby-Denaby district were called upon to pay their masters three-quarters of a million dollars for ceasing work—ever since the Taff Vale incident—there has developed a perfect mania among the employes to harass organized labor in the courts by attacking its treasuries.

It will also be remembered that about a year ago the first precedent was established in the United States when the machinists of Rutland, Vt., were mulcted out of $2,500 for boycotting an unfair concern, and no sooner was that case decided when similar actions were filed in every industrial center of the land by capitalists and their lawyers who scent graft from afar. The cases have been coming to trial rather slowly, and consequently we hardly knew "where we are at," but during the past month or so history has been made that is anything but satisfactory and foreshadows many new obstacles and discouragements that must be met, not by theorizing and speculating, but in a practical manner—not by foolishly begging the capitalistic enemy, who is entrenched behind the government fortifications, to enact laws hostile to his own class interests, but by storming his position on election day and placing the majority, the working class, in power to enact, interpret and enforce laws. That is doing practical work. The lobbying game has been played for a quarter of a century, thousands of dollars have been spent and valuable time wasted, and all to gratify the conceit of a few pompous leaders who talk and talk and accomplish nothing, except to gain newspaper notoriety.

Here, then, are the latest facts relating to the onslaughts against unions through the courts, and which should be known and their significance understood by every man and woman who carries a card. Says a New Orleans dispatch:

"John B. Honor & Co., stevedores, secured judgment against the Longshoremen's Union for damages in the sum of $12,000 for violation of contract. This is the first decision of the kind ever given in the far South and will have a decisive effect on other labor union troubles that are pending."

The "violation of contract," as I learn from another source, consisted of the expulsion of several members from the union, who were simply spies

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for Honor & Co., and the union men refused to work with them and went on strike when the company declined to discharge them. Still another account says that while Honor & Co. were securing damages in one court a second court promulgated a decree ordering the union to readmit the expelled members. So it is useless to deny the fact that the courts are running the unions pretty much as they please in New Orleans.

A case has also been decided at New Brunswick, N. J., where a contracting firm secured a verdict against the Bricklayers' Union, also unincorporated, for $500 damages. No contract is alleged to have been broken. The complainant simply demanded nominal damages because of a boycott declared against it. It seems that the business agent of the union was ordered off a job, the men thereupon ceased work and placed a fine of $50 on the firm, which the latter refused to pay, the boycott followed and the case terminated after a three days' legal battle in the manner stated.

Still another important case has just been decided at Lawrence, Mass., where the business agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of Haverhill was assessed $1,500 damages because they secured the discharge of one Michael T. Berry, who refused to join the union of which Jerry E. Donovan, the defendant, was the representative. The singular thing about the case is that Donovan had made a contract with Goodrich & Co. to supply the union stamp provided the plant was unionized, but Berry refused to join the organization and was discharged, and instead of suing the company that controlled the job he sued the union's official. The court ruled that as between the company and the union the contract was binding, but could not hold when the rights of third parties were involved. In other words, the court advises a business concern to break its contract when made with a union and the so-called rights of a non-union or scab workman are concerned, so that one can hang the many. This case was appealed by the unionists, the lower court having refused to grant a new trial. If the upper court confirms the decision every capitalist can employ a spy or two and prevent the thorough unionizing of a plant indefinitely. Moreover, if these damage suits that are establishing precedents are uniformly successful, the capitalists are given power to frighten and split off such members of unions who have a few dollars in bank saved for a rainy day or perhaps own a little home.

But vital to organized labor as this new issue really is, our so-called leaders, who delight to boast of their conservatism, are as silent as the tomb on the question. Quite likely when they come out of their trance they will timidly suggest to the rank and file the advisability of inaugurating a new campaign of petitioning for some sort of relief from the legislative bodies in control of the enemy; and this will afford the politicians a new opportunity to pose as the "workingman's friend" and fiddle away for a dozen years or so while good union money is being burnt up. But all the jockeying and dodging of the question, and all the playing upon ponderous phrases from now on until kingdom come, will not relieve labor from the injustice and tyranny heaped upon it until labor defends its class interests politically as well as industrially—until labor dignifies itself and gives substantial evidence of having the self-respect and courage to seize control of the machinery of government and rule the nation, as it has a perfect right to do. And those who advise against such a policy, and thus declare in so many words that the capitalists should remain in power, could do the latter no greater favor and labor no greater wrong. If labor is not fit to govern then it is not fit to produce the nation's wealth and enjoy the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" that is guaranteed by the fundamental principles upon which this republic rests.

The "open shop" battle has been raging all along the line during the past month. Besides the great struggle in Colorado, which has been waged many months, every industrial center on the Pacific Coast—San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and other places—has been torn up with strikes

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and lockouts. Along the entire Santa Fe line some twelve thousand machinists and kindred crafts have been forced to fight for the life of organization; boot and shoe workers to the number of four thousand were attacked in Chicago; six thousand carriage workers in New York and vicinity were forced out; three thousand boilermakers in eastern cities were compelled to strike; five thousand building craftsmen in Philadelphia struck for the right to organize, and in Detroit the issue is the same, while in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City, New Orleans, Omaha, Pittsburg, Rochester and scores of smaller places the fight is on and every trade is affected. On the other hand, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Citizens' Alliance, the National Contractors' Association, the Metal Trades Association and other national and local bodies of employers, having been greatly encouraged by the defeat of labor bills before Congress and State Legislatures, by the smashing of labor laws in the courts when test cases were brought to trial, and by being granted blanket injunctions whenever and wherever they desired them, are enthusiastically pushing the work of organization and never lose an opportunity to display their hostility toward the trade unions. The "sting of antagonism" that Gompers said is being "withdrawn" because he and his followers "smashed socialism" in the Boston A. F. of L. convention, seems to have been jabbed in deeper than ever. There never has been a time in the history of the country when there have been more strikes and lockouts and covering a greater area than at present, and the outlook for the near future is anything but reassuring. While the wishes of the leaders may father their thoughts, and while they may occupy the undignified position of humbling themselves and their constituents before unbridled capitalism in the hope of conciliating it by "squelching the radicals," the latter can afford to smile at their discomfort and give them a free hand to pursue their mistaken policies to the finish. But one thing is dead certain, and that is, the rank and file are awakening to the situation more rapidly than ever before. This fact is not only demonstrated by the steady gain of the Socialist party membership and the increase of votes in local elections, but by the healthy views that are reflected through the labor press, the discussions that take place in meeting rooms and official organs, and the general satisfaction that is expressed with the Socialist party platform and trade union declaration, as well as the nominees of the Chicago convention. That Debs and Hanford will poll a magnificent vote among the organized workers is now being admitted by many capitalistic workers and newspapers, who realize that labor in this country, like the toilers of Europe and Australia, may be imposed upon for a time, but is bound to turn when the limit is reached. The organized men are beginning to understand that the grave problems confronting them now cannot be solved by the strike and boycott, but are political in their nature and must be settled at the ballot-box. Instead of stamping out socialism every attack of the conservatives arouses more curiosity to know something about it, causes investigation, starts discussions and brings in recruits. Therefore, Socialists can afford to be good-tempered at this stage of the game. Things are coming their way quite as rapidly as a healthy growth warrants. They are not responsible for the capitalistic assaults upon the working class, nor for the peculiar performances of certain labor leaders (?), but they are in the fight just the same and bear their share of burdens, including ostracism from "good" society, blacklisting in the workshop and plenty of abuse from those whom they would assist. But, as stated, Socialists can afford to be patient and cheerful. You know what Lincoln said: You can fool some of the people all time, all the people some of the time, but not all the people all of the time.

There has been little done, outside of talk, to straighten out the jurisdiction tangles between the various national unions. There is but one instance where some progress has been made during the past month to bury

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the hatchet. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the International Association of Machinists arranged for a working agreement that is fair to both sides, and which, if honestly enforced, will do much toward arranging a federation or amalgamation that would be a power in industry. On the other hand the meat cutters and butcher workmen, in their Cincinnati convention, announced that they intend to claim jurisdiction over engineers, firemen and coopers employed in packing houses, exactly those workers that the A. F. of L. officials are attempting to tear away from the brewers' union, so the chances are good for another controversy. There are about a dozen national metal working unions that are all in a snarl, and a mandate has gone forth from Washington that there is to be a conference held between all those trades in July, the A. F. of L. included, and any one disregarding the call to send two representatives to the conference, or any organization not abiding by the decision reached at the conference, the charter of that union stands revoked without further delay. A warm time is expected.

Here is an item from a Detroit paper that gives a general idea of the heroism displayed by the western miners in their battle against Rockefeller and his various grades of hired scoundrels: "Three union miners, Messrs. Hays, Eake and Kane, driven out of Colorado by Peabody and his militia, passed through Detroit on their way to the mines of Iowa. They had been up in the copper mining district of northern Michigan, but had failed to get employment. Arriving in Detroit, they went to the postoffice and bought a money order for $7. This they sent to headquarters to aid their outraged brothers in Colorado. The three of them together had just $11. Cheerfully dividing the $4 remaining, they began to inquire about the departure of freight trains, in order that they might take a box car to Iowa, perfectly willing to undergo all the discomforts of this style of travel, provided they could assist those whom they had left behind."

Just to show how the textile barons are exploiting the women and children whom they entice into their factories, I quote from the *American Wool Reporter*, a capitalistic paper regarding the strike in the Arlington mills at Lawrence, Mass.: "The gill-box minders are all girls and until a month ago they attended two gill boxes of wool, for which they received $6.78 a week. One mohair box was considered sufficient for a girl to mind, and she received $15 per week. The week before the notice of a wage reduction was posted the work of the wool gill-box minders was increased to three boxes, and the mohair minder's work was increased to two boxes. The physical strain entailed by extra work was very severe. When the gill-box minders learned that their munificent wages were to be reduced to $5.84 per week, there was no consultation or hesitation, but all walked out."

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Holland.

The tenth congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland was held on Easter Sunday at the hall *Musis Sacrum*, in Dordrecht. The president, Henri Polak, said in his opening address:

"This congress will be recognized as one of the most important and remarkable ever held by the party. It proves clearly that the storms which passed over us have left no hurtful consequences. If the party has actually suffered a little, it has quickly regained its losses. It now possesses the energy, the vitality, and the perseverance, which are the characteristic signs of the working class movement. We have done everything that a party like ours can accomplish, and we have passed happily through the critical period. Our vote and our political influence are increasing; anarchism is disappearing more and more, even from the trade union movement; our party is strong and alive, it can weather the severest storms; although it is small, compared with some of its sister parties, it constitutes, nevertheless, a remarkable battalion in the great international army of labor."

Before starting upon the programme, the time allotted to the various committees was fixed at half an hour each, except for the report on the customs tariff by Troelstra, to which an hour was allotted. The speakers were allowed fifteen minutes the first time, and five minutes the second time.

The secretary of the party announced that 85 groups were represented by 114 delegates.

The reports on the activity of the party and on the financial situation, by Van Kuyhof, were adopted.

Next, the questions incident to parliamentary action were discussed. First, the project of the government for the regulation of labor contracts. Chairman Tak, of the committee, formulated a fundamental criticism of the project, the gravest fault of which consists in the fact that the contract for labor is incorporated in the civil legislative code in such a way as to give the impression that the sale or rental of the labor-commodity is in no way different from traffic in any other commodity whatever. All the speakers expressed themselves as in agreement with the report, and no special resolution was adopted on this question.

In the discussion of the report of the parliamentary delegation, Van Kol, at the desire of Section 1 of Amsterdam, explained the attitude taken by him in the debates on the colonial question, and notably on the proposition to sell a part of the East Indian possessions. In general, the delegates declared themselves in agreement with the position taken by the parliamentary delegation on the various parliamentary questions.

A long discussion, lasting till noon the second day, ensued regarding the party organ, *Het Volk*. Comrade Tak was unanimously elected as editor.

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The congress then took up the question of protection. Comrade Troelstra furnished a detailed view of the development of free trade in England and of the protectionist system in Germany, and he then commented upon the basic position of the social democracy on this question. He ended his speech by declaring that if a resolution was to be adopted on this question, he would propose the Bebel-Kautsky resolution of the German congress of 1898. The speaker expressed his opinion on the proposed law of the Netherlands government regarding import duties. He ended thus: "We shall struggle as vigorously as possible against this project, but in our own way. We have never been dogmatic free-traders. So, in this struggle we shall snatch off the masks of the Christian or non-Christian shams, and we shall convince the small producers that their interests are not safe with the capitalists, but that they belong with us." Without formulating any resolution on this question, the congress declared itself in agreement with Troelstra's declarations.

The question of the general strike came next on the programme. Comrade Mrs. Roland-Holst made a report on the question, and the discussion was continued into the third day. The following resolution, offered by the committee of the party, was adopted by a vote of 135 to 39:

"Whereas, it is advisable to fix the position to be taken by the Social Democracy of Holland concerning the general strike;

"Whereas, the condition requisite to the success of a strike on a large scale is a strong organization and a voluntary discipline on the part of the working class,

"Whereas, The Congress of the Social-Democratic Labor Party declares the absolute general strike, in the sense of all laborers leaving their work at a given moment, to be impossible, since it would make existence impossible for all, the proletariat included; and

"Whereas, the emancipation of the working class cannot be the result of so sudden an outbreak of force; and

"Whereas, finally, it is possible that a strike which extends over several important branches of industry or over a large number of trades may be the extreme measure required to introduce important economic changes, or for self-defense against reactionary attacks on the rights of the laborers.

"The Congress warns the laborers not to let themselves be carried away by the propaganda for the general strike, conducted by the anarchists, to remove them from the actual daily struggle carried on by the unions, the party and the co-operatives;

"And it calls on them, by developing their organization, to fortify their unity and their strength in the class struggle, since if the strike for a political end may some day seem useful and necessary, its success will depend upon this strength and duty."

Apart from this resolution, which was adopted by a large majority, Section IX of Amsterdam proposed another, principally defended by Comrade Villeghen. It was substance was to declare the Congress to be of the opinion that the general strike could have no place among the methods of struggle of the proletariat. The resolution, later rejected by Amsterdam IX, was afterward presented to the Congress by Amsterdam VI, but withdrawn after the adoption of the resolution proposed by the committee of the party. The declaration of the Congress on this question is of especial importance, because the matter will come up for discussion at the approaching international congress.

Next the Congress took under consideration various propositions for reducing the subscription price of *Het Volk* and for establishing a party printing house. The committee of the party was instructed to bring in a report on the possibility of establishing a printing house.

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A short discussion ensued regarding next year's election for the second chamber of parliament. It was decided to entrust the consideration of this question to the committee.

Several local sections had made propositions for the nomination of paid organizers. These wishes could not be realized for financial reasons, and the question was referred back to the committee.

The committee nominated Comrade Loopuit as temporary general organizer for the party, and he was unanimously confirmed by the Congress.

Next, a few more questions touching the press, organization and constitution were settled. Comrade Oudegeest finally recalled in a few words the struggle of the diamond cutters, and remarked that it is the duty of the entire working class to give moral and financial support to the strikers.

The Congress was closed by the singing of the Socialists' March. Many items in the programme could not be discussed for lack of time, among others the proposed law regulating the sale of alcohol and the agrarian question, which were postponed to the next Congress. (Translated for the REVIEW from *L'Avenir Social.*)

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BOOK REVIEWS

God and My Neighbor. By Robert Blatchford. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 213 pages, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.

It is somewhat of a relief to find a secularist book that has dropped some of the old shibboleths and is to some degree in accord with modern scientific and sociological thought. Whether we agree with Blatchford or not, his beautifully simple literary style and fairness of attitude cannot but attract the reader. Some portions of the work arise to heights of absolute eloquence. This is particularly true of the chapter entitled "Ancient Religion and Modern Science." The real argument of the book is to be found in the chapter on "Determinism." Here we find the dogma of free will met and overturned without any of the metaphysical phraseology with which this subject is usually associated. Here he points out how little man can really be held responsible for his acts and how useless all expressions or actions founded upon the "blame" of the individuals are. He shows that the proper point to attack the evils that express themselves in individual acts is to be found in the causes that lie back of the acts, or, as he concludes the chapter, "You have power to choose then, but you can only choose as your heredity and environment *compel* you to choose, and you do not select your own heredity or your own environment." Just how much of a relation such a work bears to Socialist philosophy, each reader must settle for himself. The Socialist movement as such makes no religious or non-religious test, but Socialists draw back from no truth no matter what that truth may hit. Neither, on the other hand should they, although it must be feared they sometimes do, accept every attack upon existing things as the truth. The book cannot but fail to widen the horizon of any man reading it, whether he be orthodox or infidel.

Bisocialism; the Reign of the Man at the Margin. By Oliver R. Trowbridge. Moody Publishing Company. Cloth, 427 pages, $1.50.

The writer of this claims to have been studying political economy for nearly thirty years, but he is still far from having much of a comprehension of either capitalist or laboring-class economics. He has jumbled together without much recognition of their incongruities the opinions and points of view of the classical, historical, psychological, Socialist and Single Tax schools of political economy. He swallows all the old classical axioms of the Manchester School such as the "Economic man" and the sacredness of competition, and to this is added all the jargon of the Austrians, without, however, seeming to have very thoroughly grasped the point of view of the latter. He runs every principle he attacks into the ground. This is especially true of his "marginal man" theory. He is evidently all unaware of the criticism of this theory by the modern school of political economy. His theory of competition involves all the many times exploded errors of the scholastic economists of twenty-five years ago. His competitor would be omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. He is to have complete knowledge of all

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conditions of the market all over the world and absolute freedom of choice to exercise his marvelous intellectual capacities. His definition of labor power (page 39) as applying only to "irksomely" exercised energy shows that he has never heard of the pedogogical and psychological teachings of modern science in regard to the possibility of pleasurable constructive work. When he comes to talk about socialism he can hardly be expected to understand it. Perhaps his most ludicrous error is when, on page 117, he makes Marxian economics rest upon exploitation in the market. As everyone who has even glanced at Marx knows, the reverse of this principle is the fundamental of Marxian teachings. It would be an easy but ungrateful task to go on through the book pointing out its ridiculous errors and jumble of terms; to show for example how he creates a meaningless terminology, when a far better one exists. How (page 295) he swallows the old fallacy that capital is always due to saving, and finally how his Socialism, which he calls "omnisocialism" is a pure fiction of his own brain. But we have only given this attention to the book because it has been accepted as the one great addition to Single Tax literature since the time of Henry George. Every one will agree that Single Tax literature was sadly in need of additions, but the present work is scarcely to be considered seriously by students of political economy, whatever may be their views.

Four new propaganda pamphlets seem especially worthy of notice this month. "The Confessions of Capitalism," by Allen L. Benson, published by the Social Democratic Herald, at 5 cents, contains a large amount of valuable facts, much of it in statistical form, and is written in an easy journalistic style which makes it especially useful for propaganda among working men.

"The Social Paradox" is an address delivered before the Socialist state convention at Sioux Falls, S. D., by Freeman Knowles, candidate for governor of South Dakota, and is for sale by the author for 10 cents at Deadwood, S. D.

There is an effort in this to utilize American industrial facts, but the author accepts the capitalist interpretation of the Civil War to the effect that that war was waged for the abolition of slavery and that it was simply a moral uprising of the North. Aside from this, however, the pamphlet is on the whole very strongly written and should be of great value in the South Dakota propaganda.

"Socialism; Its Moral Passion, Intellectual Power and Noble Deeds," by Frederick Irons Bamford, is sold by the author at three for 5 cents. Address 906 Broadway, Oakland, Cal. This consists of a mass of quotations illustrating the points named in the title. It will undoubtedly have considerable effect with those who approach Socialism from the sentimental side.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

In the May number of the REVIEW we explained the necessity of raising a fund to meet the deficit of a thousand dollars caused by the loss on the REVIEW last year. We go to press so much earlier this month than last that we cannot announce the completion of the fund. It now stands as follows:

Previously acknowledged	$615.00
William English Walling, New York	50.00
N. O. Nelson, Illinois	35.00
Paul E. Green, Montana	10.00
Edwin A. Brenholz, Texas	3.40
F. W. Moore, Illinois	5.07
Total	$718.47

We have also to announce a subscription of three hundred dollars by Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin, of New York, to the propaganda fund of a thousand dollars started by A. A. Heller last month. This makes four hundred dollars thus far pledged.

The offer briefly stated on page 720 of last month's REVIEW still holds good. A stockholder to whom the company is indebted to the amount of several thousand dollars desires to state that for every sum donated to the co-operative company during the year 1904 by any other person or persons, he will contribute an equal amount from the balance due him. Thus every contribution made this year will count double toward putting the company on a cash basis. The name of the person making this offer will not be published at present, but it will be given to any stockholder desiring fuller information.

The co-operative company is owned by an increasing number of Socialist locals and individual Socialists, nearly nine hundred as this issue goes to press, and if the present debt can once be cleared off, the future of the company will be in no way dependent on the life of any individual, but it will continue to work in the interest of the Socialist Party of America as long as the struggle with capitalism continues.

The amount due to the stockholder referred to is somewhat in excess of eight thousand dollars, and he will contribute the entire amount to the company, provided that others contribute amounts sufficient to make up an equal sum.

Are you a stockholder? If so you are an equal owner of the co-operative publishing house, and if you join in the effort to put the company

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out of debt, you will share in the benefit, and the control will be in your hands. Your stock, if you have completed your payments and received your certificate, can never be assessed, but in view of the present opoprtunity, you will do well to assess yourself to the extent of your ability to pay, since by so doing you will immensely increase the value and effectiveness of the publishing house you already own.

If you are not a stockholder, why not become one now? You will get no dividends, but you will get the privilege of buying at cost all the Socialist literature that is best worth reading. The first stockholders put in their money on faith, because they trusted the promise made that it would be used to publish the Socialist literature needed. This promise has been kept, and each new stockholder gets the benefit of the capital subscribed by all the others.

Ten dollars pays for a share, and those who cannot pay the whole sum at once are allowed to pay at the rate of a dollar a month, and to purchase literature at stockholders' rates as soon as the first dollar has been paid. Full particulars regarding the organization of the company are given in the booklet entitled "A Socialist Publishing House," which will be mailed to any one requesting it.

The Republic of Plato.

This work, written in the fourth century before the Christian era, is the earliest and also the best of all the utopias, of all the books written to suggest the reconstruction of society on an ideal plan, without any full recognition of the obstinate economic forces that must be reckoned with in practice. In Plato's work can be found most of the utopian theories that have at various times and by various people in later ages been put forward as original.

Plato's Republic has until lately been the property of the leisure class. Most editions of it have been in the original Greek, and the English versions have been in a difficult style, suitable only for scholars, and sold at high prices.

Prof. Alexander Kerr, of the University of Wisconsin, is now engaged in preparing a new translation, closely following the thought and even the forms of expression of the original, yet written in a strong and simple English style that is easy to understand. Plato's republic is divided into ten books. Three of these have previously appeared in Professor Kerr's translation, and the fourth has just been published. The price is fifteen cents for each part, or sixty cents for the four parts that have thus far been published, with the usual discount to stockholders.

The Day of Judgment.

The article by George D. Herron which appeared in the April number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has been revised by the author and has just been published in handsome book form under the title, "The Day of Judgment." It will retail at ten cents; three copies for twenty-five cents; seven copies for fifty cents; fifteen copies

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for one dollar; a hundred copies for six dollars. Stockholders in our co-operative company will have the privilege of buying copies in any quantity, large or small, at five cents if we pay postage or expressage, or four cents if sent by express at expense of purchaser. A royalty of one cent on every copy sold will be paid to the national campaign fund of the Socialist Party. The author desires no profit from the sale of the book, and has directed that the royalty be paid in this way.

American Pauperism, or the Abolition of Poverty.

Of this new book by Isador Ladoff, Comrade Wanhope says editorially in the Erie People:

When the National Committee of the Socialist Party decided to dispense with the compilation of a campaign book for 1904, they perhaps may have had some intimation of the preparation of the present work by Comrade Ladoff. Be this as it may, however, no more valuable manual for the Socialist open-air speaker could possibly be desired than this volume on "American Pauperism." As an indictment of the capitalist system of production and distribution, it is perhaps the most complete and convincing that has yet appeared.

Several years have evidently been given by the author to the collecting, compiling, and comparison of statistical tables dealing with the poverty that manifests itself as pauperism in city, state and nation. Census returns, Charity Bureau reports, factory inspectors' reports, reports of child labor committees of investigation, of State Boards of Charities, and every official source possible have been laid under contribution, the result being a presentation in cold, hard figures of the old Sphinx riddle that society must answer or perish—Why does pauperism increase with increasing wealth?

The author states the fundamental thought of his book in the words, "there is no crime but parasitism."

Five chapters of the work are given up to statistics bearing on the subject of poverty from every point of view, and are presented in such a clear and simple manner that even the veriest novice in statistical work cannot fail to comprehend their significance.

The concluding chapter, entitled "The Abolition of Poverty," is a masterly presentation of the claims of Socialism as the only force in society capable of solving the problems of parasitism and its concomitant, pauperism. Comrade Ladoff's work should be in the hands of every Socialist who has decided on public speaking as his portion of the work of spreading the message of the emancipation of the working class, as the information placed at his disposal in this work could not be gained otherwise without great trouble and research.

"American Pauperism" is the latest number in the Standard Socialist Series. It contains 230 pages, and is published at fifty cents, with the usual discount to stockholders. Neither author nor publisher will realize anything on the book until two thousand copies have been sold, since it is a much larger book than can really be afforded for the money. No reader of the REVIEW should fail to send for a copy.

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Peter E. Burrowes' "Revolutionary Essays."

"God is human, the whole human race is God. Socialism is the way of life." This is the motto which Comrade Burrowes has placed on the title page of his delightful volume. It contains sixty short essays, making 320 pages. We have no space this month for comment on it. The book was published some months ago in New York. Comrade Burrowes attended the National Convention as a delegate from New Jersey, and while in Chicago made an arrangement with our company by which we shall hereafter be enabled to supply his book to our stockholders on the same terms as if it were our own publication. The retail price is $1.25.

Extra Copies of the Review.

The leading article of this month's REVIEW contains an array of facts and figures that involve an immense amount of labor, and that have repeatedly been asked for by speakers, writers and propagandists. No definite plans have yet been made for publishing the article in pamphlet form, but several hundred extra copies have been printed, and can be supplied to those ordering at once. Price ten cents, to locals seven cents, to stockholders five cents, postage included. A few more copies of the May number containing the report of the proceedings of the National Convention can be supplied at the same rates.

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GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

This book, by the author of "Merry England" (the book that has had the largest circulation of any book in the English language—considerably over 2,000,000 copies), is, from a literary standpoint, excellent.

A paragraph will describe the author's purpose:

"I have been asked why I have opposed Christianity. I have several reasons, which shall appear in due course. At present I offer one.

"I oppose Christianity because *it is not true.*

"No honest men will ask for any other reason.

"But it may be asked why I say that Christianity is not true; and that is a very proper question, which I shall do my best to answer."

The book abounds with evidence on the subject of religion in general and the Christian religion in particular, which, to say the least, is interesting reading.

Although most of the arguments offered are not new to Free Thinkers, yet Blatchford's method of presenting them is so good and the temper so calm, that the book is creating a great sensation in England.

The following extract from Mr. Kerr's announcement is a sufficient apology for the appearance of the book by a Socialist publishing house:

"The publishing house of which I am manager is composed of socialists, but it has no official connection with the Socialist Party of America. As a member of the socialist party, I recognize the right of every other member to complete liberty of opinion in matters of religion. As a matter of fact, many of our members are Catholics, and many are orthodox Protestants. Our publishing house has issued a number of books written from the Christian point of view, and may issue more of them in future. But I claim for myself the same liberty I concede to others, and speaking for myself I recommend this book by Robert Blatchford as one of the clearest, sanest, most sympathetic and most helpful discussions of the deep and vital problem of religion that it has ever been my fortune to read."

The book is published in large type on antique paper and handsomely bound in cloth at one dollar, and in paper at 50 cents, postage included, with the usual discount to stockholders.

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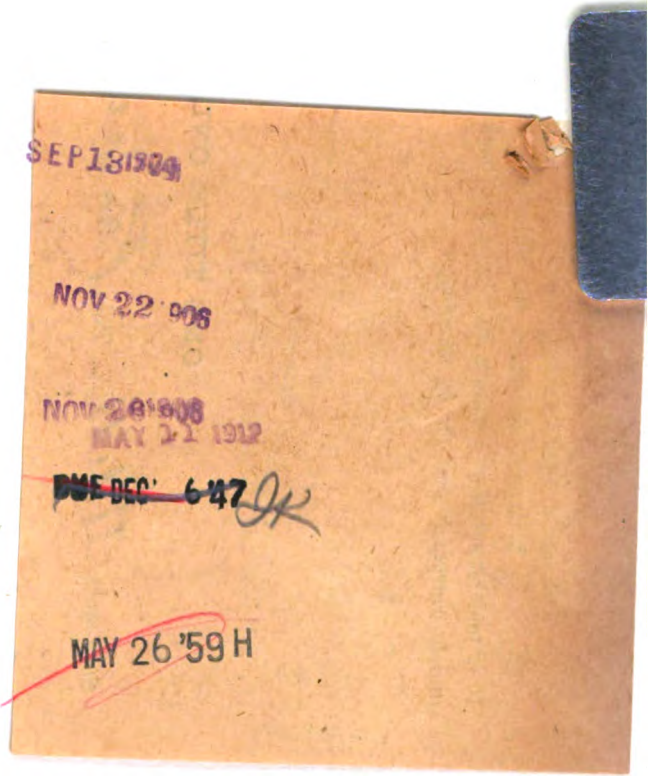
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